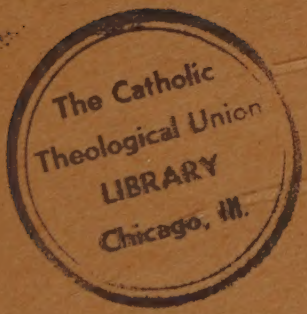
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THE CHOICE WORKS

—OF THE—

RT. REV. JOHN ENGLAND,

BISHOP OF CHARLESTON, S. C.

—WITH—

MEMOIR, MEMORIALS, NOTES, AND FULL INDEX.

BY HUGH P. McELRONE.

TWO VOLUMES IN ONE.

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PREFACE.

Among the writings which have been placed before the American public, those of Bishop England must ever occupy a high place. Whether we regard him as a champion of the Church or as an eloquent orator on literary and social themes, we see a man of subtile genius, solid learning, and that forcible earnestness which in all ages makes its mark.

Cumbered with extraneous matter and badly edited, the first edition of his works was speedily exhausted. The object of the present edition is to free his works from those imperfections, and to present them to the public in that shape which the great bishop himself would have chosen had he lived to give the final touches to the children of his brain. Engaged in a succession of controversies, he necessarily reverted to the same subject time and again; consequently many of his articles were mere repetitions, and in these cases the editor has selected that which presents the subject best, fortified by notes from other articles and such sources of information as were within reach. He has also found an immense amount of matter in the 1849 edition, not written by Bishop England, but consisting of newspaper clippings of no interest now, or else of half-digested papers stated to be by "other hands." None of this appears in the present edition; every line in it, except the memoir, notes, etc., is from the pen of the great prelate.

The memoir is not of that species which may be described as "linkéd sweetness long drawn out;" the aim is to give, together with a rapid *resumé* of the principal events in his life, a living picture of the man. The notes and the index have been carefully prepared, and the latter will be found useful to those who desire to delve in the rich literary and historical mines embedded in these volumes.

Long and faithful labor has been given to the work, and it is trusted that it will be appreciated, not only by Catholics, but also by the general public.

H. P. M.

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MEMOIR OF BISHOP ENGLAND.

"JOHN ENGLAND is a bad boy, because he will not learn how to dance." Such was the sentence found in a school-book of John England's. What a revelation! Evidently a tough character from the start; achieving the reputation of a "bad boy" "because he would not learn how to dance." And he never did learn how "to dance;" never would "trip the light fantastic toe" to the most persuasive strains of official harp and viol or under threat even of the lash of power. Ancestors likewise; setting at defiance laws of tyranny, teaching a hedge-school out there in the mountain waste of Ireland, and keeping alive memories of the old Keltic glory. What though the stout-hearted young fellow, destined to become the father of a great man, a man in every sense of the word—what though he be thrown into prison for teaching—he laughs at their heretical oaths, and escapes to resume his school in the ditch.

Thus handed down, the strong old spirit, along with good blood, was born into John England in the classic city of Cork, Sept. 23, 1786. Chaotic world into which this chubby, strong-fisted baby came crying I doubt not. Thunders of the great Revolution in the far new world not yet died away; Europe, corrupt to the heart, quivering over a terrific social volcano; all eyes blinded by the signs of the lightning of God's wrath blazing in the sky. When the time comes, this little babe, grown up to man's estate, will take share in the world-wide Revolution going on; most notably in recalling Ireland, who was dangerously fascinated by the French Revolution, from her imitation, just beginning, of the Revolution's atheistic excesses.

Fifteen years of peace, however, glided on; of peace, but not of idleness. Few anecdotes of this youth, those immortal myths which are the natural growth or fungi of all great men's biographies, are handed down to us. He was persecuted and called the little "Papist" in this Cork school. In after life, it is said, he met one of his chief tormenters in the church, and fell into such a rage that he could with difficulty control his emotion and proceed with the Mass. Having signified a desire to enter the priesthood, Rt. Rev. Francis Moylan placed him in the charge of Rev. Robert McCarthy, dean of the diocese. Before deciding conclusively on his vocation, he studied law under an eminent barrister of Cork—a train-

ing of which he afterwards showed the rich effect in his masterly style of summarizing arguments. Having concluded that the priesthood was his calling, on the 31st of August, 1803, he entered the College of Carlow. The energy and untiring zeal of the man developed early. "Work while it is day, for the night cometh, when no man can work," was his motto. Procuring the establishment of a female penitentiary, and schools for poor boys and girls; delivering discourses in the parish chapel; laboring among the militia stationed in Carlow—these are the glimpses we get of his five years of study in college. A curious incident happened in his military missionism. The officer in command was persuaded, by misrepresentations, to bring the soldiers who attended his instructions to court-martial; but, to the discomfiture of the fanatics, the trial ended with the acquittal of the men, the officer even encouraging them to continue in their course. In his old age and in far-away America, the bishop never tired of recalling this incident and of expressing his delight that his mission, like that of St. Francis de Sales, began amongst the military.

In 1808 he returned to Cork for the purpose of receiving holy orders. He was made deacon on October 9, and the following day was ordained to the priesthood, by dispensation, as he had not reached the canonical age. Immediately appointed lecturer at the cathedral,* he delivered there a series of brilliant discourses on the Old and New Testaments. Besides these, he preached sermons in the small chapel of the Presentation Convent, which was always crowded by persons eager to hear his magical words. Nor did he pause at words. His zeal expressed itself in practical works. The present Magdalen Asylum, built at the expense of Mr. Therry, was in process of erection, and always being touched with a peculiar pity for the poor outcasts of the world, he turned his attention to this institution and was largely instrumental in making it a success. In the May of 1808 he established a monthly periodical, *Religious Repertory*, conducting it for several years, and gaining here the first experience of that journalism which afterwards was of so much use. A free circulating library in the parish of St. Mary's, Shandon, was another of his works.

His next labor was visiting the city jail, for the purpose of carrying consolation to the unfortunate prisoners. Here he toiled, unpaid, except by his own conscience, for many years; especially among the poor fellows, chiefly "political criminals," destined to be sent out into that bleak world of Australia, with little chance of seeing a priest in the bushes of an unsettled country. One of his adventures while on this mission, together with many

* "North Cork Chapel," says Mr. Wm. Geo. Read; but I am inclined to believe, from the strongest evidences, that the cathedral was the right place.

others too horrible to describe, confirmed in him that undying hatred, which every Irishman cherishes with sacred care, of the despotism sitting like an incubus upon unhappy Ireland. A prisoner, buried in a fetid dungeon, had given way to frantic despair. Soothed by the gentle ministrations of Father England, the man confessed he had been an emissary of the government. What was, and is, the business of an "emissary of the government?" Listen. An "emissary of the government" made up conspiracies, and then betrayed them. Possessed at length of too many secrets, the government distrusted him, and entrapped him on an occasion of usual felony. This was the reason of his despair. Father England assured him that steps would be taken for his relief, and promised to come back next day. He did so, but the prisoner was gone. Now for the sequel of this tragic story. Years afterwards a man called on the Bishop of Charleston, and told him he had seen the unfortunate wretch in an obscure prison of India. The man told the narrator his dreadful history and its end. The cold-blooded, cruel, heartless miscreant* who ruled Ireland then, had become alarmed at England's interference, and had spirited the culprit away.

Rays of light, penetrating the dark night behind us, reveal this indefatigible man still at work. In 1812 he was president of the College of St. Mary, teaching pupils their theological course. In the same year his first recorded experience in politics took place. He was fond in after life of dilating on this feat. For the two Parliamentary seats of Cork there were three candidates—one Liberal and two wealthy Tories who were also malignant Orangemen. Most of the electors were tenants of the two Tories, and it was feared that if they dared to vote in two Liberals, the result would be materially disastrous to the voters. But it was determined to elect one Liberal. But how to do so? Father England doffed his professor's gown for the day, and, under pledge not to be interfered with in any way nor pestered by the usual swarm of political advisers, took dictatorial charge of the matter. The result, instead of being a tragedy, was a rich comedy. He organized a large body of voters, sworn to cast their ballots as he directed, and whose prudence he could rely on. These he posted, on the day of election, in a position apart, strictly binding them to hold no intercourse with any one but himself. Then he sent for the Tory agents and chatted with them in this pleasant manner: "A great many of our party are willing to vote for one or other of your respective candidates, but they fear that their right to vote for the Liberal candidate will be interfered with. Now, gentlemen, I warn you! I shall have you and your associates nar-

* Byron's line.

rowly watched, and every instance of intimidation or attempt at it I will instantly punish by voting ten men for your Tory adversary." They apprehended the situation; they were caught. The polling began. Very soon a Catholic voter was threatened by his landlord's agent. The case was reported to the chairman. In terror the agent rushed to Dr. England, explaining and apologizing; but nothing would do; the ten votes were promptly deposited for the rival Tory and the Liberal. There was no trouble after this. When the Liberal candidate was so far ahead that defeat was impossible, the professor, merrily telling them they had behaved very well, left the Tory agents to canvass the remaining voters.

In 1813 a jubilee, in which Dr. England took a leading part, was granted by the Pope to the Catholics of Cork, on the completion of their new cathedral. Another anecdote is related of Dr. England as occurring in the following year. Traveling from Cork to Dublin, on important diocesan business, the fall of snow during the night prevented the coach from going beyond Carlow. He, with some others whose business was urgent, set out to walk the rest of the way. Sinking exhausted in the icy cold, his companions abandoned him to his fate. A countryman, who had great difficulty in awakening him, found him in a comatose condition. "I am a priest," was all he could say, but it was enough. The faithful Kelt at once put forth all his energies and conveyed him to the shelter of his cabin nearby.

Destiny preserved him for the doing of great things. That very year there was need of his voice and his pen in the land, and his voice was raised, his pen set to work. Of all the vile acts of which the miserable Castlereagh was guilty in the course of a shameful life ended by his own hand, that of trying to subsidize the Catholic clergy, and thereby enslave them to the State, was perhaps the most vile. The nature of the attempt may be learned by turning to the last passages of "Epochs of Irish History," and the result of the civil power dabbling in Church affairs is most powerfully shown in the sketch of the Greek Schism, which is one of the best and most compact studies of that terrible ecclesiastical disaster extant. The government was willing to grant Catholic emancipation, provided a veto upon ecclesiastical nominations was allowed to the crown, and in order to gain the clergy offered to pay them salaries. The heartless aristocracy and gentry were willing to give in. Some of the hierarchy gaped also for the gilded bait in the centre of which was a deadly poison taint. But the noble priests of Ireland stood firm. Nevertheless, there was danger in the air. England borrowed money on his own responsibility, and, in opposition to the wishes even of his dio-

cesan, assumed editorial charge of the *Cork Mercantile Chronicle*, the failing organ of the Liberal party. In the columns of this journal he so clearly and forcibly showed the evil character of this step, at once treason to their country and heresy to their creed, that the whole nation as a solid unit rejected the scheme with scorn.

He then showed the grounds upon which the agitation for true Catholic emancipation should be carried on, and when O'Connell began his crusade he had no abler backer than England. The value of his assistance to the great Agitator could not be better told in a hundred tomes than in the pithy exclamation of O'Connell later in life: "With Bishop England at my back, I would not fear the whole world before me."

It was not to be expected that the fearless journalist which England proved himself to be would escape the rigors of tyrannical laws. On one occasion he scathingly commented on the corruption of the judges and the iniquity of packed Orange juries. Earl Talbot, the Tory Lord Lieutenant, was down on him at once. A fine of five hundred pounds was his reward for telling the truth, in default of which—for he could not pay it—he took his place in the cell of the jail his father had occupied. Again: O'Connell went into the newspaper office while the editor was absent, and wrote a scorching article. Proceedings were begun. The only person in the office who could identify O'Connell's caligraphy was the journeyman—a Protestant—who had set the piece, but he was true as steel. The real offender not being found, the editor was responsible; but, as chance would have it, the official certificate of editorship had been cancelled that very day, and thus the charge could not be brought home to England. Then the poor journeyman was clapped into prison, and during many months the Catholics supported his family. At last it leaked out that he was only detained to annoy the Liberals; supplies ceased, and the journeyman was allowed to go free.

On severing his connection with the paper, Dr. Murphy, who had succeeded Bishop Moylan, appointed England in 1817 to the parish of Bandon. This was the celebrated town over whose entrance gate was written the inscription welcoming "the Turk, the Atheist, and the Jew," but banning "the Papist."* Much of the bigotry still remained. For three years† Father England labored to overcome it, working, preaching,

*Dean Swift, on seeing the inscription, extemporized the following retort:

"He who wrote this wrote it well,
For the same is writ o'er the gate of hell."

†Mr. Read says "six years," but this could not be, for he received the appointment in 1817 and left for America in 1820.

and lecturing, until finally he brought the factions together in a genial social band. While here an attempt to assassinate him failed. A great Hand was guarding that life destined for an arena of noble toil.

The call came. After being twelve years a priest, he was nominated to the just created See of Charleston, S. C. He was consecrated at St. Finbar's Cathedral September 21, 1820.* Characteristically, he refused to take the usual oath of allegiance, having resolved never to wear a mitre under the British flag. "As soon as I reach my see," he said, "my first step will be to renounce this allegiance; therefore, the form is now idle and useless." Sailing from Belfast, he arrived in Charleston December 30, 1820. He was accompanied by Father Corkery, the first priest he ever ordained, two or three students, and his sister, Johanna Monica England.†

The new Diocese of Charleston comprised the three States of North and South Carolina and Georgia. It embraced an area of 127,500 square miles, and contained a white and black population of 1,063,000, of whom about 1,000 were Catholics.

This was the prospect the young bishop had to face. There were two apologies for churches—mere shanties—with congregations torn by scandals, and two priests, who fled on his arrival. Father Corkery died soon after, and he was left alone. Never perhaps since the time of the Apostles, except in the case of missionaries to heathen lands, was a bishop reduced to such a state before. There was scarcely a shelter to cover his head, and the great Protestant Tradition of England was in a most virile and flourishing condition. Ignorance of the truths of the Church made his task dangerous as well as arduous. There he was, to hew out and build up a diocese, while he struggled to beat down the tradition of bigotry. He was like a pioneer of the West, holding the plow with one hand and the rifle with the other. Nothing daunted, he bravely put his hands to work; ay, and head and heart, too.

For that same head had in it thoughts destined to live, and in that heart flowed placid streams of poetry and rushing torrents of eloquence, which would, when unpent, carry everything before them from end to end of the land.

An extensive lot at the upper extremity of Broad street, then on the outskirts, but now in the heart of the city, was purchased; a tem-

*Bishop Murphy, assisted by Bishops Moran, of Ossory, and Kelley, of Richmond, Va., performed the ceremony.

†This estimable lady died in a few years.

porary wooden structure was erected to do duty for a church, and a humble cottage beside it served for the episcopal palace. Unterrified by the alarm and horror his presence excited, behold him then walking down Broad street, hands clasped behind back, buckled shoes, traditional knee-short clothes, frockcoat with military flaps, wide-brimmed Quaker hat, purple Roman collar, close-buttoned vest—never with cigar or snuff-box in hand, for he detested Virginia's weed—such he is, poor as a beggar, but independent as a king.

Recognizing at once the value of the press as an auxiliary of the Church, almost the first work of the bishop was to establish the *United States Catholic Miscellany*.*

The *Miscellany* was practically the first Catholic journal in the United States. It existed forty years, until 1861, when it perished through the beginning of the Civil War. Few of its numbers have escaped the ravages of fire. The library edition was destroyed in the disastrous conflagration in Charleston, 1861. There is only one copy extant, possessed by the bishop's family in Cork. Miss England aided her brother, until her death, in conducting the *Miscellany*. Her pen frequently wrote in its columns, and her gentleness often toned down the sternness of his logic. A characteristic anecdote is told of the bishop in this connection. When the weekly issue was threatened from lack of help or other causes, he often went into the printing office and composed those brilliant articles which charmed alike the most fastidious Catholic and Protestant circles, not in writing, but in type!

His most important work, however, was the formation of a diocesan seminary in 1824, of which Andrew Byrne, afterwards Bishop of Little Rock, was the first student. Very soon he had a band of fifty zealous priests, most of them young men. Churches rose like magic before his steps. Frail most of them were, but foundations for after times. The Cathedral of St. Finbar, in Charleston, lasted thirty years, when at length it made way for the new one, built on a scale of great magnificence, but it was destroyed by the fire of 1861. Thus Bishop England's dream vanished. He had never seen even the beginning of its realization. The cathedral will, however, soon be replaced by a fine structure, for which a large amount of money has been raised.

*The statement in Father O'Connell's book, "Catholicity in the Carolinas and Georgia," is inaccurate. The controversy on the Roman Chancery, which led to the editor of the *Courier* refusing to insert his replies except as advertisements, occurred in 1839, long after the *Miscellany* was established. These *advertisements* the best that he could do—were too condensed and also covered too much ground in following the ramblings of his adversary. A powerful and profound article on the same subject is that on "Dispensation" in the second volume.

An outbreak of the plague known as the "Stranger's Fever," and whose name sufficiently describes its character, gave him another labor from which he did not shrink. Day and night he was found in the most noisome quarters—for Charleston, though a small city, has some spots in it as bad as those of New York—carrying bodily and spiritual comfort to the sufferers. Numbers of orphans were left, whom the State very humanely provided for by the erection of an asylum. But this institution fell under sectarian control, and Bishop England determined, at whatever cost, to found a school in Charleston, where sectarianism was unknown, and where Catholic, Jew, or Protestant could receive a first-rate education. He was lavish of his slender means, introducing the best talent of Europe as teachers, and soon the school was crowded with the *elite* of the city and State. It flourished for seven years, collapsing in 1831. Men of every class and profession, generals, statesmen, judges, *litterateurs*, even clergymen of various sects, at this day gratefully acknowledge the impulse and the strange intellectual power which the great bishop engrafted on their minds at this school.

Another of his labors was the care of the poor, friendless slaves. He began to teach them, founding a school for the males under care of a priest, and a school for the females under care of the Sisters of Mercy. He was compelled to suspend the slave schools by the passage of a law making it criminal to teach a slave to read and write, but he continued the schools for emancipated blacks. So far as religion, the main thing after all, was concerned, his actions were not hampered by the slave owners, who soon came to recognize the important aids to virtue and fidelity which the teaching of the Church afforded. Averse to accept the strictness of the confessional themselves, they would have been unwise indeed not to encourage, as they did, its introduction among a race hitherto devoid of morality. Dearly did Bishop England love his poor slaves. He arranged separate services for them, saying Mass and preaching to them in person, and subordinating everything to this pious duty. Although in his writings he defended the institution of slavery as just under existing laws, he set forth with stern logic the duties and obligations of masters, and was in this far ahead of his age.

The schools of the above Sisters were intended for the lower orders. To reach the hearts of the wealthier classes, Bishop England, in 1834, procured a colony from the Ursuline Convent at Blackrock, near Cork, and planted it in the young diocese. The new project miscarried at first. Prejudice was so great that Protestants refused to send their daughters to this really excellent school, and Catholics were too poor to sustain it.

After lingering twenty years, the older members returned to the parent house, and Bishop Reynolds sent the others to Cincinnati. A dozen years more passed along before Bishop Lynch succeeded in recalling the latter from exile, and locating them at Valle Crucis, near Columbia. Their labors were here renewed under brighter auspices; up to the present day the school is celebrated all over the South as one of the very highest order. Protestants of the highest society prefer to send their daughters there. Thus Bishop England's work, though going wrong at first, has finally succeeded.

In 1835 he undertook the mission of Apostolic Delegate to San Domingo, where religion, since the violent separation from the mother country, had fallen into exceeding looseness. He was received by President Boyer with all becoming honors. He restored Catholic discipline, revived the spirit of faith, and ordained a colored man of great learning. On the whole, the wisdom with which he managed this delegate affair was among the greatest of his works, and his reports, preserved in the archives of Rome, are documents which will serve for future historians to build on.

During this mission, Rt. Rev. William Clancy was appointed Coadjutor Bishop, and he managed the affairs of the diocese for two years.

Amid all these labors, he traveled incessantly over his vast diocese, at great personal inconvenience; preaching in court houses, barns, or in the open fields; ministering on the bed of sickness, now on the bleak mountain side, now in the plague-stricken, sun-scorched streets of Charleston, often with his feet upon the wet ground, and otherwise suffering from scanty raiment which he had not the means to obtain, for the poor pittances he collected were dispensed to the poor or used in payment of refutations of foul calumnies inserted in the papers as advertisements.

Writing under these difficulties, he found it impossible to make his essays entirely accurate or extensive. Without proper revision, they were, under the necessities of the times, hastily given to the public, and in the present edition the editor has only made such emendations as were obviously required under the circumstances.

Bishop England crossed the ocean four times, visiting Rome, Vienna, and Paris in the interests of his poor diocese, and frequently journeyed to different parts of the Union.

He cherished two special devotions, without which a man may be great but never good—a fervent love of our Lord in the Blessed Sacrament, and a tender, childlike trust in the Blessed Virgin.

Yet this man, when the bloody hand of religious bigotry was raised

in the land, was the promptest to crush it. After appealing in vain to the civil authorities for protection from the mob, he called out the Irish volunteers of Charleston. Look out now, you Puritan mob; there is fight in front of you. Sleek officiality was alarmed. No more talk of burning down the churches and houses of Catholics. Peace must be preserved. And so passed off this episode, and South Carolina was saved from the ineffaceable disgrace which is stamped upon Massachusetts.

Bnt the time is coming when he would stand no longer foremost in the ranks of the Church militant. Voices were even now speaking to him, saying: "Thine eyes shall see the King in His glory; they shall behold the land that is very far off." That iron frame was broken at last. Along the rugged mountain side he had borne his cross to Calvary, and now he was to be crucified there.

After the Easter of 1841 he visited Europe for the last time. He paid his respects to the Holy Father. Returning the following autumn, he bade a final adieu to his sister, the Superioress of the Presentation Convent at Cork, his brother, Rev. Thomas England, the parish priest of Passage, and a large circle of Irish friends. Never did the love of old Ireland leave his heart.

The voyage was long and stormy, and when he landed in Philadelphia he was sick unto death. At the request of Bishop Kenrick, and concealing the malignant disease which was wasting him, he delivered a course of lectures and preached seventeen nights successively with his usual power and brilliance. Next he preached five sermons in Baltimore. He always held an annual retreat for his clergy in Charleston, and he had promised to be with them—never having been known to fail in keeping his apppointment. He did not appear. What was the matter? People began to grow uneasy.

He got home in December, all broken up. He insisted on preaching and took part in the Christmas ceremonies. That was the last. Soon afterwards he took to bed, and lay there suffering for three months. He saw the end, and fortified himself for it by frequent Communions. All temporal matters were calmly arranged.

A Solemn High Mass was offered in the cathedral in his behalf April 10, 1842, after which the clergy were summoned to his side. He had been a friend to the Israelites when hands were lifted to strike them, and they now testified their gratitude by praying in the synagogue for his recovery. He received the Sacrament of Extreme Unction in a composed mood, saying, as he held the Crucifix before him and kissed it, "Sweet Jesus, who didst deign to die for me in this ignominious man-

ner, regard with compassion the condition of Thy servant, and be with him in the succeeding hour of trial." He spoke wise words of advice to the kneeling clergy around him for fully thirty minutes.

In the afternoon the seminarians, the dear children whom he was raising up to spread the light of the Gospel in this land, were called to his bedside. Let one of them, Father O'Connell, speak:

"He lay like a sick lion; all his strength was gone. The once manly frame was now a grand ruin from the ravages of sickness; nothin remained of his manly, noble form, admired by the gaze of millions, an never seen but in the gap of danger or in the van of battle, nothin remained but the quenchless lustre of the eye, through which the won derfully gifted soul still blazed forth in all the splendor of its native brightness. I saw him next, and for the last time, the following morning, April 11, 1842, at five o'clock, the hour when he rose to say his Mass during his life unfailingly. The agony of death was upon him; he had already received the Holy Unction; his episcopal robe and stole were on his neck, the ring gleamed from his white hand, outspread on the coverlid as if in the act of blessing. . . . . An audible distinct word was spoken, the last on earth of many—'mercy'—a whiteness was suddenly diffused over the face, which now shone like untrodden snow. After the priest had said, 'Depart, Christian soul, out of the world, in the name of God the Father, who created thee, in the name of God the Son, who redeemed thee, in the name of the Holy Ghost, who sanctified thee,' he added: 'Let us pray for the soul of the departed. Bishop England is dead.'"

"Consider, O Israel, for them that are dead, wounded in thy high places. The illustrious of Israel are slain upon thy mountains. How are the valiant fallen and the weapons of war perished! There was cast away the shield of the valiant as though he had not been anointed with oil. I grieve for thee; as a mother loveth her only son did I love thee."*

* Bishop Kenrick, of Philadelphia, afterwards Archbishop of Baltimore, celebrated the Mass of Requiem and pronounced the funeral sermon. Not only were a large number of distinguished Catholics present, but also many Protestants and Jews of the best families from all parts of the country.

MEMORIALS.

VESTRIES OF CHARLESTON, S. C.

On Monday, April 20, 1842, the vestries of the Church of St. Mary's, Hasell street, and the Church of St. Patrick, on the Neck, were invited to join that of the cathedral, in the library of the seminary, to give expression to their feelings on their late bereavement. A committee of three from each of the vestries (to which the clergy of the respective churches were added) was appointed to report at an adjourned meeting, to be held the next evening at the same hour and place, when the following preamble and resolutions were unanimously adopted. The Very Rev. Administrator, being through illness unable to attend, he appointed the Rev. Doctor Lynch to preside on both occasions.

"PREAMBLE.—As time rolls on its troubled stream into the peaceful waters of eternity it occasionally happens to bear as its burden some being more valued, more beloved and more useful than those whom every day life presents to our view, whose loss leaves a void in the community which cannot be filled up, casts a gloom over those prospects which were brightened by his labors, takes from a fond and devoted people the object of their admiration, their respect, and their love, and leaves behind but the memory of his virtues, his piety and his usefulness. Too well and truly have we experienced this during the past week in the demise of our pious, learned and much beloved bishop—an event as unexpected as it is mournful, bringing sorrow and sadness to all who knew him in public and private life, and making desolate the hearts of his own affectionate children, who from his lips were gladdened with the joyful tones of a Redeemer's promise, and by his hands were fed with that Bread which sustains man on his earthly journey. The child mourns the loss of a dearly beloved parent, and the burning tear of sorrow starts to his eye at affection's call as he beholds his father's dust restored to its parent clay. The friend breathes forth the silent, sad sigh of affectionate remembrance as he gazes on the cold remains of one united to him in the bonds of mutual attachment. But our father, our dearest father has left us; our friend, our best of friends has gone from the world of many trials; he in whom we centered all our confidence, on whom we depended for strength and

support, whose voice was ever ready at duty's call to be raised in the vindication of ourselves, our country and our religion, the pride of our hearts, the object of our love has gone, gone forever.

"Oh, bitter thought! Oh, sorrowful recollection! Three months ago, as the rich tide of his eloquence was poured forth in portraying the glories, the justice and mercy of God, calling man from the ways of sin, and holding before his view the pardon obtained by a Saviour's blood; who could form the opinion that at this day his remains would lie cold beneath his own episcopal chair: and the voice that so often edified and delighted thousands with the fascinating tones of its own peculiar melody, should be hushed forever in the silence of the mouldering tomb? But such is the lot of man, such the uncertainty of human speculaton.

"'Man proposes, but God alone disposes.'

"United with us in the sacred bonds of the Holy Catholic faith, endeared to us by years of the most indefatigable exertions to promote the spiritual welfare of ourselves and our children, and connected with us by all those social ties that link man to man, he has gone to the home of the blessed, there to reap the reward of his labors from the hands of that God whom he so faithfnlly served, whilst he leaves behind him on earth a name that will not be forgotten as long as virtue, piety and talents are respected and revered. As a Catholic, his faith was as strong as the rock of ages on which Christianity is founded; as a patriot, he was trained in the school of a Fitzgerald and an Emmet, where the fiery ordeal of persecution was the test of his sincerity; as a scholar, his mind was profound, his imagination fertile and productive, his acquirements various and extensive; and last, but not least, as a friend, he was one of those friends in need who are friends indeed. Never during his long and eventful career, whilst he defended his own, did he interfere with the religious opinions of others—the burden of his preaching, more fully developed in his actions—being 'Do unto others as you would have others do unto you.' How well then may we say that we all suffered on his demise: The community in losing one of its most virtuous, eminent and useful citizens; the social circle one of its greatest ornaments, whose racy wit charmed whilst it brightened all around; religion, one of its ablest defenders; and humanity one of its warmest supporters: the widow, her guardian and protector; the homeless orphan, its father and preserver. Difficult will be the task to find his like again. The funeral bell has tolled his requiem dirge, the Church has chanted her sublime but mournful *Libera* over his remains, the incense of the holy prayer for the repose of his soul has

ascended to the altar of the Deity—all now is silent, sad and still; but though his star has forever set, his memory will ever remain green in our souls, and though his spirit has fled from its tenement of clay, still will he live in our heart's best affections. But while we mourn for the dead, the illustrious dead, never can we be forgetful of those who differ from us in faith, but unite with us in charity—those whose souls are above the influence of prejudice, and who are ever ready to pay a deserved tribute to learning, piety and religion; and whilst we in conscience steadfastly adhere to the holy and venerable creed of Catholicity, we must fully appreciate the liberal conduct of our dissenting brethren, and the high respect shown by persons of all denominations to the memory of our deceased illustrious bishop: Therefore, be it resolved,

"1. That the altars of the three Catholic churches of this city and the Neck be hung for one month with some distinguishing badge of mourning, to testify publicly the sorrow and respect of their respective congregations for their much beloved and ever to be lamented bishop, whose untimely death is to them, in common with their Catholic brethren in the South, an irreparable loss.

"2. That as another mark of the grief and respect of the aforesaid congregations on this melancholy occasion, each member of them is hereby requested to wear for at least one month some badge of mourning; and that each member of the three vestries do wear a crape on his left arm for the same period of time.

"3. That we hereby tender our grateful thanks to the Right Rev. Dr. Kenrick, the distinguished administrator of the Diocese of Philadelphia, for his kindness in visiting us on this sorrowful occasion, and for the consolation he afforded us by his eloquent and heart-touching eulogy on the character and labors of our beloved and zealous bishop.

"4. That the thanks of the three Catholic congregations of the city and the Neck are due to and are hereby tendered to the dissenting clergy of the State, to his Honor the Mayor, the Judges of the Courts in session during our affliction, the Collector of the Port, and the citizens generally, for the respect paid and liberal feeling shown by them on the death of our highly gifted and much esteemed prelate.

"P. N. LYNCH, D.D., *Chairman.*

"A. LAFITTE, *Secretary.*"

WASHINGTON LIGHT INFANTRY OF CHARLESTON, SOUTH CAROLINA.

At an extra meeting of the Washington Light Infantry, held on the 25th of April, 1842, the following resolutions were offered by S. A. Hurlbut:

"Although it may seem in some degree incongruous to mingle the name and the functions of a clergyman with those of a military body such as ours, yet in view of the close connection of feeling which united this company with the Rt. Rev. Bishop England, our deceased chaplain, and inasmuch as the services he has rendered us and the inscription of his name as an honorary member of this corps give us the right publicly to express those sentiments of respect and regard which we all, as individuals, feel for his memory. Be it, therefore,

"*Resolved*, That it is with no ordinary feelings of sorrow that the company thus publicly recognizes the loss from among its members of the Right Reverend Bishop England. The eloquent tones that have stirred our hearts as with the sound of a trumpet shall no more command and arrest our attention. The lips ever devoted to the advancement of virtue and religion are forever mute, frozen into silence by the icy hand of death. The earnest vindicator of the liberty of his native land, the devoted admirer and constant advocate of the institutions of this, his adopted country; the man of unimpeached and unimpeachable character, of intellect and acquirements wide and far-reaching, of imagination fervid and poetic—the priest of self-denying and self-sacrificing virtues, whom all men of every sect and faith delight to honor—the careful and sleepless watcher over the flock committed to his care—has finished his earthly course. The good soldier of the Cross, he was ever girt with his armor, and ready to defend from assault the truths he conscientiously believed, and how widely soever we may differ from his doctrine, we all admit that he fought the good fight, and performed the task that was set before him.

"To us he was endeared by the relation he bore to us, by the recollections of the eloquent address which he delivered before this company,[1] and by the readiness which he evinced to render us any service that circumstances might require. We presume not on this occa ion to analyze the character of this lamented prelate. No panegyric upon his virtues becomes this meeting. In life he courted not the applause of men, and his memory does not require their praise; for his eulogy is in the deep

[1] "The Character of Washington," vol i.

grief of his friends, in the passionate mourning of the thousand hearts to whom he was the star of hope, the light upon their thorny path of life. His epitaph is written on the enduring affection of the widow and the orphan, the homeless and forlorn, whom, in life, he cherished and sustained. Their prayers are the incense around his tomb, their tears the libation over his ashes.

"*Be it further Resolved*, That in the death of our lamented and reverend chaplain this company has suffered a bereavement which deprives it of one of its brightest ornaments, and that as a mark of our sorrow for his death, and our respect for his virtues, the usual badge of mourning be worn for thirty days."

On motion of J. Bryan, Jr., it was resolved that the above resolutions be adopted.

D. McQUEEN, *Secretary*.

PHILADELPHIA REPEAL ASSOCIATION.

At a meeting of the association held at their room, 278 Market street, on Monday evening, April 18, 1842, Wm. A. Stokes, Esq., president, in the chair, Benjamin Pemberton Binns, Esq., offered the following resolutions which were unanimously adopted:

"*Resolved*, That the Repeal Association of Philadelphia have heard with feelings of deep and solemn mourning and sorrow of the death of their venerable fellow member, the Right Reverend John England, Bishop of Charleston, in South Carolina. Attached to his person by his true nobility of nature, grateful for his generous devotion to the great cause of human liberty—they will hold in enduring remembrance his virtues for imitation, his genius for admiration, and his piety for example.

"*Resolved*, That in his death the country has lost one of her most valuable citizens, republican institutions have been deprived of one of their ablest champions, and the holy cause of Christianity has to lament a servant and advocate, whose entire zeal for the principles and interests of his own faith never caused him to violate the charity, which in a land of freedom protects all, but injures none."

The president, Mr. Stokes, having vacated the chair, which was taken by Mr. Benjamin P. Binns, proposed the following resolution:

"*Resolved*, That as a mark of respect to the memory of the lamented Bishop England, the Association do now adjourn."

Mr. Stokes in offering this resolution remarked that it was under feelings of no ordinary emotion, for none who knew Bishop England could

fail to feel towards him an almost filial affection. He was one of those great men, the splendor of whose glories commanded the admiration of all; while the goodness of his heart and his amiability of manners made warm friends of all who were so fortunate as to enjoy his acquaintance. He was a remarkable example of one, who by the mere force of his native intellect, had caused his name to be known and revered throughout Europe and America; known and revered not only as a Christian prelate, firm in the faith which he held—but as an illustrious champion of human rights—as a powerful advocate in Europe for that system of government in America, which recognized in him a citizen most useful and constant, and as a scholar of rare attainments—a writer of singular purity—an orator and reasoner who had triumphed whenever his powers had been called into action. His own deeds were his best eulogium; his memory would, he trusted, be the virtual prolongation of a life valuable for the pure example which he set to all—an example which might live and which he hoped and believed would live in the breast of every repealer, exciting him to the practice of virtue, guarding him from the temptations of vice, and strengthening the resolution to persevere in that good work of repeal, the entire devotion to which was one of the brightest and best points of the character of Bishop England. Mr. Stokes spoke at length and with great effect of the character of Bishop England, and when he resumed his seat the association immediately adjourned, and in silence left their hall.

VESTRY OF SAVANNAH, GA.

At a meeting of the Vestry of the Catholic Church of St. John the Baptist, Savannah, held on the evening of Tuesday, May 3, 1842, Messrs. Dillon, Prendergast, and Condon were nominated a committee to draft a preamble and resolutions, expressive of the grief and sorrow which overwhelmed the congregation, at the irreparable loss of its ever dear and beloved bishop. The following were offered, and approved of by the pastor:

"How sad, how melancholy, and how difficult is the duty which we are called to perform, to give expression to our sorrow for the death of our beloved bishop, and to delineate his virtues, though it be but a mere attempt. Our grief is too deeply seated in our hearts; it is unalterable. His virtues are indescribable, who can delineate them? Our sorrow is founded on general and special principles. Christianity has lost an indomitable champion; Catholicity its most powerful advocate; the

Apostolic chain one of its brightest and purest links; the Militant Church a noble, brave, and valiant soldier; America, a defender of her rights, and the South a vindicator of her institutions.

"Our father and friend has departed from us—we are orphans; the fold is without a shepherd; the diocese without a bishop. The episcopal chair is vacant; the sable emblems show where the venerated tenant lies; the sanctuary is without its ornament; the widow mourns the loss of her support; the orphan weeps for him who gave him food. Oh! Father of the faithful and Supreme Pastor of souls, listen to the sighs of the bewildered virgins; behold the tears of the young men; listen to the sobs of the aged, and have regard to the heart-stricken throes of all thy people. In the accommodating and deferential sense which usage sanctions, has there ever been a people who may apply to itself with greater propriety, the lamentable words of the Prophet, than the flock of the Diocese of Charleston, in its present, melancholy bereavement:—Oh, all you that pass by the way, behold and see if there be any sorrow like to my sorrow, Blessed Redeemer of mankind! for the iniquities of the people have you been stricken—the sons of the fold have called for your death. Have our indifference, our neglect and apathy, in Thy service, provoked the blow just dealt to us? Have our sins incurred the heavy chastisement? We fear for ourselves—we tremble, and humbly bow down as culprits in Thy sight, and penitently sue for pardon. In sackcloth and ashes shall we endeavor to atone, and our future conduct shall be the evidence of the sincerity of our expressions. Spare, O Lord, spare Thy people, and give not Thy inheritance to reproach. If in anger Thou hast taken Thy servant from a sinful people, in clemency and compassion leave not Thy fold without a shepherd; send one according to Thy own heart, and worthy of him who was our first pastor. In testimony of our grief, and as an external manifestation of how sensibly we feel our irreparable loss, be it

"*Resolved*, That at the approaching Month's Mind, our church be suitably decorated, and as long afterward as our pastor shall deem necessary.

"*Resolved*, That the vestry and members generally be requested to wear the same badge of mourning for thirty days.

"J. F. O'NEILL, *Pastor*.

"JOHN MURPHY, *Secretary*."

YOUNG CATHOLICS' FRIEND SOCIETY OF BOSTON.

At the regular monthly meeting of the Young Catholics' Friend Society, Sunday, May 8, 1842, the following resolutions on the demise of Bishop England were unanimously adopted:

"To the name of Bishop England, haloed as it is with the glory of his sublime virtues and memorable deeds, we can offer no commmensurate tribute; but, being solicitous to attest our esteem for all that is pre-eminently beautiful, pure and grand in the human character, and our mingled veneration and regret for the splendid virtues and brilliant genius which have passed from amongst us to a more congenial sphere, it is therefore

"*Resolved*, That in the decease of this good prelate our Church has been deprived of a glorious light—the Catholic hierarchy of a divine, eloquent, pious and erudite; and Christendom of a luminary whose rays were confined to no sect, but beamed upon all, dispelling bigotry, and giving a universality to Catholic faith which will be honorable to his name.

"*Resolved*, That we proudly claim the illustrious dead as a native of that land which, though enslaved, is still glorious in her bondage; and that in his death Ireland has been deprived of a pure and fervid patriot, whose voice was ever ready to assert her claims to independence, as well as to uphold the glory of her religion.

"*Resolved*, That the testimony of Bishop England, when recently visiting this city, to the excellence and utility of this institution, is considered by us as attaching the highest honor to the name of Young Catholics' Friend, and that it will ever be the proud boast of the society that Bishop England gave it his warmest approbation.

"*Resolved*, That although he, esteemed and beloved by us, now slumbers in the cold and silent tomb, his genius, his virtues, and piety, shall live for ever in our affections, and be enshrined in our memories and hearts.

"PETER E. BLAKE, *President.*

"J. GERVASIO, *Secretary.*"

HIBERNIAN SOCIETY OF CHARLESTON, S. C.

According to public notice the Hibernian Society of Charleston convened at their hall on Monday evening, April 18, 1842, to pay the proper tribute of respect to the memory of their distinguished brother member, the Right Rev. Bishop England.

In the absence of Mr. Wm. A. Caldwell, the president of the society, Mr. Thomas Stephens, the vice-president, called the meeting to order. In a feeling and touching manner he introduced to the society the painful occasion which had called them together. He bestowed a rightly merited compliment on the many virtues of the deceased, and revived the recollection of many occasions where the cause of humanity and the most striking social qualities were happily illustrated in him whose loss had occasioned such general grief. After Mr. Stephens had concluded, A. G. Magrath, Esq., said he had been requested to prepare some expressions of the feelings of the society on the deep loss sustained in the death of Bishop England. He had undertaken the duty, because to him it was a pleasing task to pay respect to the memory of a man so good and so great. He then read to the society the following tribute to the memory of Bishop England:

"A mournful occasion has convened us! A chair is vacant in our hall! A voice that was loud in the admonitions of the Christian and the patriot has died away on the ear! A spirit that seemed the embodiment of kindness and charity—that hung around this hall with a zeal that enchanted while it instructed, has departed forever! The minister, whose religious devotion lent sanctity to his character, and influence to his councils; the member whose heart responded to the call for relief; and gave to wretchedness that sympathy more consoling than wealth; the patriot whose eloquence in the cause of a suffering country hailed the event of laying the corner-stone of our hall and baptized its completion in the same rich and feeling strain;[1] has been taken away from us forever and reposes in the calmness of death, in the sanctuary he so long dignified and supported. In our wide community, where all sects are zealous in the support of their peculiar tenets, there is now no feeling save that of deep sorrow. Controversies and disputes have been hushed into silence before this manifestation of divine omnipotence—and the Hebrew, whose heart was opened by a generous liberality—and the Protestants, who combated with him the doctrine of the Church—and the Catholic, who listened to him as the oracle of the living God, have alike crowded around the coffin which encloses his mortal remains, and offered the deep and touching tribute of tearful sorrow to his many virtues. While all, however, mingle their tribute of sympathy in the loss of that distinguished prelate, the Rt. Rev. Bishop England—to us, his death is a matter of peculiar bereavement.

[1] Bishop England was unanimously selected by the Hibernian Society to deliver the address at the laying of the corner-stone of the Hibernian Hall, and again at the first public opening after its completion.

"The descendant of those, who are able to number many of their name among the distinguished sons of the land of their birth, John England, at an early age, gave evidence of that power of mind and devotedness of purpose, which eventually developed themselves so eminently and successfully in the administration of the affairs of this diocese. At an early age, he became possessed of the influence of religion, and unheeding the enticements, which to one so gifted, might easily have been supposed potential in directing his attention to pursuits, where success in the eye of the world seems more gratifying than the quiet duties of the ministry, he yet gave to the Church the full energies of a young and daring spirit, a heart filled with the gentlest charities of life, and an intellect even then commanding the respect of those distinguished by age and station. At an early age he commenced the duties of his holy ministry, and his efforts were gifted with the most gratifying success. The attention of the Catholic Church being turned towards the Southern portion of the United States, the position and promises of usefulness already displayed by this distinguished man, recommended him to the appointing power. And, although he had not attained the age which the Church prescribes for the possession of the office for which his services were required, a dispensation was obtained;[1] and he was invested with the high and responsible position of bishop of a diocese composed of our own and two of our sister States. He came among us with many prejudices to surmount; many difficulties to overcome; much dissatisfaction to assuage. But the edge of prejudice was soon exchanged for confidence; the difficulties of his position yielded to his labor of love; and the discontent of all was exchanged for the harmony and fellowship which has bound the members of his Church in the strong bonds of confidence and affection.

"As the patriot—the lover of the land of his birth, no superior could be found to him whose loss we deplore. He was born where the iron hand of despotism ground to the dust the noblest of his race. He lived where he could see the scaffold reeking with the blood of those who prized the honor of their country more than they feared death. He suffered with those who, conscious of the then fruitless effort they were making, felt that religion of the patriot which makes him hug the chain in triumph he cannot break in the hall of the oppressor. In all his efforts connected with the cause of suffering Ireland, he gave full evidence of that high and dignified zeal—that fervid, because sincere eloquence, which recalled the scattering senses of the

[1] The writer has fallen into a slight mistake in this sentence. Bishop England was ordained priest at the age of 22, a dispensation of two years having been granted in consideration of his piety and learning. The canons of the Church require that no one be consecrated bishop, until he has completed his thirti th year. Bishop England received episcopal consecration on the 21st of September, 1820, the thirty-fourth anniversary of his birthday.

weak, chastened the daring, and excited the timid. Careless of the consequences so far as he was concerned, his voice echoed from the gatherings in his own land, and told the oppressor in a tone that could not be unheeded, the tale of tyranny and suffering that millions of his countrymen were compelled to undergo.

"As a citizen of the United States—the adopted son of our Republic—there never breathed one more fervent in his admiration of the institutions he had sworn to protect, more religious in his observance of the duties which devolved upon him as a citizen of a country whose laws knew no distinction of classes, whose soil cherished and supported alike all sects in religion. His intimate acquaintance with the excellencies which shine out in bold relief, amid the vices of the many models of republican government, made him at once the zealous advocate of a well regulated liberty —the antagonist of all lawless and revolutionary feeling. His long experience in all the intricacies of the human heart, taught him at once the possibility of man's government of himself, and the evil inseparable from boundless dominion, when power is concentrated in the hands of one; be it, therefore,

"*Resolved*, That the Hibernian Society of Charleston have, in the death of the Right Rev. Bishop England, sustained the loss of a member and companion, whose eminent learning adorned the virtues of charity and benevolence; whose character gave dignity to his society, his country and his Church; whose name will be ever dear in the memory of those who love and admire the excellencies of our nature.

"*Resolved*, That in testimony of our profound respect, the members of the Hibernian Society will wear crape on the left arm for the space of thirty days."

After Mr. Magrath had concluded the reading of his tribute, on motion of the Hon. James S. Rhett, it was unanimously resolved that the same be adopted by this society.

On motion of Mr. Moreland, *Resolved*, That the Society do now adjourn in silence, and without comment.

The society then adjourned.

THOMAS STEPHENS,

Vice-President, Acting President.

W. N. HAMILTON, *Secretary.*

THE

WORKS OF BISHOP ENGLAND.

EPOCHS OF IRISH HISTORY.[1]

I DOUBTED whether, on this occasion, it would be better to confine myself to the topics naturally suggested by the recurrence of the day we celebrate, and discharge the duty which you have imposed upon me by reciting the usual detail of the life of the apostle of our nation, or to take a more enlarged view of what generally interests us, and hastily sketch, for beneficial purposes, an imperfect outline of our history. Upon a little reflection, I have determined to attempt both, giving preference, in order of time, to those facts which first existed, and introducing, at the proper epochs, to the notice which they must necessarily command, the labors of St. Patrick, and from the entire, drawing a strong moral lesson, which they forcibly inculcate.

The island from which we are sprung is but small upon the surface of our globe, yet its history is that of many centuries, and one which is more or less an object of interest beyond that of curious research to most other nations of the world. This day you may find her children congregated in their societies, upon the banks of the Savannah and of the Ganges. This day they search for the Shamrock under polar snows, and amidst the sands of the equator. This

[1] Substance of an Address delivered before the Hibernian Society of the City of Savannah, Georgia, March 17th, 1824.

day millions of voices are raised round the extended circumference, their shout and their song vibrate on the rays, to meet in their own verdant, glittering centre. They exhibit themselves decorated in the courts of the old world, deliberating in the assemblies of the new; they lift the standard of Bolivar, they pour out their ejaculation at the tomb of Washington.

Quæ regio in terris, nostri non plena laboris?

The civilization of our island is not that of yesterday. It is not by oppression that man becomes social, it is not by restraint and compulsion man becomes civilized. If our ancestors were polished, we can show the causes of the semi-barbarism of some of their descendants. The cause which we assign is amply sufficient for the effect which is found. But if our ancestors were more rude than their proscribed children, we cannot explain facts of which we have glaring evidence. Why, then, should we become fashionably inconsistent? Why should we be contradictorily polite? Consistency ought to be fashion; truth ought to be politeness. God forbid it should be otherwise in America! Allow the truth of our assertions, our whole history is consistent; that of which we have perfect evidence, supports that of which the evidence has been lost or mutilated. Deny the truth of that part which is thus supported, and that of which you have the most perfect certainty becomes inexplicable. When we call upon you, then, to believe these assertions, we do not substitute a theory for a history; but we present you with a series of facts differently testified, some having the evidence of history, the others possessing that strong moral evidence to which any reasonable being must give a willing and a ready assent.

We are asked for our documents. They whose interest lay in their destruction were stronger than we were; they became possessed of one portion by force; they were more subtle than an open-hearted people, too confiding, too unsuspicious; another portion was obtained; until the records of

our glory had nearly all insensibly disappeared; and when we spoke of the acts of our progenitors, we were sneered at as impostors by those who calculated upon their safety in the consciousness of their baseness. But though the parchment should be shrivelled to ashes in the flames; though the sceptre may be stricken from the monarch's hand; and the pointed crown be torn from his dishevelled head; though the assembly may be driven from the hall of deliberation, and the blazonings of heraldic precedence be mingled in confusion and trampled in the dust; though it may be criminal to preserve the name of your progenitors, and the great portion of the people should be compelled to take up surnames from trades and occupations, and in a language which was yet scarcely blending into form, and next to unintelligible; still, the memory of facts will outlive the destruction of their testimony, and the reasonable traditions of a nation will supply the place of writings.

If the settlers of our island did not arrive from Spain, whence did they come? Their traditions inform us of the fact. Upon what shall we found the contradiction? The individual who addresses you has examined, upon the spot, the traditions and the places, so far as any traces remain; and notwithstanding the ravages of time and the ravages of enemies, many do yet remain; those remnants of what were described as but remnants long since, admirably coincide with what might be naturally expected after the lapse of ages. The Irish peasant loves to remain near the spot which contains the ashes of his parents, and successive generations will be found renewing, where the laws did not operate to prevention, the names of their grandsires in the persons of their children; the traditionary songs, which have floated down the stream of time, give the exploits of the hero, and are found to proceed parallel to the stream of his blood. And on a coast of cliffs, and in a land of hills and valleys, topography is not so easily changed as on a coast of sand, and in plains liable to inundation.

The wreck of the history which has been preserved coin-

cides with the tradition, and the song, and the appearance. Shall we be cheated of the poor gratification of the history of our ancestors, because an active system has been persevered in, during successive administrations, to destroy our records? I again ask, what is to be set up in opposition to the little we adduce? If this was not their origin, whence did they come?

The remnants of our histories inform us, that our Gallician ancestors were a settlement made by an African colony, who had previously migrated from Tyre in Phœnicia, and who had, during a very long period, kept up an interchange of commerce. The histories of other nations which have been more fortunate in the preservation of their archives, leave no doubts as to the origin of Carthage; yet were but a very few records destroyed, before the art of printing, upon what grounds would the historian rest for his proof, save the song of the Roman poet? The migration from Carthage to Spain was easier than from Tyre to Carthage; perhaps the fact is also better sustained by proof. From the harbors in the northwest of Spain, even in those early days of naval science, the voyage to Ireland was not difficult, especially to the exploring descendants of the greatest commercial people then in the world. The facts are related by our historians, preserved in the traditions of our people; consistent with the documents of every age of our country, possible in their nature, by no means unlikely to have taken place; no other facts are offered as substitutes; some such facts are necessary; those have always been adduced. We are referred to the relics of our literature, to the documents which would substantiate them; we point out the fate of those documents which are known to have existed. I know not upon what ground our claim is to be rejected.

We have next the testimony as to a commerce of some continuance between those descendants of Milesius, the founder of the Irish settlement, and the Africans from whom they were sprung. We find, at different periods of time, several swords and other warlike weapons dug up in the

bogs of Ireland, unlike the arms of Northern Europe, unlike the Roman weapons, but of the same figure and the same metal and alloy, brazen, as those which fell from the dying warriors of Carthage at Cannæ. Golden crowns and collars were found in like manner, of similar manufacture, and of the same alloy with those of Africa and the East, and by no means corresponding with those of any neighboring people. The written records of a people may be given in tatters to the raging winds of every point of the compass, but monuments will still remain.

Rome never gave her deities to Ireland; but whilst that proud people dictated to a subject world, Ireland preserved even her idolatry unchanged. Her deities were of eastern origin, and her rites of worship were of Asiatic institution; not those of the Bramin, but those of the Phœnician. Baal was her chief deity, and he was worshipped with fire. We need not the sacred volume for the Asiatic facts and customs, they are too plain to be questioned. And which of us could not testify to the fires of May-eve in the island of our nativity? The custom still continues, though Christianity has purified the observance by stripping it of the criminality of the object. So interwoven with the fibres of his heart are the usages of his fathers to a child of Erin, that they are to be eradicated only with a dreadful pang, after it has been found absolutely necessary. Our earliest writers inform us that the fires of Baal, whose worship was always known amongst the Milesian settlers, were lighted with great solemnity on that day which now corresponds to May-eve. We have ourselves seen the fires, and passed through them with the sportive thoughtfulness of youth, to avoid some undefinable evil which we dreaded from spirits. We know that the month of May is still called, in the language which some of us have lisped in our childhood, *Beal thinne*, or the fire of Baal. How many other facts which our historians testify, which our eyes and our ears have known, are totally inexplicable without the mythology of Phœnicia? They crowd upon my mind; but I must not detain you.

Amongst the scraps of our history which remain, is the list of the monarchs; the mode of his death, the name of his successor, the length of his reign, are generally appended to each; and the period of time which this would occupy fills up about that space which brings us, counting back from the era of St. Patrick, to those times which witnessed the early dawn of civilization in Greece. Egypt is older than we are; yet, though we acknowledge her civilization, the progress of her arts, the extension of her commerce, we have little of the history of her monarchs, save the repetition of the name of Pharaoh.

From Phœnicia Egypt received her literature; from Phœnicia and from Egypt Greece drew hers. Our forefathers date the epoch of their migration from the East about the time when Cadmus brought letters into Crete. Egypt had her hieroglyphics, but they were not exported. The Grecian character is principally Phœnician.

When were those records of Irish monarchs produced? The first Christian missionaries found them in the country, and the voice of the country attested their having been always known as authentic public documents; and the princes or chiefs then in existence traced their pedigree back upon the list, and the title, by which they held their place and their possessions, was the accuracy of the register, which was kept under the eye of the nation.

The wandering tribe, or the lawless horde, may for the moment be placed under the guidance or the domination of some chief, whose prowess or barbarity might have led to his election or to his usurpation; but his authority expires at the utmost with himself, and his successor, if a successor he have, cares little to preserve the record of the man who swayed before him. But where civilization has introduced law, where society is regulated upon principles, and the governor is not to be elevated or depressed as caprice may dictate, the record will be kept, and the principle will be maintained, with at least some semblance of regularity; and its existence will be at once the evidence of time and the evidence of civilization.

The Irish had a written language, in which those records were kept; that language, however imperfectly preserved, exists still, and those characters are used to-day. We have been told, they are of Celtic origin; that they are the characters of the North of Europe; that they are Runic; that they were common to the Irish bard and to the Norwegian scald; that they are the same which England knew as her Saxon letter. The fact is not so. Make the comparison, and you will perceive a much stronger affinity between the Irish character and that of the early Greek. Without entering into the critical disquisition as to the gradual variations in Greece, before her letter and her language assumed their stable forms,—I do not hesitate to assert, that, with the exception of the letter corresponding to g, the similitude of our letter and the early single letters of the Cretans is most striking. Yet I do not deny a strong resemblance between even the Saxon and the Irish; but it is easily explained by facts which are obvious.

Phœnicia was the mother of letters; thence the Greek principally derived his; thence, at the same period, our progenitors brought theirs; thence, too, northward, towards the Tanais, and the Scythian hills and plains, men took their characters. Centuries elapsed, ere the hardy hunter of northern Asia directed his course to the west. Siberia, still shrouded in her untrodden snow, accumulated the frosts of ages. Nor Russ, nor Muscovite, as yet was known. Along the Don, the Volga, and the Ister, guided also by the setting sun, after other centuries had rolled away, the Asiatic swarms traversed a pathless forest and a mighty waste, and found themselves, some in Scandinavia, and some still farther south, where their descendants, under the name of Saxons, proudly held their sway. Their gods were not the gods of Erin; of Baal and his associates they had no knowledge; their fathers had substituted others in their stead. Ireland knew nothing of their Woden, of their Thor, nor of their Freya. Nor was their language the same; though the names had been changed, the letters, in which those names were written,

preserved a great affinity, for they were brought from the same school.

The similitude of the Irish to the early Grecian letter, together with the space of time occupied by the reigns of their monarchs, and the allowance for that time which was spent in the intermediate colonies, will coincide admirably with the account of our historians, that their progenitors were companions of the early Greeks, and that our country was settled by them about the era of the dawn of science upon Greece; and that our progenitors, having been descended from a people then highly civilized, and having brought with them letters, formed a regulated and civilized establishment immediately.

Ireland could not have procured the Saxon nor the Celtic nor the Runic characters before those characters were known. They were not known in Europe until after the period of Christianity. Ireland, upon her receiving this religion, had books written in her own character during ages, which books the first missionaries saw, and many of which regarding her mythology they destroyed; and when she received Roman literature, a curious circumstance, singular, too, I believe, presents itself to our view; her predilection for her own letters was such, that she wrote the Latin language in the Irish character. The individual, who has the honor of addressing you, speaks from what he has seen and known.

Our country had her law, the Brehon code and the customs of Tanistre. It has been said, that they who lived under those laws must have been barbarians, because the punishment of death was not enacted against the offender; his fine was in proportion to his offence; perhaps the laws of Draco, or of Great Britain, would have better suited the disposition of the objector; but it is a novelty at least worthy of notice, to find that a tenderness for human life is now the characteristic of a barbarous people. Greece had her Solon and her Lycurgus, Rome had her Numa, long before the epoch of Christianity; why shall Ireland be robbed of the legal beauty with which she was decorated by her Loghaire, by her

Ollamh Fodhla, and so many others, at as early a period as that of either the Greek or the Roman? Are we also to be sneered at, because upon glaring evidence we believe that, besides the regular meetings of the provinces, under the several princes, for the regulation of their local concerns, the triennial Parliament or Congress of the whole at Tara, held under the monarch of the island, was the great legislature of the nation? Are then the records all fictions? Are their statements facts? If they be facts, are they not evidence of civilization? Do you find even a claim to similar documents, a notion of similar institutions, amongst the uncivilized children of nature? Do you find learning held in estimation? Do you find laws recorded? Do you find a regularly constructed and a written language amongst barbarians?

I am no advocate for chivalry; but the existence of an order of knighthood is at least a proof of some progress in civilization. To omit many others which are equally well known, the existence from a very early period of the knights of the Red Branch in Ulster, cannot be called into question. The annals of their order, the history of their exploits, the names of their heroes, the time, the place, the other circumstances, cannot all be baseless fabrics of the fancy, especially when we find history furnishing the facts with which those details are connected. The fable of Greece is the decoration of a fact. The magical metamorphosis of the Roman poet is but the sport of a fine fancy with a true substance. But in the accounts to which I allude facts are stated without decorations; persons are introduced who are known to have existed; and all the occurrences are such as require neither the power of the magician nor the performance of a miracle.

Nor shall I here enter upon a disquisition to ascertain, whether at the decline of the order of the *Ruddaire na craobh ruadh*, the members of that body established the Saxon association, which was the nucleus of the German Ritters, and one of the earliest exhibitions of chivalry upon the continent of Europe.

But there is one species of testimony peculiar to our

nation. Greece raised tumults upon the first preaching of the Christian doctrine; Rome persecuted the Apostles; Judea was necessarily inimical to the annihilation of her own power, and resented the imputation of having slain the Son of God: these nations were civilized. Rome and Judea persecuted; Greece was little more than tumultuous. The pride and corruption of Rome led to her criminality; the obstinacy, with which Judea continued under her mistake, caused her persecution. But amongst the barbarous nations to whom the founders of our religion preached the faith, they had generally to pay their lives as the forfeit of their zeal. In their stubborn soil the seed of the word was to be watered by the tears of the sower, and the germ was to be nurtured with his blood, ere the plant could flourish. All the histories of nations that have embraced our doctrines, testify to the fact upon which I found my assertion. Ireland, however, furnishes a solitary and splendid exception. The Roman proconsuls and prætors executed the orders of a Nero and of a Domitian, in Greece as well as in other parts of the world. India and Ethiopia, Bactria and Persia, were not behind the officers of the mighty fourth monarchy in their hatred to the name of Jesus and to the emblem of His cross. But in Ireland the soil was already prepared; the island of shamrocks bloomed in the verdure of cultivation; the venom of irreligious persecution was not found in her fields. Neither the pride of the cruel despot, nor the frenzy of the barbarian, was the characteristic of her king or of her people. And though our country had the twinkling of science to adorn her firmament, yet, like the other nations, she sat in darkness and in the shadow of death; but her mild mythology, as far as we can discover, caught some rays from the sun of justice, which it imperfectly and weakly reflected upon her children. The day-star beamed upon them, and with expectation their eyes were turned to the reddening east; perhaps the mists of their ocean served to reflect and to mellow the glories of the rising sun, and having been long accustomed to a little light, they were better prepared to endure and to examine

that brilliant orb which now mounted above their horizon in the effulgent majesty of truth.

Whatever might have been the cause, the fact is indisputable—Ireland did not slay her apostles; and when she was placed under the dominion of the Briton, her children were reproached with the imperfection of their calendar; they were accused of being an irreligious people, because no national martyrs were found amongst their saints. Oh, how prophetic was the answer! "That deficiency will soon be supplied, as the Pope has favored us with such excellent teachers."

New scenes now begin to present themselves. We come to the era of St. Patrick. I cannot say with precision what was the place of his birth. He is claimed as a child of Scotland; he is also claimed by Gaul. We cannot decide where we do not find sufficient evidence. His father's name was Calphurnius: from this it is probable he was of noble Roman extraction, for the wife of Julius Cæsar was of this family. His mother's name was Conchessa; she was niece to the celebrated St. Martin, the Bishop of Tours. This would render it likely that the claim of France is not unfounded; but the parents might have settled in North Britain. Their son Maun was born towards the close of the fourth century. At an early period of youth he was taken into Ireland as a captive, and was employed upon the mountains in charge of cattle. After a few years of heavy servitude, he regained his liberty; but was, soon afterwards, reduced to his former situation. In his wretched durance, he learned much patience, and found the mode of subjugating his passions. He was again released, and travelled into Gaul. Here he was for a considerable time a disciple of his relative, the Bishop of Tours; and he also imbibed much knowledge and piety at Auxerre, from the good and distinguished prelate of that see. After having embraced the ecclesiastical state, he travelled into Italy, and at length, in the year 432, he received episcopal consecration; was admitted into the patrician order, and appointed by Pope

Celestine, who then filled the apostolic chair, to the charge of that island in which he had been formerly a captive, and for whose spiritual welfare he felt an ardent zeal, and was anxious to devote himself to a life of toil and sufferings. Henceforth, he is known only by the name of Patrick.

Previous to his arrival, Christianity had made some little progress in the island. We have the accounts of St. Ailbe, founder of the see of Emly, which is now united to the archiepiscopal see of Cashel; of St. Ivar in the west, somewhere in the province of Connaught; of St. Declan, in the country of the Decies, in the vicinity of Waterford; and of St. Kieran, who founded the see of Ossory, in that place which was afterwards called and is still known as Kilkenny.

But upon the arrival of Patrick, a new impulse was given to the missionary force, and the true religion began widely to diffuse itself. Much opposition, of course, was made by many to the labors of the apostle; but he, well knowing that his doctrines were such as could bear to have their foundations closely examined, desired at once to lay them before the assembled wisdom, and judgment, and learning of the nation. He went to the Congress at Tara, and there openly preached a crucified God. The Druids and principal abettors of the Irish mythology disputed with him; but he was chiefly thwarted by the machinations, and intrigues, and open resistance of Niall, the son of the monarch, whose influence was very extensive. So that the apostle did not, at this time, reap all the fruit upon which he had calculated. Yet were many persons brought to a deep sense of the folly of idolatry, and the necessity of serving God, who is a Spirit, in spirit and in truth.

The only positive infliction, of which we have an account, is of one subsequent to this—an imprisonment of the saint and his companions in irons, during about fourteen days. Being released from durance, he went southwards, and converted the King of Munster and his family; then going up towards the northwest, he brought over the King of Connaught and his sons to the profession of the faith, and

carried on the mission in Ulster with extraordinary success. In a short time churches rose upon the ruins of idols. Monasteries of men and women were everywhere founded, and the religion of Christ in a few years predominated throughout the island. We have no record of so sudden, so perfect, so general a conversion of any other nation. The apostle of Ireland sees his flock now too large for his superintendence, and new bishopries are created. His name is now held in esteem, and in that same assembly at Tara, where on a former occasion he was disappointed, he is covered with honors; he is admitted to his seat, he is ranked amongst their most learned men, and made one of the judges to preserve the purity of their historical records. The place formerly held by the teachers of idolatry is given to the apostle of the Lamb. Ireland adds the gem of Roman literature to the treasures which she had long possessed, and her clergy and her laity are emulous of each other in making progress in the new field of learning to which they have been introduced. Her ancient music resounds in the temple of the living God, and her virgins lift the melody of their voices to celebrate, in grateful notes, the triumph of redemption. O, land of my fathers! how beauteous were your hills, how lovely were your valleys, how pure were your streams, in that day before the eye of heaven! The hand of the spoiler did not desolate your fields; the foot of the stranger was not upon the necks of your children; the sword of the persecutor did not stain your temples with blood; the torch of the incendiary did not consume the retreats of devotion; the ruthless bigot had not as yet armed your sons for their mutual destruction; but the conviction of the understanding formed the basis of piety, and perfect charity exhibited the form of undefiled religion. The children of Ireland were in that day known to be disciples of our Lord Jesus, because they loved one another. The days of Patrick were prolonged, until, from his metropolitan eminence of Armagh, he beheld the land flourish in beauty, lovely in peace and decorated with virtue. About the year 496. he closed his

eyes upon this mortal scene, in which he had been so eminently useful, and was buried at Down. "O, let my soul die the death of the just, and let my last end be like unto theirs."

Ireland was destined ere long to be useful to the rest of Europe. Sarmatia soon began to pour her thousands upon the South. Roman degeneracy had permitted Roman freedom to be lost. But the polish of the Augustan age was still upon society. Barbarism, it is true, had in some instances defaced it. It was still fashionable to be learned; and though the play of the punster had been substituted for the graces of the scholar; and the tinsel of alliteration glared where wit had flashed and fancy sparkled; still, it was an age of knowledge, and the edge of the horizon glowed and the rich, full, mellow clouds retained much lustre, and exhibited brilliant tints as they caught and refracted the rays of departing luminaries. The fifth century of the Christian era was, in learning, like a fine evening within the tropics; the short interval which is given to enjoy a glorious view between a bright day of burning calm and a night of thunder.

Vandalic rage and Pannonian fury ravaged and desolated the West and the centre. Very quickly the Saracen swept the East, and Moslem infatuation tore from Africa what the Goth had spared. Shrouded in her thick mantle, murky Ignorance seemed to brood in stupid satisfaction over the widespread waste; and, save where the sacred monastery had collected within its massy walls the wrecks of ancient genius, her empire was generally established.

Ireland had been spared from this general deluge, and there, as in another ark, were preserved the means of re-establishing the civilized race of man. Our country had then acquired the title of *Insula Sanctorum*, from the piety of its people, and *Insula Doctorum*, from the learning of its sons. In the next age, then, we find her missionaries go forth to occupy prominent places in those regions which had been even before her in the faith. Italy places them in her sees, Switzerland acknowledges them as her apostles, Gaul

testifies their labors, the Low Countries are the great scenes of their successful exertions, many German churches acknowledge Irishmen to be their founders, and, in conjunction with Britain, Ireland labors to enlighten Denmark, Sweden, and Norway; and Britain herself owes to Ireland much of her erudition, much of her sanctity.

The venerable Bede testifies what we find recorded in our own histories; but as it is fashionable to disbelieve all that has been written of Ireland, except by a calumniator of the people, I quote nothing upon the authority of any but strangers or enemies. Amongst them the testimony is uniform and uncontradicted, that in Ireland during those ages the schools were in the perfection of vigor and the highest credit; that strangers from all parts of Europe flocked to them for information. So usual was this occurrence, that when a man of literary note was discovered to have been absent, it was immediately concluded, as a matter of course, that he was gone to Ireland. Nor was this strange; for we are told that, not only were the lectures given gratuitously by the professors, but books were furnished, and sometimes even food and raiment provided, for the foreign youth who crowded to the asylum which our fathers opened for the genius of Europe.

Amongst others, the British youth were by no means backward in availing themselves of the advantages thus placed within their reach. This is testified by their own historians. Armagh was one of the chief of those schools, and we can well credit the statement, that it contained at one time seven thousand students.

When the Britons had been subdued by the Saxons, and the Saxons assailed by the Danes, and the Danes again expelled by the Saxons, the state of learning and civilization in England was low indeed. During a long period of this time the island of our progenitors was still undisturbed, and the continent of Europe was laboring in the revival of letters. Our countrymen had founded the University of Paris, and were teaching in many of the principal schools of the continent.

Amongst others of the principal English who were educated in Ireland was Alfred, the father of English liberty. In our schools he was trained to letters; in Rome and in Ireland he imbibed his principles in legislation, and we may therefore fairly claim our share in the spirit of the British Constitution, which, though much injured, still is a fine remnant of what once was good; a system, the general principles of which are excellent, but the administration of which is corrupt; and from which was taken that theory upon which the American mind has so successfully employed itself, as to have developed its benefits, lopped off its excrescences, and exhibited, in a degree of comparative perfection, a system whose origin we are proud to trace to spots with which our apostle was so intimately connected.

Ireland, during those ages, not only preserved the religion and learning of her own children, but also from her stock communicated much to what then became the civilized world.

Our country was not, however, destined to continue in that eminent station which she had so long held. Her shores had never been subject to the Roman. But another nation, apparently more despicable, but really more formidable, began to issue from the Baltic. Normans occupied the coast of France. Danes drove the Saxons from their settlements in England. Their objects at first were only plunder and devastation; they next took up positions on the coast, and then aimed at possessing the dominion of the country. The head of the venomous destroyer was frequently lopped off; but the fens of Lerna never nurtured a more multiplying antagonist than the defeated and yet conquering barbarian of the North. He sat down in France, he occupied England, he assailed Ireland. Often repulsed, he yet returned, and at length had considerable possessions and extensive sway in our country. Our national monarchs, however, continued to rule. It is not my province to dwell upon their deeds of arms, nor is it in my power, without unreasonably encroaching upon your time, to allude even to those facts which shine so brightly emblazoned upon our scroll of history. I shall touch

for a moment, however, upon two, which are the first that catch my eye.

Successful in more than fifty pitched battles against the destroyers of his country, the enemies of his religion, the giants of rapine, of lust, and of cruelty, see the aged king of Ireland heading his troops on the memorable plains of Clontarf. With their collected forces, urged to obstinacy by despair, and wrathful in the fury of their pride and the disappointment of their ambition, the Scandinavian chiefs prepare their lines for the encounter. Sitric closes his ranks, inspires hope, points out rewards, promises possessions, exhorts to revenge, shows the plume of the victor's glory within the grasp of his troops, lifts his banner, sounds his trumpet, and shouts defiance.

The Momonian kerns steadily advance — the Connaught galloglasses briskly charge the invaders; it is indeed a day of blood and of carnage; but the pride of the Dane has been smitten; and though patriotism and virtue must rejoice at the issue, still they will permit humanity to weep over the bloody field.

It was on Good Friday—the anniversary of the Christian atonement. The venerable Brian Borhoime thus addressed the heir of his crown: "My son, I leave victory in your hands. Secure the independence of your country, and preserve its honor. But, whilst flushed with success, do not permit unnecessary destruction; save the vanquished, and restrain the spirit of revenge. A God of mercy has been our protector. He who bled on Calvary has shed the lustre of glory on our harp. Frequently have His mercies been extended to us since the blessed Patrick first published His name in Tara; but never, my son, has He been more bountiful than on this occasion, on the anniversary of that day when, by His own blood, He took away sin from His people, He has enabled us to wash away pollution from our shores with the blood of the oppressors of our country. I go, my son, in the name of my people, to return thanks for His benefits. I go alone and unarmed, to the foot of that

cross which I have erected in my tent, there to pour out my soul in gratitude, and to discharge those great duties of religion which the solemnity of the day requires, and which the calculating but mistaken enemy of our religion compelled us to defer. To you, my son, I leave my army, my blessing, and my instruction to remember mercy in the day of triumph; remember the glories of our forefathers, remember the injunctions of our God."

Whilst we venerate the union of martial prowess and Christian devotion in the monarch of Munster, shall we be accused of introducing fiction instead of history, when we weep over the immolation of the grayheaded warrior, at the foot of that same cross, by three fugitive assassins of the vanquished host? And though they fell under the swords of his family, who arrived in sufficient time for their punishment, though not for his safety, shall we be sneered at, if, after the lapse of eight centuries, our tear of sorrow testifies our lasting affection, and our prayer for his rest be sent up to our great Redeemer, as a supplement to the chanting of the Requiem upon the plains of Kilmainham and in the Abbey of Swords?

Whilst the self-devotion of a Curtius occupies the thoughts and claims the admiration of the reader of Roman history, shall the heroes of Ireland be forgotten? Much indeed which sober reflection would censure, and the dispassionate judge must condemn, will be permitted to him who warmly feels, and is forced by circumstances to decide and to act under the influence of enthusiasm. Yet how irrational and unmeaning is the act of Curtius, when compared with the conduct of *Failve Loingseach*, the commander of the Irish fleet, who opposed the Danish navy? Long, and bloody, and obstinate was the fight, and doubtful was the issue, when the tug of war appeared ready to snap the strength of either force. Failve saw, and remarked to those who surrounded him, that almost the entire valor, and energy, and perseverance of his opponents was owing to the judicious bravery of their commander, and that, if he were removed, the Irish navy would

have an easy triumph. In an instant the leading vessels are side by side; grasping his opponent in his arms, the Irish chieftain leaps into the ocean, and like the encounter of the finny monarchs of the deep was the combat of the champions, till, clasped in the embraces of each other and of death, they sunk for ever; and the strings of the harp gave the note of lamentation upon the breeze which flouted the green flag in the imperfect triumph of its joyless victory. But why should I dwell upon these themes? It is true that

> "The sun has grown old, since Clontarf's bloody wave,
> Saw them sleep the sweet sleep of the patriot brave."

It is true, that nations, which were not then even in embryo, now rise and rule the destinies of the world. But we do not like to be cheated out of our recollections. It is true, that tongues, which then were the rough and discordant combination of dissonant jargons, have since been made smooth by use; but still we love the sound of our fathers' voices, even though that sound should be, as it is, but the imperfect, imitative echo which can be gathered from the ruins of the tomb, and which issues from mouths that have been filled with the dust of ages. These, it is true, are but delusive comforts; but how many of our comforts are delusions! And if the delusion be innocent, why shall we have our eyes opened to a painful, to a remediless reality?

Yes, the days of Ireland's glory have passed away, the epoch of her misery commences. The barbarians, who had been thus expelled, had plucked away the foundations of national prosperity; they had been driven from the land, but not before they had crushed religion, destroyed morality, and torn asunder the bonds of union which held the monarchs together. After fever had raged and the crisis had taken place, life still continued, health was established, but the constitution was dreadfully reduced. The restoration of Church government was commenced and considerable progress was making under St. Laurence O'Toole in Dublin and St. Malachy in Armagh; but the profligacy against the Prince

of Brefliny led to disunion, and a handful of English adventurers aiding the disaffected and recreant convict, in the jealousy of the people, and the quarrels of the princes, that edifice of national prosperity which the Danes had undermined, fell amidst the struggles of its inmates and the trifling assault of a few strangers.

Oh, let it be to you a lesson of caution. May the sad fate of my country create in you vigilance to detect, and firmness to restrain, those ambitious and immoral individuals who would divide a people, that they may build up their own fortunes with the fragments of national union.

I do not wish, my friends, to excite in you, nor to revive in myself, those feelings of pain and indignation which the subsequent history of Ireland is but too well calculated to create. The Danes commenced the destruction of its records and the system of its disorganization. Other more successful and more persevering enemies were now their successors. It was asked by a poet subsequently to this epoch, *Cur lyra percussa, funestas edidit sonores?* And it was well answered, that the sound of the national music should be that of mournful melody, because, in the day of her disaster, her liberties were cloven down, her children were devoted to slavery, she was seated in the dust, her glory was tarnished, her face bedewed with tears, the testimonies of her greatness were torn away and destroyed, she was sprinkled with obloquy, even sucklings were brought to laugh at her woe and to mock at her affliction. A proud neighbor, who had plundered her of her jewels, flung the garb of folly on her shoulders and pointed her out to the derision of the world. How could her harp be tuned to mirth and revelry? Well might her children answer as did God's chosen people of old: "Upon the rivers of Babylon, there we sat and we wept, when we remembered Sion. Upon the willows in the midst thereof we hung up our harps; because there they who led us captive asked us for the words of our songs, and they who led us away said, Sing to us a hymn of the canticles of Sion. How shall we sing the song of the Lord

in a strange land? If I forget thee, O Jerusalem, may my right hand be forgotten: may my tongue cleave to my jaws if I do not remember thee—if I do not place Jerusalem as the beginning of my joy." Yes, my friends, human nature is the same in every age and throughout the world. The Israelite in Babylon, and the Irishman in his own land of streams, equally felt the hand of the oppressor. I shall not continue. But, how could the music of my country not be mournful melody?

I shall not dwell upon the misrepresentations of hired traducers which have been substituted for our history. I shall not remind you of the horrible falsehoods which have been deliberately given to the world by the enemies of our fathers. I shall not tell of the legalized plunder, of the persecution of centuries, by which it was sought to change the religion of a nation, and by which the rights of conscience were destroyed by those who proclaimed themselves to the world as the only supporters of those rights. We, my friends, differ very much in our religious doctrines, yet we live in the harmony of affection, each respecting the rights of his friend, and claiming for himself what he concedes to his brother. We can weep over the crimes of those who have ruined our country, and we can learn wisdom from the exhibition of their havoc, and better appreciate the blessings of which we are here made partakers.

To one fact only will I briefly advert, and it stands unparalleled, as far as I can perceive, in the records of of public perfidy. Who does not anticipate the recital of the breach of faith by William and Mary? After many struggles in our unfortunate country, when all the prospects for the hunted Catholics of Ireland were confined to whatever opening the force of their army could make, and when that army, after some of the vicissitudes of war, bravely defended the citadel of Limerick, and when the prudent Ginkle saw that the issue was not so certain as the sanguine advocates of his party had promised, he agreed upon terms of capitulation, which were confirmed by the

person then called to fill the British throne, and by his queen. By this agreement the Catholic garrisons were delivered up, the army was disbanded, and William was acknowledged as their lawful king, but he in return was to leave them unmolested upon the score of religion, and to confirm in the possession of their estates those who had not been previously plundered on account of their faith, under the pretext of rebellion.

A generous people, under the impression that the royal word was sacred and the national guarantee of a public treaty was inviolable, gave up their posts, laid down their arms, and prepared to worship God, and to cultivate their lands; when a British parliament pretended that the king had exceeded his powers, and persecuted and worried the defenceless and betrayed people who mistook its character; and yet this parliament modestly charged its deluded victims with holding as a principle that *no faith was to be kept with heretics!* Dark and more dark are the tints in which the times must be painted. Let us not too closely view the picture. Oh, well do I recollect the relations of my aged countrymen, when, seated on their knees, I listened to the tales of their sufferings, and the reality of the evils which they endured from the men who claimed pre-eminence in civilized society, exceeded the descriptions of romance. The highly colored tints of the poet, who writes to make his readers weep, are light and vapid when contrasted with the glowing streaks of oppression which may be traced on the humbled children of Ireland. How often have I wept at the escapes and the endurance of my grandsires! Their lot was humble, because they professed the religion of their progenitors. Never, never whilst memory holds her seat shall I forget the story of the woes of my father, which with tears he related to me to prove my comparative happiness; for he narrowly escaped the fate of a felon, because, without changing his religion, he dared to explore the vestibule of science;[1] and yet the people of Ireland

[1] *Vide* MEMOIR.

are accused of being ignorant! Oh, my friends, what is that policy which barbarizes, and then reproaches you with barbarism? It is true that, in comparison with my progenitors of a few centuries, my trials have been nothing.—But, thank God, I at length breathe the air of a freeman, and no one reproaches me with the causes of my glory—that I am sprung from a country which was civilized before others were discovered; that my religion is coeval with Christianity, coextensive with civilization.

How many of her sons did this desolate mother send out to signalize themselves upon the continent of Europe during this lengthened persecution. How much literature did she preserve in her bogs, on her mountains, and in her morasses, notwithstanding the laws which were enacted against learning, unless at the sacrifice of the creed of her people. Thus was she glorious even in the day of her dejection.

But a moment is found for the mind to rest without torture in the examination. Let us, however, keep to our object, and before we come to that moment, let us draw the conclusions, and establish our moral. *O, ter quaterque beati*, may we pronounce the sons of America—not for having fallen under their walls without having witnessed the ruin of their country—but for enjoying all the blessings of freedom without having tasted the bitterness of slavery, and without having experienced the afflictions of persecution. *O, nimium felices si sua bona norint.* They do not value the mighty benefits, the want of which they have never experienced. Let them see an island rich in soil and blooming in culture, yet a prey to every species of tyranny and despotism, filled with crime and a charnel-house from the executioner; these are the lamentable consequences of sectional and sectarian broils; the force of her people is broken, their energies are paralyzed, and they are the prey of a despicable oligarchy, because they permit themselves to be foolishly excited and wickedly played off against each other. Oh, tell it to your children and to your children's children, and let them transmit the moral to your latest

descendants. My country has been ruined because her people were parcelled into parties, and the parties were like the offspring of the dragon's teeth, armed for mutual destruction. The balmy air of charity surrounds and invigorates us here. Oh, may it never be tainted!

But this folly could not last forever, and the human mind, left to itself, would soon trace the causes, and the human heart, unbiassed, would yearn for their removal. The progress of nature must be the same in Ireland as elsewhere, and men of understanding and of honesty saw the causes and were anxious to remove them. The Presbyterians of the North, in the latter part of the last century, cherished in their bosoms the flame of patriotism and the glow of humanity. Ulster nobly showed that Ireland, uninfluenced by external causes, would still rise to her proper place, and never did a more cheering light break in upon a benighted people than that which those brave men then created. Many distinguished members of the Established Church also, as far as the private exertions of individuals could redeem the character of a body, did try to aid their afflicted Catholic countrymen, and thus rescue themselves from that obloquy which the conduct of the united Church and State had flung upon the British nation.

A host of intellect was marshalled under the banner of national feeling. Never till then was such a galaxy of genius exhibited in so small a portion of the firmament. Never before did so many brilliant stars glow so conspicuously distinguishable amidst such a flood of light. The place of a standing army was supplied by the patriotic volunteers of Ireland. Dungannon seemed to be the fountain whence salutary and refreshing streams of pure principle were to flow through the land and to give health to the nation. The mighty mass began to move, and that which had become putrescent from stagnation was becoming purified as it was agitated; the impulse was communicated to the very citadel of corruption, and even what was called the Irish parliament was forced for once to speak the voice of the Irish

nation. It was too soon, however, to detect the falsehoods which had so long been circulated as history; there was neither time nor inclination as yet to examine into the calumnies which had been sedulously propagated against the creed and the principles of the Roman Catholics; but though they were by many good but deceived men thought to be unfit for liberty and undeserving of kindness, still, even common humanity shrunk back from the glimpse of their degradation and afflictions, and men who had during the greater portion of two centuries been treated with the most unparalleled barbarity, were almost goaded into barbarism. No wonder that the good men who were inclined to acts of kindness should almost believe the fictitious atrocities of former times to have been facts, when they met with suspicion and reserve where they sought for confidence that they might be beneficent; when they observed that the hand which they unbound sometimes grasped a weapon of defence. Nor can it be to us a matter of surprise that a being who has been frequently deceived to his serious injury by persons of a particular class, should be cautious of confiding in any individual of that body, how pure soever may be his motive for seeking reliance, and how beneficent soever may be his intention, and however fair may be the appearances. Neither can we be astonished that he, who has been sorely distressed, and is still under mitigated persecution, should sometimes seek to retaliate even upon a man who, though less cruel than his predecessor, is yet unjust. Thus, the very natural conduct of men, who had been almost brutalized by oppression, too often leads the unreflecting to believe that they must have been originally barbarians. And he who would justify the oppression will very naturally seize upon so plausible a pretext for its justification, and will forge testimony to prove the pretended necessity of the original crime. The mind is carried away in the vortex of some passion, in the midst of those scenes. It is next to impossible but to belong to a party. But here you are fitted for calm and rational investigation. Here is to be found an

inquiring mind, a patience of research, a solicitude for knowledge; and, although hitherto America has been generally deceived in its taking the history of our country from the writings of its enemies, still I cherish the hope, and I feel pleased in the anticipation, that the people of this Union will be the first to do justice to the land of my fathers; for there certainly does exist, if I be not greatly deceived, a strong sympathy between the land of my birth and the land of my adoption, and never was mind better fitted for dispassionate research after truth, than that which I meet with every day.

But to leave this digression. In 1782 Ireland almost became a nation. There, unfortunately, the interest of the people was not that of the government, and we observe the consequence. The volunteers are separated; some of the leading talent is purchased. A new scene, however, comes under our observation. The Synod of Ulster is pure; never in a body was there found more true patriotism than in the body of the Presbyterian clergy of Ireland of that day. Possessing the confidence of their flocks, and standing aloof from the Castle of Dublin and its contaminating influence, they were feared and respected; they loved the country, they took pity upon the oppressed Catholic, they were joined by many of the best, and bravest, and most virtuous lay-members of the Established Church, they gave the right hand of fellowship to the Catholic, and they formed a brotherhood of Irishmen of all religious persuasions. These United Irishmen intended to have done their country service. The Hon. Robert Stuart, subsequently better known as Lord Castlereagh, was their first chairman. This holy alliance should be broken up, or the people of Ireland must be no longer oppressed. Their objects were simple, and substantial, and just, and constitutional — to obtain a fair representation of the people in the House of Commons, and to put an end to persecution on the score of religion. The attainment of these objects would have healed the evils of the country, but would not have suited the views of the

oligarchy which had long been the bane of the kingdom. The Presbyterians were told that, as being Protestants, they should receive some aid towards the support of their clergy, and the *regium donum* by which the ministers were made dependent upon the bounty of the crown instead of the benevolence of the people, broke down their fine spirit of patriotic independence, and made them an appendage of the British throne—a body that must be obsequious to the executive, or be in indigence. The Catholic aristocracy, consisting of some peers and baronets, and a few of the old proprietors, who almost miraculously had preserved, through a thousand perils, some remnants of their estates, were easily brought over, the principal bishops were cajoled, and flattered, and deceived, and the elective franchise and a few other benefits were conferred upon the Catholics, and the torch of religious discussion was lit up amongst the people that they might be divided and governed; and the same Lord Castlereagh was, on the part of the government, the man who principally regulated this destruction. Thus, again, by sectarian hatred were the hopes of the nation destroyed. I confine myself to this moral. This is enough. Here we have religious differences; but here we freely discuss religious topics in language respectful to the feelings of each other; here each follows the conviction of his own mind, and is accountable only at the tribunal of that God who will judge us all, and to whom only we stand or fall, and He alone can clearly decide who is obstinately or carelessly wrong, and who is innocently and invincibly ignorant of His truth, and His justice requires the condemnation of the former, but His mercy protects the latter. Whilst we sedulously inquire, and freely discuss, we must leave to Him His exclusive prerogative, that of deciding upon the merit and the fate of individuals. He who, positively certain of his adhesion to truth, would call down fire from heaven upon unbelieving cities or obstinate individuals, knows not by what spirit he is led. It is the pride of human passion, and not the ardor of religious zeal. Persecution makes hypo-

crites; to hate a person even for infidelity is a crime against charity, and to grasp the sword to punish for unbelief is to usurp the seat of the judging Son of Man. I do not know of any other to whom that commission has been given. No person who wants charity will enter heaven, and to usurp the exclusive office of the Redeemer is not the best ground on which a claim of salvation can rest. I possess evidence of truth, but I cannot, without being able to inspect the mind of him who differs from me, possess evidence that he knows himself to be in opposition to truth. Free discussion and difference of doctrine are perfectly compatible with affection and charity. But hatred, and religious discord, and persecution have destroyed many nations and ruined many souls. Let us learn wisdom from the misfortunes of my country.

One little remnant yet is to be found of what approaches to independence. It is like the solitary column which lifts its capital in the midst of the ruins of what was once a splendid temple. You may judge of what the entire had been, by inspecting the proportions and the workmanship of this relic, and surveying the extent of the fragments by which it is surrounded. When all was perfect, the parts gave mutual support, and the edifice combined strength and beauty. Now, this unprotected piece is blown upon by every wind and must bear the brunt of every storm, and, indeed, it must have been originally well constructed to survive in its isolated grandeur. Do not blame me when I tell you, I feel proud at saying, this is the body of the Catholic clergy of Ireland.

These men have always shared the afflictions of the people in a twofold proportion. From the Archbishop of Armagh, who numbers his predecessors up to St. Patrick, to the youngest priest with whom I was associated, I speak what I know, when I assert that they were enlightened, liberal, and virtuous, and that, although they felt it to be their duty to preserve the peace of the land, and to soothe the irritation of the people, they also felt deeply for the wrongs

of their country. They withstood the insult of mockery, the superciliousness of privileged petulance, the rude ignorance of a saucy squirearchy, the allurements of those who proffered bribes, and the threats of those who were in power. Once, and once only, was the apostolic simplicity of a portion of the bishops almost overreached by the wiles of the destroyer of his country. Lord Castlereagh offered to relieve the people from the burden of supporting their clergy, and requested to know whether in return the government could obtain security that none but loyal men should be promoted to bishoprics, so that, through the superintendence of such men as might be safely relied upon, the loyalty of the whole clerical body might be confirmed. The four archbishops and six bishops, who were trustees of the college which had then been just established, were thus led to say that they considered the proposition one which was reasonable and which ought to be acceded to. Unused to the chicane of politicians, or to the duplicity of courtiers, they judged of the honesty of others by the standard of their own unsuspecting integrity, and the wily statesman, having obtained their assent to a principle of concession, suffered the whole transaction to lie as if unobserved and forgotten, until in due time, upon the pressure of the petitions of the people for their rights, a hint was given that, if this principle was carried into practice, and the king allowed a negative upon the appointment of bishops, some little new indulgence would be granted, and if a secretary of state was made the organ of communication between the bishops and the Pope, perhaps a little more might be added. The bishops, the priests, and the people, horrified at the proposal, exclaimed with one voice against the mischief which they now saw impending. The former concession of the principle was pleaded, but the good men protested that they had been deceived. Thus was the country agitated by the question of the *veto and the arrangements*, and the people again embroiled upon a question of religion, that they might be divided and oppressed.

Well do I remember the history of this contest, for though my place was insignificant, I had my post in the field, and it was on the side of the people. The clergy joined their bishops in declaring that they would subsist upon the voluntary donations of their flocks, rather than be enriched to the manifest danger of the purity of their religion, and with the jealousy of the people. The people exclaimed: "You may regulate religious concerns as you will, that is the province of the bishops; but the instant you accept a pension from the government you forfeit our confidence, for you become the slaves of the crown, spies upon your flocks. Look to Ulster; see what the *regium donum* has done. We have but a small remnant of the liberties of our country, you are as yet uncontaminated; every body which the government has come in contact of friendship with has been polluted; touch it and we separate from you. We are jealous of your virtue, we love what has been left of our freedom." This was their language; this is called *agitation*. As yet, thank God, this clergy and this people have withstood the storm. But this relic of the national fabric is daily assailed. May God protect and preserve it; for it yet shows in a pious and patriotic priesthood what Ireland might have been. May God long preserve the liberties of America from any union of any Church with any State! In any country, with any religion, it is an unnatural increase of the power of the executive against the liberties of the people.

No wonder that from a country like this the emigrant should arrive upon your shores, with his feelings sore and his passions excited and burning with recollections. He loves to remain near those spots which his fathers have inhabited during centuries, spots which are blended with the reminiscences of childhood, with the joys of his youth; those spots upon which his friends are still found. Oh! he loves his country and his friends, but he cannot endure to be scourged with scorpions by strangers who have been placed as his taskmasters; and he cannot banish all his recollections

even amidst the endearing attachments which he makes in a land of freemen.

It will then be permitted to us this day to enjoy the melancholy gratification of contemplating the former greatness of our country, and going back in spirit and affection to the land of our fathers, to the island of shamrocks, to the emerald gem of the ocean, for

'Though glory be gone, and though hope fade away,
Yet thy name, loved Erin, shall live in our songs;
Not even in the hour when this heart is most gay,
Shall it lose the remembrance of thee and thy wrongs.

The stranger shall hear us lament on his plains,
The sigh of our harp shall be sent o'er the deep,
Till thy masters themselves, as they rivet thy chains,
Shall pause at the song of their captive and weep.

THE PLEASURES OF THE SCHOLAR.[1]

It is related that St. John the Evangelist was once observed by a hunter, amusing himself with a bird. The astonishment manifested in the countenance of the observer, who remained gazing intently, was soon noticed by the apostle, and he inquired for its cause. "I am struck with amazement," replied the hunter, "to see you, who are so much esteemed for wisdom and sanctity, employed in so trivial an occupation! How unlike is your present position to that which you are generally supposed to hold?" The saint remarked that his observer's bowstring was loose, and inquired why he did not keep it tight. "Were I to do so," said the hunter, "my bow would loose its elasticity, and soon become useless." "The human mind," observed the evangelist, "is like your instrument; it would be destroyed by perpetual tension." Whatever position, then, it may be your lot to occupy in the employments of the world, you will need to apply the energies of your mind to the proper discharge of its duties. The grave study of the law, the deep reflections of medical science, the absorbing cares of political life, the intense application to business, the deep interest of your family concerns, your sympathy for friends, and a thousand other importunate demands will draw largely upon your time and upon your feelings, and will compel exertion;—but you will also feel the necessity of relaxation. So that, in fact, its regulation is one of the most important concerns of life; and the neglect of its arrangement is preg-

[1] An address delivered before the Demosthenian and Phi Kappa Societies of Franklin College, Athens, Georgia, August 5, 1840.

nant with the most dangerous consequences to youth and to manhood.

Some persons, at an early age, under pretext of relaxation, contract habits which become in after life the sources of their ruin. It is one of the misfortunes of our nature, that they who have been the victims of crime are almost necessarily thereafter its abettors, and this not merely upon the well-observed principle which spreads its influence over every age and every nation, *Solamen miseris socios habuisse doloris;* there is not only a malicious satisfaction in knowing and exhibiting that we are not without associates in our degradation and our depravity; but they who have exhausted their own springs of indulgence in dissipation, feel it necessary to have companions who yet possess a supply that will suffice for both. At a time, then, when experience has not brought caution, when passion is strong, when the desire of novelty is great, when, under the alluring names of liberty and independence, wholesome restraints are easily laid aside, and the buoyant spirit of youth loves indulgence, cunning self-interest frequently bestows the name of necessary recreation upon those pursuits which degrade and destroy, and thus seduces the generous and the inexperienced into habits which are easily formed, but which it requires time, labor, and perseverance to overcome. This is one of the most copious sources of intoxication, of licentiousness, of idleness, and of dissipation; by these the peace, the honor, the property, and the respectability of families are destroyed, and they, who might have been the ornaments of their State and the benefactors of their race, sink dishonored to an early grave, occasioning grief and drawing tears from their survivors, not so much for their departure, but because of their havoc and their disgrace.

The relaxations of uncivilized nations are for the most part characterized by their vulgarity, their cruelty, or their licentiousness; and as men are raised upon the scale of refinement, their amusements generally lose many of these marks. The cultivation of literature is one of the ordinary

and natural means of thus elevating man, and hence it has been, at an early period, well observed: *Ingenuas didicisse fideliter artes emmolit mores nec sinit esse feros.* The boisterous whoop, the rude familiarity, the dangerous jostle, the exhibition of grotesque mummery, the casting of ridicule upon our fellows, or exhibiting them in awkward predicaments in the view of others, are, to many persons of vulgar feelings, sources of infinite amusement; and they who thus delight in the annoyance of their associates are persons who would, for similar treatment in respect to themselves, seek a marked revenge.

Our feelings are not unfrequently put to unpleasant trials at even reading the description of the tortures inflicted upon their prisoners, by savage tribes, and the enjoyment which the suffering affords to the cruel executioner. Nor does history confine the recital to the deeds of such rude hordes. The arena of the amphitheatre witnessed the shouts of the delighted multitude, whilst its sand drank up the expiring gladiator's blood, or yet exposed the reeking fragments of the half-devoured bodies of Christian victims which the beasts of prey tore for the entertainment of their no less savage beholders. Surely I need not draw your attention to the excitement of beasts and even birds, and the arming them for mutual destruction, to afford the opportunity of relaxation and enjoyment, united to the indulgence of their love of gambling, to men said to be respectable. What a spectacle to behold! A man whose mind is cast in the most perfect mould, and upon whose character and conduct a lovely family has rested all its hope, to whom a vicinage looks for its weight and its respectability, forgetting his proper place, and madly risking the means of fortune and of fame for himself and for others upon the superior instinct for destruction or the fortuitous exposure or activity of a poor bird, thus unnaturally excited and thus wickedly armed! Do these cruel sports add dignity to our nature? Do they confer benefits upon society? I shall not speak of the more criminal and more destructive and degrading dissipation to

which idleness conducts, to which excess stimulates, and for which the other indulgences usually prepare. How extensive is the blight that has been produced by their united influence!

Relaxation is necessary, but it should be rational. It ought to be suited to renew our powers without destroying our morals or impairing our standing in society. And surely no one will pretend that our faculties are improved, or that our powers of mind or body are renewed, preserved or invigorated by the indulgence in pursuits which necessarily demoralize. Such habits not only relax the vigor of our mental faculties, but they undermine even the bodily powers. There is an inherent respect and love for virtue in the human mind, which even the most depraved course of vice cannot utterly destroy, and which no power of sophistry can delude. I have conversed in his dungeon with the outcast of society, and whilst he braved the scorn of the world and affected to despise its condemnation, he avowed that he could not extinguish the glimmerings of conscience nor be insensible to its reproof. And whilst in defiance of mankind he lifted himself in the bad spirit of unyielding pride even to blaspheme the God of heaven and to deny the sanctions of virtue, his heart quailed at his own misconduct, whilst he sought to make the recklessness of despair pass for the courage that accompanies the convictions of truth. Thus it is that the agonies of self-reproach consume the force of the understanding, enervate the soul, and drive the criminal from the calm pursuit of truth and the industrious collection of knowledge, to seek for protection against his inward monitor, by recurring to the distractions of external dissipation and sometimes even that he may obstruct the power of memory by plunging into stupefaction. Hence it is that all writers upon science, and especially when they treat of its applicability to the improvement of others, lay down as a maxim, that its votary should be virtuous, if he would be successful. And indeed what is thus said of science is true of every other useful occupation. The attainment of success requires

that the unbroken powers of the soul should be directed to secure it;—but this cannot be the case where they are prostrated by remorse or impaired by irregular habits. It is true, that rare instances of partial success are occasionally found as exceptions to this position. They are, however, not only exceptions, but they are, in general, fearful examples, which show us how some mighty mind, gathering the shattered forces which it still retains, may in one splendid effort achieve its object by its own destruction; just as the commander, who has prodigally wasted the lives of many of his gallant soldiers by his indiscretion, finding himself driven to his last entrenchment, determines at least to save the city which he covers, and marshalling the fragments of his once powerful host, urges them by word and by example to one noble act of devotion. The assault is desperate and the result is doubtful; until, at length, the protected city comes forth to weep over the remains of those, who, victims not only to valor, but to wanton waste, perished on the very field where they annihilated a foe which they could at an earlier period have subdued with a trifling loss, and having saved their country might have survived to receive its gratitude and to share in its prosperity.

I need not enter upon any elucidation of the well-known fact that the close union of the mind and body induces a palpable injury to the mental powers as a consequence of the derangement of the bodily functions. Witness the ravings from fever, the dejection of the dyspeptic, the languor of the consumptive, the stupor of the dissipated. Nor is it requisite that I should even advert to the notorious effects of immorality or dissipation upon the human frame.

To me it has always appeared a great mistake to imagine that the preservation of political equality required the destruction of distinctions in society. To secure the first, which is of primary importance in our republics, I conceive it to be sufficient that each individual shall be upon an equality with his fellow-citizens in the eye of the law; so that the rule by which his property, his peace, and his rights

are preserved, shall be the same which preserves them for every other; that he shall be liable to punishment only for those acts that are punishable in another, and be tried and convicted only by a similar process. Moreover, that every citizen shall be on a level in the eye of the constitution; that is, that each has only the same burdens to bear, the same duties to perform, and has, according to his qualification, an equal claim to posts of honor or of emolument as any other. In a word, that no one shall have the prerogative, that no class shall be privileged. This in my view forms the extent to which our equality should go. To attempt forcing it beyond these limits would be not only ridiculous and impracticable, but the effort would be destructive. Can you establish an equality of property? Suppose you were able to effect it to-day, how long will it continue? Will all be alike industrious? will all be equally intelligent? will all be equally successful? Will all be alike parsimonious, or lavish, or equally burdened with families, visited by sickness, swept by floods, or stricken by lightning? You cannot prevent the existence of classes of rich and poor and of comfortable. Diversified as the expressions of countenance is the variety of tastes. Will you compel them to an equality in this regard? Whilst I leave others to a perfect freedom upon this score, shall I not have a just claim to my own freedom also? And shall not they, whose taste is the same, be permitted to cultivate it without being intruded upon by others who would mar that cultivation? There are, I believe, but two restraints which should be reasonably imposed here upon individuals or associations, viz.:—1. That this gratification of taste should not be immoral, and 2, That it should not infringe upon the rights of others. The ground of these restraints is so plain that I shall not point it out. It is impossible then, that there should not exist in every community various classes whose taste is more or less refined, nor does the cultivation of refinement in our habits impair the equality of our civil and political rights. It would be indeed a cruel tyranny to compel an individual to seek for

his enjoyment only in that which, though it suits the taste of another, yet is altogether in opposition to his own. Still as a general principle it is expected that they, who move in the more refined and better informed circles of society, should conform to the usages of their associates in the very character of their relaxation, for the similarity of their education and of their early habits supposes a general similarity of taste.

Our progress through life is comparatively brief, and it is our duty, not only to ourselves, but to society, to be useful whilst we are able. The great bulk of human happiness and of human prosperity has been created by the industry of man. Our predecessors have thus been our benefactors, and the fruits of their ingenuity and exertions have been to us a most valuable legacy. It is not long since the "red man" occupied the lands which surround us—and what was his position? He inherited the regions through which he roamed; but because he had little of that stock of improvement which the "pale face" possessed, the soil was comparatively useless in his hands. And in the accumulation of that series of ingenious discoveries which produces so much benefit for us, no inconsiderable portion is the result of well-directed relaxation, in which men of mighty minds indulged as a relief from graver study. With some the cultivation of music, with some the charms of poetry, with some the studies of nature in her more choice and elegant productions, whilst others improved mechanism and aided the useful arts even for their amusement. Nor is the hour of social indulgence and good companionship always useless. It may often be profitably spent in that way which Curran described, in his apostrophe to Lord Avonmore, as usual with the "Monks of the Screw:"

"This soothing hope I draw from the dearest and tenderest recollections of my life—from the remembrance of those Attic nights and those refections of the gods, which we have spent with those admired, and respected, and beloved companions who have gone before us; over whose

ashes the most precious tears of Ireland have been shed. Yes, my good Lord, I see you do not forget them. I see their sacred forms passing in sad review before your memory. I see your pained and softened fancy recalling those happy meetings, where the innocent enjoyment of social mirth became expanded into the nobler warmth of social virtue, and the horizon of the board became enlarged into the horizon of man—where the swelling heart conceived and communicated the generous purpose;—where my slenderer and younger taper imbibed its borrowed light from the more matured and redundant fountain of yours. Yes, my Lord, we can remember those nights without any other regret than that they can never more return, for

> 'We spent them not in toys, or lust, or wine,
> But search of deep philosophy,
> Wit, eloquence and poesy,
> Arts which I loved, for they, my friend, were thine.'"
>
> —*Cowley.*

Relaxation is, then, necessary for man, but whilst he indulges in it to a proper extent, he should avoid the pernicious, degrading, and ruinous modes which too often present themselves to persons of every age, and to which inexperienced, ardent, and innocent youth is unfortunately allured by the most wily blandishments. Our recreations should be suited to the place we occupy, and made to subserve the improvement of ourselves, as well as the interests of the community.

It has frequently struck me that one of the secondary objects of a good collegiate education was to afford to men of improved minds and cultivated taste one of the best resources for the purposes alluded to; and that one of the greatest mistakes usually made by our educated men was, casting aside as useless, after their graduation, the books to whose study they had been kept for so many years. It is, indeed, in a great degree natural, that having theretofore regarded them as instruments of task-work, and that frequently of no

light description, the mind, now rejoicing in its emancipation, should view them as a liberated prisoner would the manacles from which he was relieved. This, however, is not a correct estimate. They should rather be considered as the means by whose use the mind has become greatly enriched. It was necessary in a large measure to compel the youth to industry that he might acquire mental wealth; it has been collected, and is treasured up; by a little exertion, he not only will easily preserve what has been put together, but will greatly add to its value; if, however, he remain listless and idle, even what he has already acquired will rapidly dwindle away.

I have known men, who, during protracted lives, found in the cultivation of classical literature that relaxation which improved whilst it relieved the mind. The last survivor of those who pledged their lives and fortunes, and nobly redeemed their sacred honor, in the achievement of our glorious inheritance of liberty, was a striking instance of this. When nearly fourscore years had passed away from the period of his closing the usual course of classical education,—after the perils of a revolution, after the vicissitudes of party strife, when the decay of his faculties warned him of the near approach of that hour when he should render an account of his deeds to that Judge who was to decide his fate for eternity, from his more serious occupations of prayer and self-examination, and from the important concern of managing and dividing his property, would Charles Carroll, of Carrollton, turn for refreshment to those classic authors with whom he had been familiar through life;—his soul would still feel emotion at the force of Tully's eloquence or melt at Virgil's pastoral strain.

Perhaps, the very selection in early life of this, as the best mode of mental indulgence, tended much to insure to him, not only his patriarchal age, but the calm and serene frame of mind which was also well calculated to preserve health and to promote longevity. When the young man is thus occupied, and enjoys the literary gratification, he is less

disposed to search for that society or to rush into those indulgences, which, whilst they destroy the powers of the mind, undermine the vigor of the constitution, and are the prelude to years of remorse and to a life of difficulties. This relaxation is unquestionably very rational, perfectly dignified, and would, I have no doubt, be found eminently useful by all who would adopt it.

There are many who regard classical studies merely as an exercise to become acquainted with the dead languages of Greece and Rome, so that we may be able to read the productions of their authors, and thus become acquainted with their learning. And they very naturally tell us, that, being possessed of good translations, whose accuracy is acknowledged, we can with more facility and precision, and in an incomparably less portion of time, learn all that they could teach.

This appears plausible, and would be true if its assumption were a fact. But such is not the case. The object is not to learn the languages merely for this purpose. In the first place, the object is to form the mind to habits of industry, to precision and accuracy of judgment, as well as to imbibe principles of just criticism by a discipline eminently fitted to this end. If the teacher, as in too many instances is unfortunately the case, especially in young communities, be not himself capable of appreciating the value of the course, or of usefully conducting a pupil through it, the fault lies in the incompetency of him who undertakes, not in the inutility of that which is undertaken. In learning properly a dead language, there is no room for idleness without detection, because every word should be accounted for, its derivation traced with accuracy, every inflection ought to be known, and its precise signification should be pointed out; the dependence of words upon each other must be understood, and the rules of that dependence ascertained and applied. This is the indispensable basis of sound classical knowledge; and I ask, whether it be possible to have the youthful mind occupied during years in this

process, without producing habits of industry and research? When this knowledge has been perfectly acquired, no difficulty presents itself in perusing the works of the ancients, but each day new gratification is derived from the discoveries that are constantly made in the very structure of the language itself; words are separated into their most minute portions, the original expressions are found in which men first called objects by their most simple appellations, and the composition of the word shows the combinations found in some new object, and this detection of the analogy between language and its objects leads to a most improving and delightful process of philosophy.

I am aware, however, that comparatively few persons are admitted into this field of recreation, because few persons labor to furnish themselves with the key by means of which they can enter; for, by reason of either their own or their teacher's neglect, they have not acquired that accurate notion of the original language that would relieve them from trouble in its perusal, or would enable them to follow up the discoveries to which I allude; and therefore the book is closed, abandoned, and soon forgotten.

Figure to yourselves a young man whose parents compelled him, through long years of tedious and often painful occupation, to reclaim a rich piece of ground and to cultivate it with care; see it now given to him as a possession, not only in the highest state of culture, but with an exuberant and inexhaustible depth of soil, with hands sufficient for its tillage accustomed to the performance of their task; what would your estimate be of the judgment and taste of this young proprietor, should he proclaim to his servants that they need not labor, should he take no concern in the management of his land, and should he suffer it to become waste through mere negligence? It will not remain unproductive. Should it not be cultivated, its very fertility will hasten its progress to renewed wildness; the noisome weed will spring up luxuriantly, the tangled underwood will thicken, and the rising trees will interweave their roots

below the surface more quickly than their arms will meet above. Such is the figure of the human mind, such the consequence of neglecting, by a little care, to cultivate in your leisure moments that classical knowledge which you have acquired.

The discipline, by which you have been brought to the knowledge of this ancient language fits your mind for the graver studies and the more pressing cares of your manhood, as it was itself that best calculated for your adolescence, because your curiosity was excited and gratified by the subjects that were submitted to your examination; and though you found some labor in ascending towards the temple of science, yet were you attracted by some flower that invited you forward, and were amply repaid even by the expansion of the horizon and the riches of the scenery that were spreading before you as you arose. Having once overcome the difficulties of the ascent, if you preserve your position, the labor has terminated, and the enjoyment is within your control. Thus, what was originally an arduous task becomes, by perseverance in its use, a pleasing recreation.

The proper study of the classics requires extensive acquaintance with ancient history. The writers, whose works are placed in the pupil's hand, were men of information, accurately instructed, not only in the history of their own times, but of those which preceded them. They often treat specially of the important events of those remote days, or they make direct allusions to them, to understand whose force we must become exactly informed of the facts themselves; and thus the classical student is drawn insensibly to acquire a vast fund of information in this department, in a mode which stores the mind by a far more pleasing process than that of sitting down professedly to pore over the dry recital of some ancient chronicler of events. Take, for instance, the Æneid of Virgil and contemplate the vast accumulation of historical details to which it refers. It is true that the student must labor sedulously at first, and must consult many

a dictionary and many a map; he must become acquainted with the early settlements of the little States that covered Asia Minor, that filled the Archipelago and the continent of Greece; he must learn the origin and the progress of Latium, the Tyrian migrations to the coast of Africa, and much more that you will easily recollect. But in the midst of this research, he is allured to persevere by the sweet warbling of the poet whose full meaning he desires to comprehend. It is thus that the years, which are said to be lost in the mere acquisition of an useless tongue, are employed in laying up treasures that may prove so valuable in after life. And it is thus that the mind, after having acquired this knowledge, can, without exertion, recall and preserve it as it relaxes from its laborious occupations, to enjoy the harmony of the Mantuan bard; just as when, with extraordinary labor, great research, and no inconsiderable expenditure, a fine cabinet of science has been collected from the several regions of the globe and the various kingdoms of knowledge, the exertions and the study for its arrangement are fatiguing, but it subsequently is the source for enriching the mind with intellectual wealth, easily acquired, the occasion of refreshing, for the memory, that which would have faded away, and an agreeable and entertaining retreat in the hour of necessary relaxation.

Persuaded that a principal obstacle to making the knowledge of the classics subserve the great object of polished recreation, is to be found in the imperfection of the reading, I shall illustrate, by a passage from one of the great masters of criticism the position I have taken respecting the necessity of deep study in our early life, to render those books delightful in after days:

"You, then, whose judgment the right course would steer,
Know well each ancient's proper character;
His fable, subject, scope in every page;
Religion, country, genius of his age;
Without all these at once before your eyes,
Cavil you may, but never criticise."

—*Pope.*

You will then perceive, that, not only mere history, such as I have alluded to, is required to be well known as a preliminary to understanding those authors, but history of another description, and respecting which there is much less accurate information, even amongst men of literary reputation, than is generally suspected. The mythology or history of their ancient religious systems is far more necessary to be known by him who would become acquainted with the writers of those early times, than is a knowledge of the Christian religion for the person who would know the scope and meaning of the philosophical or scientific writers of our own age and nation; because their religion entered more extensively into the writings of all classes amongst them, than does ours into the compositions of our mere secular authors. Perhaps I shall be thought at least rash for the assertion that this field is very little examined into, but I could easily sustain my position, first, because the value of mythology is greatly underrated; next, because, when a mere vague general notion of its nature is formed, it is thought to be sufficiently known; and thirdly, because many persons, through an affectation of contempt for its puerility and folly, regard its study as at least a great waste of time. I shall only say that some of the finest passages of the poets and philosophers are scarcely intelligible to those who do not trace mythological history, from the first aberrations of the human mind in the ancient nations, through all their varied forms of worshiping the host of heaven instead of its Creator; of paying the highest homage to genii, to angels, and to demons, whilst they denied it to the God who made them; of beholding the universal soul spread through the whole visible world and manifesting itself in the fire of Persia; in the waters of Egypt, entering into its oxen and its leeks; found in the rude stone of the Scythian equally as in the Bactrian torrent, the Druid's oak, or the African sun. Nor is it for the classics alone this research is necessary; its results elucidate the pages of the Old Testament; and the reveries of Manes and the

imaginings of Plato must be known in order to comprehend the inspired passages of St. Paul and St. John. But I touch upon a topic from which I have determined to abstain. It will suffice for me to say that an extensive and precise acquaintance with mythology is required for a classical scholar, and that, to obtain it, he must go over a multitude of facts. By means of the knowledge thus obtained, he will find little difficulty in understanding customs that would be otherwise inexplicable or obscure. The histories of Saturn, of Jupiter, and of the other deities, as they are styled, are of a later date, and their character brings them nearer to the period of a more degenerate worship. To obtain this mythological knowledge requires that the student should traverse all the known regions of the ancient world, that his search should be continued through many centuries, that he should be the associate of the philosopher, the companion of the monarch, the observer of the priest; that he should go into the camp with the soldier, be seated in the hall of legislation, mingle with the shepherds as they tend their flocks or rehearse their lays. He must go down with the mariner upon the deep, observe the courses of the stars, learn their influences, not only upon the regions of Eolus, but upon the destinies of men. With the augur he must study the habits of the birds, by the soothsayer he will be taught the arrangement and the anatomy of beasts, and in company with the Pythoness he must be filled with the inspirations of heaven. Think you that, if the study of man be useful, this is a criminal waste of time?

There is, in the palace of the Vatican at Rome, a long corridor, well known to the visitors of that magnificent depository of arts and of literature. As you enter, upon your right hand, the wall is lined from the floor to the ceiling with fragments of marble, containing the rude and the improved inscriptions of Italy, in the days of heathenism. An immense vista opens before you, and to its extremity this monumental partition continues; the images

of gods, the fragments of idols, the busts of heroes, the figures of philosophers, the statues of emperors, sarcophagi, and pedestals range along its base; and the learned, the curious, the powerful, and the beautiful, the unbeliever and the pious, the gay and the grave, the libertine and the pilgrim, the British peer, the Spanish grandee, the American citizen, the Oriental sage, and the Italian peasant, in all the varied costumes of rank, of nation, of taste, and of caprice, move along the hall, reading the history of other days, and admiring the works of artists who, for multiplied centuries, have been insensible to censure or to praise. There you may detect their living forms, gliding between stern warriors frowning in marble, amidst petrified consuls and gladiators, blended with matrons, nymphs, and satyrs. One of the fathers of the Church has appropriately remarked that any one possessing eyes may look upon the characters of an illuminated volume, and admire the richness of the tints, the beauty of the letters, the decorations of the vellum; but, had he been taught to read, how much more information would he gather from the document itself! how much more valuable would it be in his estimation! So, to the scholar, how rich is the mine of knowledge which that corridor contains! and are not his authors and his recollections like that corridor, to him who has become familiar with their contents?

On your left, as you enter, monuments of another language are presented to your view. The walls are covered, but the devices are not the same; the emblems are occasionally varied. One monogram, however, in those of the earliest epoch, seems to pervade; the fish is sculptured upon the greater number; the dove with the small sprig of olive in its bill is there; a palm-branch, tinted with red, distinguishes not a few; an ark, borne upon the waters, surmounted by an arch, is discernible amongst them; the word PAX is nearly universal. The archæologist recognizes the symbolic language of early Christendom; and the busts and statues of some of her heroes, and the ornaments of

the Galilean religion, mingled with many a relic of those olden days, arranged under the significant and instructive emblem of the oriflam, exhibit the contest and the suffering and the triumph of Christianity! In studies like this, the understanding is informed, the memory is strengthened, and the mind is relieved. In the midst of our struggles through this changing life, it is well to have, in those moments of care, of oppression, and of dejection, some classic scenery which will be to us as a city of refuge, until we shall be able to recruit. The effect will be like that described by the favorite bard of Ireland:

> "Let fate do her worst, there are relics of joy,
> Bright dreams of the past, which she cannot destroy,
> Which come in the night-time of sorrow and care,
> And bring back the features that joy used to wear.
> Long, long be my heart with such memories filled,
> Like the vase in which roses have once been distilled—
> You may break, you may ruin the vase if you will,
> But the scent of the roses will hang round it still."
>
> —*Moore.*

The knowledge of geography, it is clear, is required equally as is that of history, and it is impossible to understand the ancient authors without having an intimate acquaintance with the lands and the waters of which they treat; hence, no person has ever been regarded as worthy of the appellation of a scholar, who could not at each epoch describe the political divisions of the earth. Do we allude to dialects in Greece? It will be as necessary for us to be acquainted with the vicinity of the State in which the dialect was used, as with the locality of the State itself. We may illustrate this by viewing the continent of Europe to-day. The traveller in Switzerland, for instance, will find in Geneva and the Jura the language to be generally French, because of their vicinity to France. Let him pass through the Valais, he finds Italian idioms and pronunciation becoming more prevalent as he goes to the southeast, and upon the Simplon he will almost fancy himself already in Italy.

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Proceeding, however, from Berne towards Zurich, the German is blended with the French; and when he arrives at St. Gall, or upon the borders of the lake of Constance, his French is next to useless, and before he crosses the Rhine, he is a bewildered stranger, unless he can use German expressions.

The language which is spoken becomes, in some measure, that which is written, where the body of the people can write; and, amongst ourselves, I *expect* it would not be hard to *calculate* the land whence came the man who tells us that he has *notions* for sale; and I *reckon* we should speedily tell the abode of a traveller who would ask the conductor of a railroad car to be careful of his *plunder!* Customs vary with geographical limits, and we should be amused at the ignorance of him who would clothe the Scythian in the Persian's flowing stole, or invest the Ethiopian with the toga, with equal justice as we would at the folly of him who would declare it absolutely necessary to procure a powdered wig and ermine robes from Westminster Hall, to enable a Georgia judge to open his commission. The Romans knew as little of passing their children through the fire of Baal, as the Scandinavian did of the worship of Astarte.

Gather to-day the remains which may yet be found on the sites of the Volscian cities, take those of a more remote region of Etruria, and place them by the side of the vast collections that the Græcea Magna of ancient days has yielded, together with the excavations of Pompeii and of Herculaneum, to the splendid collections of Naples; from them you will learn the diversity of epochs, of customs, and of arts, and you will perceive the influence of geographical distinctions, as well as of distant times. I have seen the outlines of figures drawn with anatomical accuracy in *frescoes* that have, during more than three thousand years, preserved their original tints in an unimpaired brilliancy. I have seen the vases of a later period in another region, and I have seen the productions of the mighty masters who two thousand years ago filled Southern Italy with works of various art,

that have exceeded those of the most glorious days of Eastern Greece. The phraseology of the several writers who described those ages and their customs came vividly to my recollection, as I contemplated the "breathing brass," or as I saw the evidences of the custom; and I felt how groundless is the notion which some persons would inculcate, that classical studies are but the learning of a dead language! They demand close and unremitting attention to the geography of ancient times, tracing the origin and the migrations of colonies, their settlements, their neighbors, their border quarrels, their tactics, their success or their extinction, their government, their customs, their language and its modifications. This is a portion of what we designate as classical knowledge:

> "Patient CARE by just degrees
> Word and image learns to class;
> Those confounds and separates these
> As in strict review they pass;
> Joins as various features strike,
> Fit to fit and like to like,
> Till in meek array advance
> Concord, Method, Elegance."

He who, without such information, would presume to claim the high and honorable title of a classical scholar, may be well placed in the same category as the writer who should locate the falls of Niagara upon the Ocmulgee, or the one who would assure us that, after escaping many perils in descending the Chattahoochie, his mind resumed its calm as he found himself quietly gliding from its turbid stream into the deep and broad waters of Delaware Bay, with the Chesapeake expanding in the distance, and Bunker's Hill and the other Alleghanies proudly rising within his view to the clouds.

There is no power of the mind which stands in greater need of judicious restraint, and yet which requires more freedom, than does the imagination. Horace finely shows its dangers and its imperfections in the opening of his essay

on the art of poetry, and he soon afterwards exhibits the principle of restraint.

> "But not through nature's sacred rules to break,
> Monstrous to mix the cruel and the kind,
> Serpents with birds, and lambs with tigers joined."

Its duty is to embody, before the mind's eye, some sensible representation which shall, when expressed, better arrest the attention of the hearer and communicate information, than will any abstract description. Our nature is not merely spiritual; the chief part of our knowledge is received through our senses; we live and we move in a world of sense, amongst objects of sense, and though we may often indulge in metaphysical abstraction, and may reason upon essences and generalizations, yet we are more vividly and powerfully and permanently affected by the objects of sense; and thus the soul forms for itself, as it were, sensible representations or images of even what in truth are spiritual beings not to be apprehended by our senses, or of an abstraction which has no real existence out of those subjects in which it is found as a quality. Thus, though angels have no bodies, we imagine them existing in bodily shape. Strength is not a being, neither is prudence, nor valor, nor piety, nor strife, nor revenge. The imagination must, as it were, give to them existence in some scenery which represents what it is sought to describe; the picture must not only show each figure perfect in itself, but the entire must be harmoniously grouped to give a pleasing effect. Akenside finely displays the object—

> "Know then, whate'er of Nature's pregnant stores,
> Whate'er of mimic art's reflected forms,
> With love and admiration thus inflame
> The powers of fancy, her delighted sons
> To three illustrious orders have referr'd—
> Three sister graces, whom the painter's hand,
> The poet's tongue confesses; the sublime,
> The wonderful, the fair. I see them dawn!
> I see the radiant visions, where they rise,
> More lovely than when Lucifer displays
> His beaming forehead through the gates of morn,
> To lead the train of Phœbus, and the spring."

Nothing is more generally admitted than the impossibility of giving a precise and graphical description of what is not plainly seen and accurately comprehended. There is in many minds, and perhaps more generally discoverable in our Southern regions, as great an impatience of that delay and labor necessary to arrange this exhibition, as there is extensive power to call up the figures and to cast the scenes. And nothing is better calculated to remedy this very serious evil than habitual and intimate intercourse with the classical authors. Insensibly, the results of the rule they followed become so impressed upon our minds as to cause almost an identification thereof with our habits of thought, and a taste is cultivated which will instinctively detect any aberration from the great principle which was their guide.

> "Hear how learned Greece her useful rules indites,
> When to repress, and when to indulge our flights.
> High on Parnassus' top her sons she showed
> And pointed out these arduous paths they trod.
> Held from afar, aloft, the immortal prize,
> And urged the rest by equal steps to rise.
> Just precepts thus from great examples giv'n
> She drew from them, what they derived from heav'n."
>
> —*Pope.*

This creative power of the mind is not only regulated by the use of their precepts and the imitation of their example,—it is wonderfully enriched by the vast treasures of materials which they have accumulated. These are inexhaustible for their extent, and wonderful in their variety; though so immense, yet you carry them without inconvenience, and no robber can despoil you nor speculator strip you. Your own sloth is the only plunderer who can, on this side of the grave, deprive you of the valuable possession. You are also taught, how, from a poor and seemingly barren field, you may, by industrious cultivation, raise an abundant harvest. Go to the sands, the groves, the pools, and the sulphureous little mounds of Cumæ. How

uninteresting, how valueless do they appear! Open the pamphlet of the Canon Jorio, and read the sixth book of the Eneid, as you examine its contracted limits, and how is the scenery changed! The Hell, the Purgatory, and the Heaven of Virgil are around you, Lethe is at your feet, Phlegethon is before you, you find the bark of Charon on the Styx, the rude threatenings of Cerebus are echoed around; the gloomy Avernus is behind you, and accompanied by the Sybil, the shades of the mighty dead pass in review before you. The wand of imagination has brought the surface of the globe, and the generations of multiplied ages, within the narrow compass of a short excursion, and has spread over this barren spot the panoramic view of the years that have passed away, and of the immortality that succeeds them. Yet how far short is this of the power that imagination possesses?

Another serious advantage, derivable from continuing this familiarity with the ancient authors, is, that it affords us ample scope for the study of the human mind, exhibiting its epochs of acquisition in science, its improvement in the arts, the true field for its labors, and the mode in which we may be more likely to insure success. We may thence learn the fallacy of those theories which have, under the garb of philosophy and science, at various times, betrayed great minds into egregious folly.

Thus, we perceive immediately that the art of writing and the discovery of letters bear us back to no very remote period from the origin of our Christian epoch, and sustain our religion's history. And though some nations had made progress in legislation, in arts, and in arms, though agriculture was greatly improved, and commerce extending its dominion, though several mighty monuments were raised at early periods, still the first efforts at writing were exceedingly rude, and their application was very limited. We trace the progress of science from one period to another, but beginning with what was most in demand for the necessities, then the comforts, and subsequently for the luxu-

ries of man. We find our forefathers under the influence of the same passions and subject to the same infirmities as we are, and equally the slaves of prejudice and of pride as we are, having the same appetites and taking the like means for their gratification. If we come down to more recent epochs we perceive that though, in the contest with the barbarian, much of the more polished literature and the finer arts were for a time overwhelmed, still they were not altogether lost, and that the restoration gives a very different appearance from what took place at the invention.

Whilst we behold the ancient nations exceeding us in many instances in works of architecture, in persevering industry, in the amassing of wealth, in the productions of their soil, in military prowess, in force of eloquence and the sweets of poetry, in one respect they are confessedly infinitely below us,—that is, in their notions of God and of religion, and in their maxims of morals. They sought to acquire in the schools of philosophy what we say must be derived from Heaven,—and as the contrast in the results is as obvious as is the contrast between the principles, it should seem easy to decide upon a choice as to which should be adopted. Nothing will tend better to confirm what I here allude to than a calm examination of what their best authors testify regarding their opinions and their practice.

I have said that we are equally weak as they were, as regards our pride and self-importance. I shall endeavor to illustrate and prove the general truth of my observation. It is related of an Asiatic prince of more modern times, to whom an ambassador was sent from Holland, that he frequently was pleased at hearing from the envoy the extraordinary accounts of the customs and institutions of Europe. On one occasion, speaking of the intensity of cold, of which the monarch had very imperfect notions, the ambassador told him, that in Holland it sometimes produced such an effect on water that its surface became solid, and

that men walked on it in safety and transported heavy burdens upon it as they would on land. The prince immediately ordered him to quit his dominions for having the effrontery of endeavoring to make him despicable by inducing him to believe in the truth of what was naturally impossible, because the experience of every one contradicted the notion that any increase of cold could render solid that which was always known to be liquid. It was opposed to the law of nature.

Strange as we may deem this decision of the Eastern, I believe you will find it equalled by that of Herodotus, who, remarking upon the statement that certain Egyptians had circumnavigated Africa at an early period, by sailing down the Red Sea and after a long lapse of time returning by the pillars of Hercules, places his greatest difficulty of receiving their testimony upon the ground of their asserting that when at the greatest distance they had gone towards the south, the sun was at noon upon their right hand as they sailed towards the west. This, he says, everybody knows is impossible, it is against the laws of nature, because it is against the experience of every one that to a person going west the sun should at noon be to the right hand side of his position. I believe the law of nature now to be the same as it was then, and a navigator at this day sailing westwards below the Cape of Good Hope would consider it a very strange phenomenon to have the sun in any other position than on his right hand at noon; for he would be south of the tropic of Capricorn, and must necessarily have the sun to the north.

I have adduced this instance to show not only that the scholar can advantageously study the history of mind and the progress of discovery in the ancient authors, but that their perusal will show him how liable the greatest minds are to sad mistakes, when, by reason of their attachment to preconceived notions of their own speculations, they reject the evidence of testimony. It was thus that Hume, and others of his school, would set up their speculative notion

that "our own experience is the only test of reasonable belief," and thus, like Herodotus, they would, because of its novelty, make that, which was the surest evidence of the truth of a relation, the very ground of its rejection. This school of philosophers is, however, fast sinking to its proper place in public estimation, and men are more rational in distrusting their self-sufficiency, and in relinquishing their prejudices, as they behold the follies to which both the one and the other have led men of undoubted ability and extensive information.

I am convinced that to such an audience as I have the honor of addressing, it is quite unnecessary to urge the vast fund of general information upon such a variety of subjects as will be found in the books to whose perusal I have been endeavoring to induce those who would improve their understanding, cultivate their taste, or seek a reasonable recreation in classical pursuits. In reading them, they converse with the most polished, the most learned, the most experienced of the poets, philosophers, historians, orators, and statesmen, that the civilized world has produced during several centuries.

Amongst them are the mighty men who have by their powers of oratory swayed nations as they would men; who, to effect this mighty purpose, subjected themselves to all the discipline and labor which so great a work demands. Theirs was not the rude volubility which, let off from a stump, produces a transitory effect upon the multitude. No! it was the well-weighed expression of solid truth, sent forth to establish correct principles, and to win to them the support of the mighty and of the weak, of the wealthy and of the poor, of the sage and of the simpleton. The object was to lay the foundations of their country's prosperity in their country's affections, and by convincing the understandings of their fellow-men, to win their support to measures of public utility. Their productions have outlived not only monuments of marble or of brass, but they survive the wreck of those governments under which they lived, and

of others that have succeeded them. They are studied to-day as the best models for imitation. You perceive they are free from those defects which cause so many others to sink into oblivion. They have no vulgar personality, they are not pompous exhibitions of the declaimer for the purpose of winning an ephemeral applause under the pretext of public instruction. No, they are clear and forcible appeals to the understanding of their auditors, of whose respect they were certain because they proved their deference for the judgments of their assemblies, by treating them as men of understanding.

Having convinced by their reasoning, they delighted by a chaste decoration. This was investing, with its more soft and beautiful covering, the solid frame that had been produced, amplified sufficiently to develop the just proportions; there was no redundance to weaken, no excrescence to deform. Feeling strongly and warmly themselves, they breathed life and vigor into what would otherwise be a form inert though beautiful. Dignified and winning in their manner, their productions addressed themselves to the hearts of their hearers, allured them to obedience, and commanded them to action.

Amongst those who surround me, are several who must, whatever be their present prospects or determinations, be men to whom Georgia will look as the supporters of her rights, as the vindicators of her fame, as the leaders of her councils, as the representatives of her principles, as her protectors in our federation; and others upon whom she will rely to interweave new flowers in the garland of her literature. May I say to them, that, whilst they seek even from their own Demosthenes, to learn how they may succeed like him who

> "Wielded at will that fierce democratie,
> Shook the arsenal, and fulmined over Greece,
> To Macedon and Artaxerxes' throne;"

they should know his weakness, avoid his faults, and receive

a solemn warning from his fate. Had his sole ambition been his country's good, his corpse would not have fallen disgracefully upon Neptune's altar.

On an afternoon in the early period of the summer, a few years since, I stood upon a balcony where the country-seat of Cicero overhung an eminence. The air was soft yet bracing; Gaeta was at a little distance on my left, the blue Mediterranean rippled at a distance on the south-western border, groves of orange and of lemon trees filled a large portion of the plain which stretched below towards the shore, and their delicious perfume arose mingled with that of many other delicate odors from the gardens and the herbs. It was like the richness of his own eloquence. But where was the orator? It was through the pathways of that plain he was pursued. It was near that blue wave he descended from his litter, thence was his head borne to the cruel Anthony. Need I remind you of Fulvia's revenge? And even in the midst of the disastrous estrangements and the cruel hatred of faction and of party contest, the very populace of Rome wept at beholding the head and the hand of their once-loved defender exhibited upon the very rostrum where they hung upon his lips.

Yes, it is a dangerous eminence! Honesty of purpose and unbending integrity, unswerving perseverance in preferring principle to popular applause, in worshipping Fabrician integrity rather than Plutus, or power, or office, will, if any human means can, sustain you in safety. But the temptations are great, and there are but few who resist them; hence the victims are numerous, and the fortunate are few.

Georgia has at this day at least one sweet poet, whose heart is as kind as his lines are delightful. It may be,—and let us expect that it will,—that other streams besides the Savannah should resound with the song. In reading Lord Lyttleton's address to Pope, you will perceive that he fancies, at the tomb of Virgil, that mighty bard to arise and commission him to deliver an admonition to the British poet.

I have stood upon the same spot, and a lovely one it is, elevated nearly over the entrance of the great grotto of Posilippo, on the headland which divides the Gulf of Naples from the waters of Baiæ. All the inspiration of poetry is found in the very breeze that passes over it. With a few necessary alterations, let me address, from the mighty Mantuan, that same admonition to you:

"Crowned with eternal bays my ravished eyes
Beheld the poet's awful form arise;
Stranger, he said, whose pious hand has paid
These grateful rites to my attentive shade,
When thou shalt breathe thy happy western air,
Thither this message to its poets bear.
If high exalted on the throne of wit,
Near me and Homer you aspire to sit,
Of you quite worthy, were the task to raise
A lasting column to your country's praise,
To sing the land, which yet alone can boast
That liberty which other nations lost.
Where science in the arms of peace is laid,
And plants her palm beneath the olive's shade;
Such was the theme for which my lyre I strung.
Such was the people whose exploits I sung.
Brave, yet refined, for arms and arts renown'd,
With different bays by Mars and Phœbus crown'd—
Dauntless opposers of tyrannic sway,
But pleased the State's just edicts to obey.
If this advice submissive you receive,
Immortal and unblamed your name shall live.
Envy to black Cocytus shall retire,
And howl with Furies in tormenting fire,
Approving time shall consecrate your lays,
And join the patriot's to the poet's praise."

At the period of the confederation, Georgia was the youngest amongst her sisters. She now beholds as many States succeeding her on the catalogue as there were originally united. Yet a large portion of her territory has been only lately placed in the hands of her citizens. Immense bodies of her finest soil are yet unbroken by the cultivator, her rivers are not cleared, nor is her mineral wealth explored. We know that rich veins are concealed beneath

her surface, but their value is scarcely appreciated, nor can the mind yet estimate their extent. The spirit of her sons, and the wisdom of her councils, have already made her the high-road by which, not only her own products and imports will be rapidly conveyed, but by which nations and their wealth must be transported. Let it be so with her literature. Let her University be generously sustained. Let her children devote their leisure hours to polite and scientific recreation. Her riches will be developed; the cultivation of her taste will decorate her amongst her sisters,—her hidden treasures will be explored; from the east and from the west, from the north and from the south, will she be visited, admired, and enriched by contribution. And as she rises in the scale of political and commercial importance, so shall she be elevated in scientific and literary fame.

DUELLING[1]

It is a matter of notoriety, that during several ages a practice has prevailed, more or less generally, amongst civilized nations, of terminating some differences of individuals by single combat, in a manner previously arranged; and this fight has, at times, been considered a very becoming and honorable mode of closing those altercations. Some persons have frequently endeavored to find in what circumstance of the duel the quality of honor consisted, but have been baffled, sometimes by the diversity of cases, all said to be honorable; at other times by the opposition to correct principles in those general but essential characteristics which were found in every case.

I must avow, that I do not recollect a moment when I did not feel the practice to be censurable, though I do remember a time when I was under what I now believe to have been a very erroneous impression; that engaging in such a combat was, at least, an exhibition of courage; hence I never conceived it to be honorable. And having been upon terms of intimacy with several men of powerful mind and generally correct feeling, and in vain sought to learn from them in what one or more circumstances of the practice honor consisted, I could never obtain any elucidation. Was it in killing your adversary? No! for honor was generally satisfied without his death, and very frequently after the discharge of a pistol which inflicted a wound upon public morality alone, the parties who previ-

[1] An address delivered before the Anti-duelling Society of Charleston, South Carolina, in the year 1828.

ously appeared to seek mutual destruction became fast and honorable friends. Was it in violating the law? Was it in exposing one's self to be slain by an insolent aggressor? Was it all these united? Is honor then the result of blended revenge, violation of law, and wanton exposure of life to the weapon of an unreasonable opponent? To this inquiry I could obtain no better answer than that reasonable and honorable men approved of the practice, and thought it necessary for preserving the decorum of society.

No person can be more disposed than I am, as well from feeling as from principle, to bow with deference before the tribunal of such men. I am generally inclined to consider their maxims to be the dictates of the general or common sense of mankind, and since I prefer the collected experience and reasoning of the bulk of society to the results of my own weak efforts, I believe it to be the suggestion of reason, and the duty of an individual, to admit that he is not as wise as is the collective body of his fellow men. I am, therefore, prepared to view most favorably, and with what I call a fair partiality, any practice which the great body of reasonable and honorable men, after mature reflection, and as the expression of their judgment, and not of their prejudices, will say is necessary, or even useful, to preserve the order of society, and the decorum of civil intercourse. But I am distinctly of opinion, that the good sense and sober judgment of the vast majority of upright and educated men are altogether opposed to the practice of duelling, as not only useless for society, but as criminal and mischievous in its results. Hence, I consider the answer which I have received to be the too hasty expression of an opinion too lightly examined, and to be founded altogether upon mistakes.

As you have done me the honor of delivering your first address, you will, perhaps, excuse me for taking up the subject in a more technical manner than would be necessary for any future occasion.

To know then the matter exactly for our consideration,

we had better look to the etymology of the name, the nature of the act, and the history of the practice, so that our view of the subject might be more accurate, and our conclusions more just. The Latin word *Duellum* means, as it were, *bellum inter duo*, or *duorum bellum*, "War between two persons." The nature of war is attempted injury after due notice. Thus, to constitute a duel, there must be notice given of an intended attempt to do an injury, together with a warning to be prepared for defence; and in this it differs from assassination or assault, of which no previous notice had been given, just as regular war differs from an unforseen predatory or piratical incursion. A duel is then a private warfare between two individuals, and is generally terminated by a battle with deadly weapons, of a determined description, at a defined time and place. In this description we must particularly notice the circumstance of its being a private warfare; that is, undertaken by private authority, and the word duel is now, in its application, limited to the battle only. Hence the combat between David and Goliath was not a duel, but was a portion of regular, public warfare, carried on by the public authority of two nations; and a more humane mode of terminating a contest than would be the general encounter between two numerous and brave armies. In like manner, the substitution of the Horatii and Curiatii for the Roman and Sabine armies was a humane regulation by public authority; and therefore neither of those, nor any of several similar instances with which history furnishes us, can be looked upon as a duel. The combatants were not urged forward by private feelings, nor did they act by private authority.

In seeking for the origin of this practice, we may close the authors of Greece and Rome; neither do India, Chaldea, or Egypt assist us in our research. We are told, indeed, that it was a portion of that fine system of chivalry which decorated the middle ages of Europe, and the witchery of that romance which writers have generally substituted for the history of that undefined period, like the

magic of its sorcerers, bewilders the fancy, and deludes us with visions of glory and of fame. The splendor of the tournament is conjured up for the imagination, the lists are prepared, the flattering crowd presses forward to that field over which pageantry, royalty, and valor preside; the loud notes of the trumpet announce the heralds' approach; the mounted challenger appears, and properly accompanied, courses through the inclosure, paying homage to those to whom it is due, and waits in proud defiance to confirm by his bearing that denunciation which is made in his name. His trumpet is answered; another herald appears with the reply; the marshals arrange the order of combat, and the opponents take their ground. Fear, hope, joy, sorrow, and exultation alternately and tumultuously seize upon the mind of the young enthusiast, the shout of victory, the feast of triumph, the rhapsody of the poet, the spell of the musician, and the fascination of the theatre blend with the sweet voices of our youth, and the scene is associated with all that excites the imagination, and affects the heart; honor, love, fidelity, and fame, in a word, chivalry and the duel are identified.

It would be natural to expect that they, who seek only to divert the mind, would rest content with this exhibition; but they who desire knowledge must ask its origin. It would, perhaps, be natural to expect that thoughtless and uninformed youth should be led away by such an exhibition; but it becomes persons of understanding, and those having a consciousness of moral accountability, to inquire whether such a practice is reasonable and safe. Let us then trace the history and make the inquiry.

The knights of those chivalric days were principally descended from the chieftains of those hordes, which, in the early period of the Christian era, spread themselves over the face of Europe. Issuing from the icy North, they locked up in their cold fetters the minds and limbs of the survivors of their opponents. Long, desperate, and with various success, was the conflict between the panegyrist of

Woden, of Thor, and of Freya, and the disciples of the Cross. As the maxims of the Gospel won upon the mind of the barbarian, you might observe frequently the strange coexistence of discordant practices, and the awkward attempts of ignorance or of imbecility, to reconcile contradictions. He who would, by the torch of history, learn the facts which explain many of the mysteries of those days, must penetrate into the caverns of Scandinavia, converse with the Runic Scald, and frequently extend his journey along the banks of the Danube, the Ister, and the Boristhenes, towards the ancient forests of Sarmatia and Scythia, into which the great forefathers of this race strayed from the vicinity of America. I shall not at present lead you through so extended a path; we will not proceed farther than Denmark, and the discoveries there made will give to us the origin of our chivalrous exhibition.

We are informed by our antiquarians, that, amongst the ancient Suevi and Goths, there was a custom, from time immemorial, of deciding differences in a mode called *eenwig*, of which there were two kinds; the one was conventional, the other judicial: the first corresponded exactly with our present duel, the other with what in England was known as trial by combat. The first was a fight by private authority, from private motives, but at an appointed time and place; the second was a battle at a time and place, and with weapons appointed by the judges of the horde, to be fought under the direction of marshals of the field; and though, perhaps, it might appear extraordinary, in this trial by combat, which was the last resort upon the failure of testimony and enlightened judgment, the parties looked for the special intervention of the Deity, to manifest not only the truth of fact, but the application of law, by bestowing victory as well upon him who had right upon his side, as upon him who made a true statement; for it often happened in the *eenwig*, that both parties admitted the same facts, but differed only as to the law, the application of which was to be settled by the issue of the combat. Which of us would, at this

day, think of taking a knotty case of law or of equity from the mooting of our legal friends and the wisdom of our courts, to be decided by the erudite discrimination of a hair-trigger? Yet, such is one of the principles upon which duelling is based.

In the fourth and fifth centuries of the Christian era, we find the descendants of the first northern invaders in possession and in power, in several parts of Gaul, Spain, and Italy. Whilst the Franks, from the vicinity of the Elbe, were settling down in the northern regions of Gaul, the Goths and the Burgundians occupied the more southern provinces. About the year 500, we find the Gombette law enacted by Gonebald, King of Burgundy, in which men were for the first time, in a country claiming to be civilized, commanded to refer to the duel the termination of those disputes which could not be decided by oaths and testimony. This king was an Arian, but the law was observed and enforced by his orthodox successors, and this we may look upon as the foundation of chivalric trial by combat. Having now obtained the royal sanction in Burgundy, and the settlers in the vicinity tracing their origin and drawing their customs from Scandinavia, being also disposed to adopt and follow the maxims and observances of their progenitors, the senseless and pernicious practice soon spread throughout the whole Gallic territory.

About the close of the ninth century, the Christian missionaries had made some impression upon Denmark, and early in the succeeding age, upon the death of Sweyn, the first Danish monarch of England, and father of Canute the Great, his eldest son Harold, who succeeded him in his continental domains, being a zealous disciple of the Christian law, abolished the ancient and barbarous practice of duels, since which time the Danish government has punished, with exemplary severity, criminals who violated this prohibitory law. It is much to be regretted that the laws of Harold were not more generally adopted and acted upon by other nations; but it is matter of consolation to find that the

remedy was first applied where the malady was first exhibited; and that in the region where this pernicious practice emanated, the introduction of Christianity and of civilization caused its decay. Much as the mind desires to rest upon this green spot in the dreary waste, we must proceed with the history of the practice. It was not retained by the first Saxon settlers of Britain; and Canute, the Dane, shared much of the Christian sentiment of his brother Harold. Thus, although France, especially, was now the asylum of this banished offspring of the North, we find its influence scarcely felt in the neighboring regions. Even the Germans began soberly to reflect upon the folly of seeking judicial decisions at the point of the lance or by the edge of the sword, and were already convinced that it was a manifest tempting of heaven, for a puny and weak being who felt that he had right, without proof, to trust to the prowess of his arm, for its manifestation against the ruffian force and practiced agility of some blustering robber, whom strength had made bold, want had rendered desperate, and deeds of iniquity had inured to blood.

Superstition is the expecting from any act supernatural effects, for attaining which, by such means, God has given no promise; thus, several persons, at that very early period, deemed it to be absurd and superstitious tempting of heaven, to engage in such conflicts for the vindication of right, because they saw that, upon no reasonable principle, could they hope for such a result, except by a miracle, which He, who alone could work a miracle, had not pledged Himself to perform.

The Lombards, who had settled in Italy, regulated that those judicial battles should take place under proper inspection, and the combatants were allowed to use only staves and shields; thus, although the absurd principle was retained, there was an apparent blending of humanity in their superstition. Most of the duels of those ages were appeals to heaven to speed the right. Can you discover any principle of religion or of good sense, that could warrant such an

appeal? Do you recollect the general feeling of disapprobation and of horror, with which the appeal to combat by Abraham Thornton was received in England, a few years since, when, to save himself from the probability of an ignominious death, he met the appeal of the brother of her who had been murdered with the legal offer of wager of battle? Suppose this unfortunate man was the seducer and the murderer of the too-confiding victim of his double brutality, in what consisted the propriety or honor of permitting, under the sanction of law, what his frame showed to be a natural consequence, the cruel destruction of an afflicted brother, who invoked the public justice of society upon the destroyer of a beloved sister? Reason, religion, and honor unite in the reprobation of so nefarious a mockery of law.

I said that it was not used by the Anglo-Saxons, and we have seen that it was abolished in Denmark, at the time that Canute ruled over England. But, at this period, the spirit of Normandy gave its full sanction to the custom; and when William I began to give his laws to the subjugated English, he introduced the trial by duel, according, indeed, to the Englishman, whom a Frenchman might appal, the contumelious privilege, if he were weak, of looking for a stronger substitute. This was its first legal establishment in that country, where the principle of the law has continued in force down to a very late period, if not to the present day. How far in theory it might, even now, be part of the law of South Carolina, and of those other portions of our Union which have preserved the common law of England, it is not for me to say.

Hitherto I have only considered that species of duel which is judicial, and which has been sometimes carried solemnly into legal effect. If any description of this combat could be defended upon principle, this alone could have the benefit of such defence, because it was not undertaken by private but by public authority; it was not supposed to be entered upon him from motives of revenge, but for

the manifestation of truth, and the parties, about to engage, made their solemn appeal to heaven to defend the right; the judges of the land and other public officers, sometimes even the monarch himself, presided, and sometimes an ignorant, or a timid, or a negligent clergyman offered up his public prayer to heaven to speed the right, and to manifest the truth, thus seeking the decision of that eternal Judge who did not always give the race to the swift, or the victory to the strong, and whose providence regulated the affairs of individuals equally as of communities.

I shall briefly allude to the principles upon which this judicial combat is plainly criminal in its own nature; whence it must follow, that, although the individuals who under the national sanction engaged therein, might be sometimes excusable upon the ground of ignorance, the act of the government itself was void and sinful. Indeed it would now appear to be scarcely necessary for me to detain you with an allusion, but that it might serve to elucidate other cases which we shall have to consider.

It is a recognized principle of law, that no subordinate tribunal can sanction what the superior has prohibited. No authority could make superstition innocent or lawful; and until it could be shown that God Himself authorized the appeal to be made to Him, for a decision in the mode alluded to, to make it in that mode is clearly criminal. The Jewish woman who had recourse to the waters of jealousy, for the manifestation of her innocence, performed a becoming act, because the Almighty had created this mode of appeal, and to have recourse to a divine institution for the purpose intended by its Author, is surely an act of religious homage, not a crime. But they who derived the custom of the duel from the barbarians of Dacia and of Scandinavia, did not pretend to a divine sanction for their conduct; they only blended the superstition of the pagan with the profession of Christianity. They might have seen the evidence of their inconsistency in Deuteronomy and in the Gospels, where the precept was given and reiterated, not

to tempt the Lord their God. Superstition is a vice specially opposed to true religion, and strictly forbidden by the divine law; hence no human tribunal, however extended its power or high its station, could give a sanction to this practice. The civil law expressly condemned those fights, and repeated censures of them, as well as of other like ordeals, are found in the canon law of the Church. The Popes frequently used their best exertions to have the evil extinguished, as might be seen, to omit a multitude of other documents, in the letter of Nicholas I to King Charles the Bald, of France, about the year 850, in the acts of Innocent II, about 1140, and in the same century in those of Eugenius III, Celestine III, and Alexander III, in whose pontificate the third Council of Lateran, in which about three hundred bishops sat, condemned the practice as impious. Innocent IV, in 1252, wrote upon the subject to the clergy of France, and at the commencement of the sixteenth century, Leo X and even Julius II enacted heavy censures against duellists. We have also similar acts of several of their successors, and a very severe decree of the Council of Trent, the nineteenth, on reformation of those which were passed in the twenty-fifth session, on the 3d of December, 1563. However the various portions of the Christian body which have withdrawn from the communion of that council and those Popes, might differ from them in doctrines of faith, I believe they unite with them in the condemnation of such combats for such a purpose, as superstitious and otherwise highly criminal, and not to be sanctioned or justified by any law or custom. I believe we should scarcely find an individual disposed to advocate judicial combats at the present day, yet they are that species of duel which is upon principle the most susceptible of defence.

We now proceed to examine the other descriptions of combat, which, resting solely on the private authority of individuals, and not having been sanctioned by any semblance of law, are, more properly speaking, duels according

to our present acceptation of the word. The Scandinavian has also this species of *cowig*. Civilians and canonists have varied from each other in their distribution of the kinds, the former looking rather to the conditions, the latter more to the objects of the fight. Perhaps we shall be better able to proceed with regularity if we view both enumerations.

Civilians called a duel *decretory*, when it was decreed or stipulated that the contest should terminate only by the death of one of the parties; *propugnating*, when a combatant went to fight, not for the purpose of slaying his adversary, but of defending his honor; and *satisfactory*, when an injured person sought to destroy his aggressor, unless he made due compensation. Theologians placed first that *to manifest truth*, which is the judicial; next to which is that *to terminate controversy*, but this contained a new characteristic ingredient, that the parties so hate each other that death only is likely to prevent their quarrels; the third is *to exhibit prowess;* the fourth *to avoid ignominy*, nearly allied to which is that *to defend honor;* the sixth *to prevent war*. Taking the theological enumeration, we have disposed of the first, no person will attempt to justify the second, the last we may omit, because it is one which on all hands is admitted to be lawful and sometimes beneficial, and is not within the range of our definition, as it is undertaken by public authority, in a public cause.

There can be no question but the practice of private duels was greatly promoted by the wager of battle and by the tournament; whose nature I now proceed to examine. When it was not a judicial trial for the manifestation of truth, it was of that description called for the *exhibition of prowess;* that is, a vain boasting of strength, agility, or pugnacious skill. The bad principle is the same, whether we behold it in two young knights who, with the eyes of the prowess, and beauty, and pride of a nation fixed upon them, seek for reputation in the lists, or in the gladiator at the ancient games, in the prize fighter of the modern ring, or in a pair of our wagoners who contend for superiority in mutual

whipping. Wretched weakness of our miserable nature! Glaring evidence of our degradation! We profess to admire benignity and its concomitant good qualities; we place charity at the head of the catalogue of virtues; whilst we indulge a secret gratification at beholding scenes of wanton cruelty, of bloodshed, and of death; and encourage to deeds of mere brutal prowess those whom we would venerate for the practice of the opposite virtues. To what shall we trace this singular but manifest deordination? Whilst reason almost instinctively tells us that this injury of others for the gratification of our own pride, or vanity, or curiosity, is bad, we labor to create sophisms for its justification, and strive to convince ourselves that our natural convictions are mistakes. So it is that the children of Adam are led by the impetuosity of passion against the admonitions of the understanding; and then, to silence the voice of conscience, they compel or they suborn the intellect, to appear as the advocate of that which, in its free and unsophisticated moments, it condemned. Such, my friends, is the lamentable outline which we must draw if we would sketch correctly the picture of our fallen race. As I prefer your own testimony to any abstract reasoning which I might attempt, I shall appeal to yourselves for that testimony as to the correctness of my statement. Whether would you admire more the man who, conscious of his prowess, sought its exhibition in the injury of his opponent; or him who, with a like consciousness, listened to the dictates of humanity, and told that challenger, whom he could crush if he would, that as there existed no necessity, so he believed there existed no justification, for doing him harm; and hence, although his presumption would seem to call for chastisement, yet a higher authority insured his safety? Is there not here the grand distinction between the indulgence of passion and its restraint? And which is more worthy of your esteem? I will not insult you by supposing you could hesitate about the decision. The law of God, the law of right reason, the common sense of the world, the vast preponderating majority of

civilized men, condemn as irreligious, unreasonable, and consequently unjustifiable, the practice of duelling for the exhibition of prowess; and hence you will often find the expression of pity or regret, sometimes even the half-suppressed sneer of ridicule, united to the acknowledgment of the existence of strength, dexterity, and animal courage of the successful combatant.

It might be proper here to observe that a wide distinction is to be taken between duels with deadly or dangerous weapons, or combats arising from hatred or a desire of revenge, in which serious injury is intended to the opponent; and those exercises or trials of strength in which there is no danger of injury nor any indulgence of bad passion. These latter are sometimes used for village relaxation and amusement, and in such as these it is perhaps good policy and wholesome discipline to engage men whose services might be required in the field of war for the benefit of their country. Yet in those trainings and trials for speed, agility, strength, and steadiness, care should be taken to guard, as much as possible, against inordinate vanity, or the harboring of unkind feelings. I am led to dwell the more upon this distinction, because frequently the benefit of such training is assumed as ground for an attempt to justify, by analogy, the duels which I have condemned; but as I do not admit the analogy, of course I cannot be expected to allow the justification. I shall enter more largely upon this topic, also, because I have often heard it asserted that to restrain the spirit which led to duelling, was to break down the energies and to destroy the courage of the soldier.

I am under the impression that the proper qualifications of a good soldier are not to be always found in the man who, for the indulgence of private passion, violates the laws of God, and of his country. There is one conclusion deeply impressed upon my mind, as well from some slight opportunities for observation, as from the testimony of several whose experience was very ample, and from the nature of the case itself; that conclusion is, that he who has performed

well and conscientiously his religious and his civil duties, will make the best soldier amongst those equal to him in other respects. I shall endeavor to show you what, in my opinion, forms the ground of much error on this head, the accidental possession of courage by a profligate, and its accidental want in a man who is religious or orderly; but it is wrong to draw general conclusions from those accidental facts. We all know that the degrees of courage vary in different individuals. What a multitude of its gradations exist, from its exhibition in him who, with unmoved nerve and unrelaxed muscles, leads his division to the breach which vomits destruction and bristles with bayonets, to the pale, trembling coward whose soul shudders and whose knees tremble at the bare anticipation of possible danger! And how various are its characteristics, from the manifestation in the calm martyr who, with wealth, titles, and worldly honors at one side, and captivity, chains, destitution, death, and ignominy upon the other, stands unmoved in his firmly modest declaration that he cannot deny the truth of what he knows to be a fact, to its glitter in him who cheers his comrades whilst he volunteers upon the forlorn hope! The neglect of marking those several kinds and degrees, and their several combinations in different individuals, has given rise to the mistake, and led some officers to assert, that a respect for the principles of religion and the regulations of civil society tended to destroy that bold and determined character so necessary for the army. This is, indeed, a serious mistake. It is well known that some of the bravest officers have held those principles and regulations in the highest respect, whilst they openly condemned the practice of duels. I speak of a fact, not merely in some degree within my own knowledge, but one which has a host of testimony for its support, that some of the most religious and regularly conducted men who had recourse to the ministry and the sacraments, were soldiers who had the esteem and affection of their officers, not only for the regularity of their conduct, but for their steady and continued hero-

ism, and protracted trials and desperate attempts. It is also unquestionably true that men of desperate bravery who had been, as it were, educated in violations of the law, contempt of religion, and trials of their courage, were found most useful against the enemy, but, like Indian allies, when not thus employed, it required all the vigilance, agility, and power of discipline and law to keep the untamed desperadoes from the indulgence of their natural ferocity upon their peaceable fellow-citizens. Had those men been nurtured under the restraints of civil and religious institutions, they would have lost none of their natural prowess, and it would have been more easily turned to good account. I make the assertion from having been satisfied that some of these nuisances of an army, who had been brought under such restraints, preserved all their good qualities, and more frequently exhibited them refined and improved by what I must call their civilization.

I would then say that not only is the combat for the exhibition of prowess irreligious and unreasonable, but so far from tending to the perfection of courage, or the fitting a man for the defence of his country, it adds nothing to the pre-existing degrees of that good quality, but, by teaching contempt for the laws of God and of society, and encouraging the indulgence of a bad passion and of self-will, it disqualifies its subject for submitting to that severe discipline and moral restraint which is the best preservative of an efficient army. When the master of poetry wrote,

> Honoratum si forte reponis Achillem
> Impiger, iracundus, inexorabilis, acer
> Jura neget sibi nata, nihil non arroget armis,

he did not intend to give us the picture of a good and useful soldier, but of one who yielding to his gust of passion, would disobey his commander, desert his colors, and because of his private wrongs pray for the success of the enemy and the ruin of the army in which he served, and who is again brought to the field, not by a sense of public

duty, but roused by the workings of private friendship to seek unmeasured revenge. Such exactly is the soldier whom the principles of duelling would produce. Judge you, how long an army of such men would preserve our republic.

We may be told, surely, that an ignominious life is what neither reason nor religion would compel one to lead. If, during the whole period of a man's subsequent existence, he is, for the omission of an act, to be

> A fixed figure, for the hand of scorn
> To point his slow and moving finger at,

it cannot be immoral to make one effort for relief from so cruel a state of degraded endurance. Does the end then justify the means? Are we at liberty to relieve ourselves from an unpleasant predicament, without considering the propriety of that mode by which we may be extricated? Proclaim the maxim to the highwayman who seeks to relieve his poverty by plunder. To him it will be gratifying to learn that this principle is adopted by men of honor and of high standing. Whisper it to the innocent victim of another's perjury. He has languished in his dungeon, dreading conviction for an infamous crime, which he never contemplated; but now he learns that since we are not to consider the dishonesty of the means, but the desirableness of the end, the dagger of some friend can remove the lying accuser, and release him to freedom and to fame. You are startled at the proposal, and well you may; for never was a more atrocious and destructive principle insinuated, than that the end justifies the means. Neither reason nor religion would require of you to lead an ignominious life; although both enjoin that you shall not use improper means to avoid that ignominy of which you are so apprehensive. But what is this ignominy that you dread? Should you not dread the commission of crime more than any imputation? The one is always a real and paramount evil, the other is often only imaginary and transient. He who would commit a crime, in order to avoid the mockery or

the condemnation of the multitude, is a weak and an unprincipled man. You cannot do evil that good may arise therefrom; such is the great principle of sound morality and of true honor. Is he who enters into this combat, in compliance with prejudices, or the partialities of the public, or to conform to a fashion whose principle he himself condemns, an honorable man? That you are not to do evil is an absolute principle both of reason and of revelation; hence we should, in considering the absolute good or evil of the means, throw the end out of our view. I shall now merely observe that the combatant who is roused by such a motive is a true coward, who, in the conflict between the fear of ridicule and the fear of crime, yields to the former.

It is said that no species of moral courage exceeds that of a man who follows the dictates of his judgment or conscience, amidst the taunts and reproaches of the world. By this sort of courage, the ancients believed their far-famed Hercules was more distinguished than by his labors or victories. Certainly our divine Redeemer taught admirable lessons upon this subject; the principles of His Gospel are the foundation of the most heroic fortitude, the purest honor, and the most unbending courage; in His discourses, we find lessons which exceed the perfection of the most sublime philosopher as much as heaven exceeds the earth. But since, by some extraordinary fatality, whilst it is avowed that the practice of duelling is clearly condemned by the Christian law, persons, who profess to be observers of that law, attempt to vindicate the practice, and yet declaim against the application of the Gospel maxims in examining the subject, I have determined to be very sparing of any aid from that source; especially as, even without such aid, I trust my object is attainable. Upon what ground can he who engages in a duel, through the fear of ignominy, lay claim to courage? His act is, as we have seen, and shall still more fully see, plainly immoral, and he offends God, because he fears the censure of men. They who pos-

sess the high moral virtue of fortitude will endure the taunts and reproaches of the world, and submit willingly to torture of body and inquietude of mind, rather than act against the divine law, the law of conscience, or the just regulations of society; this is what I consider to be the true test of honor. Thus, to avoid ignominy is not a motive which would justify the performance of an unlawful action; and no truly courageous man has ever yet fought from such a motive. Ignominy, as regards this practice, is a phantom to terrify the timid, to govern the weak, and to force cowards to assume the semblance of a virtue which they have not. Hence, it has frequently and justly been observed, that they who entered the field of single combat, to preserve their names from the post, were very inefficient comrades when armies rushed to the charge. Perhaps the following anecdote, which is given from highly respectable authority, would not lead far towards an opposite conclusion.

At a period when duelling was not as much discountenanced as it ought to have been in the French army, a gentleman of very strict moral habits held a commission in a regiment, and having refused to accept an offered challenge, could not make either explanation or apology, without being guilty of the exposure of another, or of a falsehood, which he abhorred equally as he did the duel. His peculiar situation did not permit his immediate compliance with several suggestions of retirement, and he had to endure the mortification of remarks and coldness, even at the common table, from his fellow-officers; he was designated in their circle as "the coward." On a particular occasion, he was observed to remain long after the period at which he had latterly been accustomed to retire, and his feelings had been frequently and deeply wounded by the major, who had indeed seldom respected them. This officer, upon withdrawing, was quickly followed by him who had been the object of his reproach; and the company which they had left was soon summoned to an unexpected scene.

At a short distance from the house, they found the major inquiring, with anxious gratitude, to whom he owed his life, which had been assailed in the dark by three ruffians, and heard him receive the calm but emphatic answer—"to the coward." One of the assailants lay a corpse, one seriously wounded, and the other was a disarmed prisoner in the coward's grasp. They had rushed upon a man unable to protect himself, and had been overcome by a man who had too much courage to be a duellist. To an almost involuntary expression of surprise, the only reply was: "Major! the God whom we profess to serve has ordered me to return good for evil; my life and my exertions are the property of my king and the French nation. I know when I ought to be prepared to lay down or to expose that life, as well as when I ought to preserve it; and I trust I shall be always ready to do my duty, and not to be drawn from its performance, by the unmeaning taunts of persons who have no opinion of their own, but are led by the caprice of others." To a request of the officer's that he should forget what had occurred, his reply was, that he had never borne any ill-will to those who had ill-treated him; and that during the period of his stay there was no probability of any diminution of friendship, as he was preparing to join another regiment, into which he had obtained an exchange, and the officers of which held, he believed, principles congenial to his own.

This might bear the semblance of what is made in romance, but let it be remembered that those books are given as an imitation of real life, and the testimony from which this has been received was unexceptionable. Probably I shall not go too far, in making the assertion, that instances of such magnanimity, fortitude, and heroism are more frequent than we are supposed to believe. Human nature, thank God! is not so universally depraved as to debase us all, and there are to be found this day, probably, brave generals who could wipe the vile phlegm from their brow, and tell the brainless simpleton that caused it,

as did a valiant man who led armies to victory: "Young man, you should suffer for your misdonduct, if I could as easily wipe your blood from my conscience, as I can your spittle from this forehead." Did his king or his army respect his head the less for that defilement? Does not his name stand higher in your estimation than if he had been the victor in a hundred duels? But you will answer me, that his character was his protection. Yes, my friends, it was, and so will it be the protection of every man who prefers the discharge of his duty to the indulgence of his passion, and who fears God, but who has no other fear. Such a man need not engage in a combat to avoid disgrace; the cloud of erroneous opinion may indeed obscure his disc, but it will be transient, and the restoration of his radiance will be more welcome.

The duel for the protection of honor might be considered that to which I ought principally if not exclusively to have paid attention, since most of our modern combats are, or affect to be, of this description; but I have preferred leaving it to the last, because an opportunity has been afforded of considering in the previous examination, especially of the trial by combat to avoid disgrace, many principles which will bear with equal force upon this case. The grand distinction between this and the others is, that this appears to have less superstition and more of what the world calls spirit. I freely concede that the plea in its favor is more specious, and the delusion which surrounds it is stronger. I have, therefore, reserved it for the purpose of being more fully met by the application of the general principles upon which all duels are condemned. For the reprobation of each kind, special names were adduced, which in each case bore upon the peculiar demerits of the particular species, nor is the reprobation of this without strong and powerful special arguments, the outline of which, only, I shall mark; and for the cause before assigned they must lose much of their strength in my prudent mode of using them, since this duel is peculiarly

condemned by the Gospel, from the aid of which, on the present occasion, I have by advice, and upon consideration, almost debarred myself. But before I enter upon those special grounds, let us consider the general topic upon which every species of duelling is found to be immoral and unlawful.

Man, being a creature, is amenable to his Creator; and it is immoral in him to violate the law of that great Self-Existent to whom he owes the homage of all his faculties and the most perfect obedience. I shall assume, as granted, that the Almighty has made known to man His canon against self-destruction. I assume, also, that an isolated human being, however unconnected he might be with his fellows, has not, morally speaking, from the Lord of life and death, the power of putting a period to his own existence; but must await the summons of his Judge, either by the process of His general law or by some special message. I assume another principle as equally clear, that no individual has a natural right to take away the life of his fellow-man. And here a question arises, the examination of which becomes extremely important, but into the discussion of which I shall not now enter at any length. Whence is derived the right which States possess to punish malefactors by death? Whence the right to slay in war, and whence the right of individuals to slay an unjust aggressor? I answer: From Him who alone has the power to make the grant; from the Creator. Man not being, therefore, master of his own life, could not bestow what was not under his dominion, he could not give to society, nor to its government, nor to an individual, a title which did not exist in himself. Where distinct history and plain reason concur in exhibiting facts to us, it would be palpable folly on our part to resort to speculation and conjecture, to seek for the knowledge taught to us by this better mode. It is a fact that God has left to society the power or the right of regulating its various forms of civil government accommodated to its various circumstances. But upon every regular government, thus created

or accepted by the people, He bestows the powers necessary for the well-being of society, and amongst others that of punishing malefactors even capitally, that of repelling enemies even by the infliction of death, and of carrying war for just cause into their territories; also, in cases of extreme necessity, where no other mode of preserving his own safety is left to an individual, God and the government bestow upon him the right of guarding his own life by taking that of an unjust aggressor, but it is bestowed only in that extreme case, and under the double responsibility of him who uses it to the tribunal of his country and the tribunal of his God. The evidence in support of these facts is plain and ample; but it is one of our misfortunes that we too often desert the solid ground of fact to amuse ourselves in a speculation which we miscall philosophy.

Governments thus vested with power by God and by the people, by the Creator and by the creature, have regulated the great principles of social order by the light of reason, perhaps aided by the revelation of Him from whom reason emanates. One of their first principles is, that the unsettled differences of individuals shall be adjusted, not by the passions of the disputants or their friends, but by the tribunals of the nation. Were the power of inflicting death for offences taken from the impartial tribunals and vested in the interested individuals, what a scene of desolation would this world of ours present! How would injury excite revenge, and revenge produce retaliation! The sweet charities of life would be driven from our solace, and ruffian violence would stalk forth crushing as he proceeded in his horrid triumph. Where should we find the abode of virtue, the asylum of innocence, the safeguard of youth, or the protection of age? Is the duellist to be their bulwark? Or shall the unblushing transgressor of the first principle of social order presume to offer his offensive and unholy aid to sustain the sanctions of that law whose very sanctity he has disregarded? He has hurled down the judge, profaned the bench, insulted the legislature, usurped the high prerogative

of heaven, and stood in open conflict with the Eternal; and this unprincipled man, with honor on his lips and transgression in his acts, dares to say that in the indulgence of the malignant spirit of his revenge is to be found the salvation of good order! No! If we were to reduce this principle to practice, every man would stand armed against his brother, and in one century the generation of Adam would be extinguished by the fall of the last murderer upon the decaying limbs of his last victim, whilst the good angels would look down with horror and pity upon that spot over which demons exulted. The providence of heaven, to prevent this evil, has decreed that in the wildest horde which roves through our forests there should exist some semblance of a tribunal by which human life is saved from the malignity of human passion.

Man, then, has not power over his own life. Society does not derive from individuals its power of taking away life. Although no injury should result to others from the death of an isolated man; still he will be himself a criminal if he procures it; nor has he a right to concede to another what is not permitted to himself, much less is he justified in depriving another human being of life; neither can he plead that he did it with the consent of him whom he slew. Such consent is a mockery; it is a grant of what could not be given; it is the assumption of what could not be taken; it is an immoral, an irreligious usurpation of the prerogative of the Deity, who is the sole arbiter of life and death. What then shall we say of those who add to this crime the horrors of multiplied injustice and the laceration of feelings; who inflict protracted and unutterable agony upon an innocent and impoverished family? Unfortunate delinquent! do you not see by how many links your victim was bound to a multitude of others? Does his vain and idle resignation of his title to life absolve you from the enormous claims which society has upon you for his services, his family for that support of which you have robbed them, without your own enrichment; his tottering parents for their consolation,

perhaps for the supply of their wants, and the helpless and indigent for that bread by which he sustained them? Who will give professions to his sons, who will cherish and protect his daughters? Was it honorable to plot in secret, and to perpetrate by stealth, the foul deed which has torn with so rude a shock the affections of the wife of his bosom and children of his heart? Go stand over that body; call back that soul which you have driven from its tenement; take up that hand which your pride refused to touch not one hour ago. You have in your pride and wrath usurped one prerogative of God. You have inflicted death. At least, in mercy, attempt the exercise of another; breathe into those distended nostrils, let your brother be once more a living soul. Merciful Father, how powerless are we for good, but how mighty for evil. Wretched man! he does not answer; he cannot rise. All your efforts to make him breathe are vain; his soul is already in the presence of your common Creator; like the wretched Cain will you answer to the inquiring voice, "Am I my brother's keeper?" Why do you turn away from the contemplation of your own honorable work? Yes, go as far as you will, still the admonition will ring in your ears, it was by your hand he fell; the horrid instrument of death is still in that hand, and the stain of blood upon your soul. Fly, if you will, go to that house which you have filled with desolation. It is the shriek of his widow, they are the cries of his orphans, there are the broken sobs of his parent, and amidst the wailing of his family you distinctly hear the voice of imprecation on your own guilty head. Will your honorable feeling be content with this? Have you now had abundant and gentlemanly satisfaction? Or have you, too, received your death-wound, and what must be the agony which you endure at beholding now, forlorn, destitute, and overwhelmed, her to whom you swore protection, fidelity, love; who is to watch over those lovely babes from whom you turn your aching eye. Oh! what must be the feeling when a father cannot look with complacence upon his child! You love

them;—indeed you do, and all the affection of a parent rushes in accelerating fever through your frame and sustains life a little longer. But it throbs at your sinking heart and bewilders your tortured soul; the agonies of one world and the horrors of another surround your bed of death, whilst the unsatisfied ghost of your opponent hovers above, shrieking the dismal summons to the bar of an insulted God. My friends, I paint no imaginary scene; but I shall not detain you in the chamber of horrors; let us depart from it to inquire into the nature of that honor, the mistakes concerning which produce such lamentable effects.

Honor is the acquisition and preservation of the dignity of our nature; that dignity consists in its perfection; that perfection is found in observing the laws of our Creator; the laws of the Creator are the dictates of reason and of religion; that is, the observance of what He teaches us by the natural light of our own minds, and by the special revelation of His will manifestly given. They both concur in teaching us, that individuals have not the dominion of their own lives, otherwise no suicide would be a criminal. They concur in teaching us that we ought to be amenable to the laws of the society of which we are members, otherwise morality and honor would be consistent with the violation of law and the disturbance of the social system. They teach us that society cannot continue to exist, where the public tribunals are despised or undervalued, and the redress of injuries withdrawn from the calm regulation of public justice, for the purpose of being committed to the caprice of private passion and the execution of individual ill-will. Therefore, the man of honor abides by the law of God, reveres the statutes of his country, and is respectful and amenable to its authorities. Such, my friends, is what the reflecting portion of mankind has always thought upon the subject of honor. This was the honor of the Greek—this was the honor of the Roman—this the honor of the Jew—this the honor of the Gentile—this, too, was the honor of the Christian, until the superstition and bar-

barity of Northern devastators darkened his glory and degraded his character.

Is not the pride of the American the predominance of the law? Is not law itself the emanation of the public will, and is not submission to the public will the first principle of genuine republicanism? Are our governments so weak or so corrupt as to be unable to protect us, so that we must be thrown upon our individual and private resources, instead of looking to the power of the social compact and the guardianship of the social head? Shall we proclaim to the world, that we in South Carolina are brought back to such a state of dereliction that our public tribunals, the institutions of the country, the government itself cannot protect us from insult, and that we are thus reduced to the necessity of trusting to ourselves? Let not such a libel be handed over to the defaming press of Europe by an ungrateful progeny; let it not be said that none are safe from insult in republics, except they have been well trained to the use of the pistol or the rifle, or the dexterity of gouging! Are those the emblems of honor? But why place the ruffian who plucks out your eye upon the same level with the gentleman who uses a pistol? I acknowledge my error; I ought not; because the one deprives you of life, and perhaps of heaven, whilst the other only leaves you sightless. Still, though the injury is greater, the barbarity is not equal; there is more refinement in one than in the other, but there is also more criminality; there is more apparent delicacy in the mode of violating the law, but the substantial violation is more enormous; the criminal, in the one case, has fashionable fellow culprits—in the other, he has the more recent impulse of strong passion. It is not for us to strike the ratio of their culpability; their Judge and ours—He who has forbidden murder, and also declared that whosoever would call his brother "thou fool," should be guilty of hell fire, will apportion their destiny. My present inquiry regards only the honor of the transaction, and I can measure out to the duellist merely

as much of that excellent quality as is consistent with the violation of his duty as a rational being, as a religious being, as a member of society, and as the citizen of a State whose laws describe the offence as a felony. Patriotism, social order, religion, and reason, then, forbid me to designate as honorable this bad practice, which criminal fashion has too frequently promoted and encouraged. Being therefore evil in its own nature, it cannot be a proper mode for the protection of honor.

My friends, in what does this protection of honor consist? In affording to its assailant the opportunity of destroying your life, certainly at the risk of his own. What would you think of the wisdom and equity of that judge who should sentence a peaceable citizen, that had been assaulted, to suffer the same punishment as his convicted assailant? If you challenge the aggressor to fight, do you not inflict, upon your innocent and injured self, the same punishment as upon the offender? Admirable wisdom! But why do I seek for any semblance of reason, in what its own advocates avow to be defenceless, upon the principles of reason? They only attempt its palliation upon the plea of expediency. They tell us that the dread of the pistol preserves the decorum of society. Are we so fallen or debased as this? A vile fear is then the motive of gentlemanly conduct! Hear this, Carolinians! I will not undertake an elaborate defence; adopted into your family, I see your faults, and I know your virtues: my own conscience and your candor will acquit me of flattery, when I pronounce the charge which this excuse would insinuate to be groundless. Your politeness has not been produced by pistol-discipline; nor would you speedily degenerate from what has been the characteristic of your fathers, were you bound to avoid this bad practice, by if possible stronger ties than those which the State, sound reason, and pure religion have imposed upon you. Shall it be again repeated that the good order, the dignity of our Southern society, is to be preserved in any measure by the pistol? No. If

we may pay attention to occurrences, we must perceive that too often the intruder upon the polite circle is he who has made himself most formidable as a duellist, and that he whose deportment is most correct, is he who proclaims that he will not enter into such a combat. I need not inform a Charleston auditory that natural good qualities, improved by education and by opportunity, and not the terrors of ammunition, fashion the conduct of a gentleman; and that respectable society is fully able, without violation of the laws of God or of the State, or outraging the principles of reason, to banish from its circle, and frown down to his proper place, the individual who would violate its decorum.

Again, it said, that there are injuries for which the laws neither do nor can provide redress, and to avenge which is the only mode that has been ever known or devised. I admit that there are injuries for which no compensation can be made to the sufferer, and for which the weakness of nature and the violence of passion prompt us to seek the most desperate revenge; but, waiving every other answer, I ask, is it reasonable or religious for the injured man to expose himself to destruction? I am told that, in such a case, I should speak of neither reason nor religion; that the feelings of honor only must be attended to. When the two great lights of our nature have been cast away, and a desperate mortal surrenders himself to the guidance of a blind spirit of revenge, which he miscalls honor, it is as useless to urge argument, as it would be to discuss the principles of his derangement with a maniac; as hopeless to rely upon entirely, as it would be to soothe the famished tiger from his bleeding feast. There is, indeed, one mighty Being, who alone could, in such a moment, effect a miraculous change, and by His power subdue the rage of passion to that resignation which brings peace from heaven, and demands the homage of respectful sympathy from earth. But, though it be not in man's power to change the heart of man, still power is frequently given to him to arrest the progress of his brother to destruction. Thus, at least, the

first fury of his passion will subside; reflection, remonstrance, entreaty, and explanation will proceed, and God would perhaps crown the work by diffusing His light around, and speaking powerfully to the soul. He at whose word the winds are still, the sea is calm, and the perilled mariner is safe, might assuage the tempest of the mind, allay the madness of desperation, and save two fathers to their families, two citizens to the State, and two souls from perdition. Such, gentlemen of the Anti-Duelling Association, is one of the principal objects of our society to volunteer our services in aid of the law of God and of our country; to restrain not by any arbitrary assumption of authority, but by the arm of the law, the unfortunate victim of a delusive passion, whilst he labors under its influence.

But this restraint, it is said, will lead to assassination; and who does not shudder at the idea of such a result? Is not duelling, however condemnable in itself, preferable to assassination? For one, though I were to stand alone in making the assertion, I deliberately say, No. They are both evils; if we are driven to a preference the lesser should be accepted. Generally speaking, the assassin is a greater criminal than the duellist, but duelling is a greater evil to society. That which is less destructive is less evil; that which excites more detestation will be more seldom engaged in and more speedily suppressed; it will therefore produce less mischief. Such is assassination. The assassin is not received into society; he who has slain his adversary in a duel too frequently is. The more delicate sex generally shrink from the former; shall I charge them with abetting the crime by encouraging, or at least not disapproving of, the conduct of the latter? I shall not sit in judgment upon them; let them answer for themselves. How many persons generally perish by the hand of the assassin throughout the world, in the lapse of a century! Very probably a greater number has fallen in duels in France alone in less than twenty years, during the reign of Henry IV. Not only would the loss of life be incalculably less, but

the moral sentiment of detesting murder would be better preserved. There is nothing more destructive to public virtue that to strip vice of its deformity. Since we have entered upon the distinguishing comparison, we may conclude that the saving of human life would be great, the horror of slaughter would be stronger, the punishment of culprits more certain and effectual, and the correct moral principles of society would be better preserved. It is upon those grounds that I stated my opinion that, in a public point of view, duelling is not preferable to assassination. There is besides another very material difference, that in the one case there are at least four guilty persons, both the principals and seconds, whilst the other crime is generally perpetrated by an individual. There is little danger of having the great principles of morality sapped by the crime and punishment of such a culprit as Beauchamp; but if the same bad passion, which was condemned in his act of assassination, had procured its vent with the same result to his miserable victim in a duel, instead of expiating the murder upon a gallows, the wretched Beauchamp would have been thoughtlessly received into several societies as a meritorious man of undoubted valor.

Gentlemen of the Anti-Duelling Association, it has been said that our society has done mischief, since no period has been more marked in this city for quarrels than that year which has witnessed our union. Of course it is assumed that since they have occurred at this time they must have been produced by the formation of our body. I am not prepared to admit the fact; and even if admitted, the semblance of its reasoning is but a common sophism, for coexistence does not necessarily involve connection. But suppose them to have been so caused, it is but one of those temporary inconveniences which is always looked for upon any change. You can say better than I can whether the charge itself is true; my impression is against its correctness. The year just elapsed has presented in this city a novel feature, to the examination of which, and of everything connected therewith,

unusual attention was paid, and occurrences which at other times would have been unnoticed or disregarded, became not only matters of observation, but of remark and of some ephemeral importance; the very character of the transaction has done much to promote our object. But that novelty has now passed away; and surely, in our mixed state of good and evil, we ought not, because of a few inconveniences, desist from making every exertion to attain the paramount good of establishing a general conviction, that true honor is incompatible with the indulgence of passion, the injury of public morals subversive of the fundamental principles of society, and opposed to the laws of the State, to the pervading maxims of the good and the wise of every civilized nation in every age of the world, and to the eternal will of the most high God. Let us then continue our efforts to subdue by the arm of the law, which is and which ought to be every American's beloved protector, the temporary madness to which, owing to the imperfection of our nature and the violence of passion, the best amongst us might sometimes be liable; and to declare to our fellow-citizens that we look upon true honor to be the accurate fulfillment of the laws of God and of the State, and that its highest grade is to be found in him who sacrifices his passions upon the altar of his duty. Thus shall we, at least, save our consciences from reproach and our names from inconsistency. Let us be moderate but firm; and as we claim over our fellow-citizens no precedence in virtue, in understanding, or in power, we shall not pretend to any exemption from the common frailties of our nature, to any right of dictation, or to any color of office, whilst we use that power which they and we possess in common, to proclaim our sentiments freely, and to co-operate in the execution of that code which but expresses the will of that State to which we owe allegiance and the behests of that God to whom we owe perfect homage.

On former occasions, the presence of ladies at the tournament excited all the ardor of those who sought distinction

in the lists; notwithstanding the edicts, the censures, and the denunciations of religion and the law, the radiance of beauty flung its halo around the field. If the troubadour sought to inspirit the youthful warrior, the smile of some damsel was the reward which he promised as the rich requital of his bold achievement. Thus, too often has the influence of the more virtuous sex been turned to hurtful or to unprofitable account. May we not hope for powerful aid from the daughters of Carolina in the cause of virtue and of honor? In the day of trial, then, mothers were found faithful to their country and its rights; they encouraged their husbands, their brothers, and their sons to exhibit their prowess, not in disgraceful domestic feuds, but in deeds of valor for the defence of their homes and the vindication of their freedom; they were proud to see them marshalled under the command of Washington, who was too intrepid to accept a challenge. Did they fall in the field of true honor, those women gave tears to nature, and affection to the memory of those whose blood became the cement of that Union in which was found safety to their friends and glory to their nation. Daughters of such mothers! are our arguments founded upon true principles and glaring facts? Are you satisfied that the practice of duelling is one of the worst remnants of pagan barbarity? Do you believe it to be unnecessary for preserving the refinement of our Southern society? Then be you our leaders in the sacred effort to identify law and honor, reason and the deportment of the gentleman, and to establish a wide distinction between the assertion of dignity and the indulgence of passion.

CLASSICAL EDUCATION.[1]

THAT learning is useful for the purpose of perfecting civilized society, has been so frequently repeated, and so generally and unhesitatingly received as a maxim, that no one would be found to question its truth. But probably one of the greatest evils which accompanies the spontaneous assent to evident propositions is, that being generally couched in universal terms, their expression becomes ambiguous; and whilst words are preserved, ideas may be lost. Would it not then be desirable sometimes to revert to those maxims in order to fix their meaning by elucidating their phraseology?

Literature has usually been considered under a twofold aspect: speculative and practical; whilst the former merely regards abstract truth, the latter applies it to our concerns. I am inclined to believe that there exists much less of merely speculative learning than is generally supposed, and that what frequently receives this appellation is but the appropriate basis upon which is raised the great superstructure of that which is practical. If I be correct in this view, it will greatly narrow the inquiry which I propose to make. Allow me, therefore, to illustrate by example rather than to establish by theory what will, I trust, justify me in assuming this position.

The demonstrations of mathematics and the calculations of algebra would, by several persons, be instantly denominated speculative; and even some might be found who would call their study idle: but abandon them, and see

[1] An address delivered May 9, 1832, before the Literary and Philosophical Society of South Carolina, on the occasion of its Anniversary.

how much practical knowledge you destroy. The surveyor, the engineer, the architect, the ship-builder, and many others, will immediately experience the most sensible checks in their several pursuits. The observations of the heavens, the calculation of the paths of the planets, of the distances of the stars, their magnitude, relation, and position, would seem to have little influence upon the ordinary avocations of busy life; it might specially be supposed that they have no connection whatever with mercantile transactions; yet it is clear that the science of navigation depends chiefly upon astronomy, and the interchange of commodities is carried on through navigation; and thus much of the profit derived by the modern active merchant from the facilities of our age has been remotely created by the researches of some secluded, contemplative sage whose bones have mouldered in former centuries, either in Chaldea or in Egypt. How well may we compare the results of learning to the action of the human frame. We can seldom detect the original source, and we are altogether ignorant of the principle of motion; so the great bulk of men observe clearly the continued effects of causes which to them are totally unknown. Place the rude canoe and a steam frigate side by side; erect the wigwam upon the area of the capitol; bring the accomplished surgeon or the reflecting physician to the desolate child of the forest, who lies mangled or gasping near the uncouth weapon of the chase; send a competent master on board of that vessel to bring joy and safety to an exhausted crew who, since the loss of their leader, have been worn down by exertion and fatigue, sailing in a variety of directions, unable to make any harbor and totally ignorant as to whither they have been driven. In all these cases the utility of practical learning will be admitted; but in most of those instances the knowledge which confers the unquestioned benefit is evidently founded upon what many persons have designated abstract or speculative science. But I will go farther and will not hesitate to say that in nearly all the ordinary concerns of life this science produces the most

beneficial effects, without vainly exhibiting its agency; whilst we, who have lived only in polished or civilized society, view those very effects as the results of unaided nature; just as those Eastern beings, who have never gone beyond the precincts of their own palaces and gardens, and upon whose presence even the cultivator or the artist must not intrude, can form no idea of what aspect the uncultivated mountains would present; nor of the labor and industry that have been expended to produce those scenes with which they have always been familiar, and which they regard as being natural.

It might be then inquired whether there exists any merely speculative science, that is, any which is not applicable to the common purposes of life. I am inclined to believe that there does not. My conclusion is founded upon a view of particulars, and in this view I think that I embrace all necessary to make the enumeration perfect. Let us chiefly take up what are usually designated as the learned professions.

Law should be considered under its twofold aspect, legislation, or the creation of appropriate rules of conduct, together with their sanction; and judgment, or the application of those laws, as well by the enforcement of the rule as by the punishment of the offender. Here life, liberty, property, public peace, private security, and a great variety of the principal concerns of man in his earthly career are deeply and perpetually implicated. Besides that severe mental discipline and habitual restraint which arise from a good education and a regular exercise of the superior faculties, a nice power of discrimination, extensive acquaintance with ancient legal enactments of the several civilized nations, the circumstances which called them into existence, their mode of operation, the knowledge of how far they proved remedial or useful, by what means they degenerated or became injurious, perverted, or abused, will be at least highly desirable; to which should be added, familiarity with their history, as also the intimate observation of the actual

state of society, and generally of the human character. It must be confessed that here there is much of what is usually called practical rather than speculative science. But to converse beneficially with the ancient legislators and moralists, we must speak their language. It is true, that an interpreter might be employed; but which of us would feel himself justified, under the pretext of having a translator, and saving more time to study facts in preference to words, by neglecting the study of those languages which had during centuries been used in the republic of letters, to restrict his intercourse with the most distinguished citizens of the civilized world? But if we give the principle to which I here allude its full play, we shall not have left to us even the interpreter himself; since if the acquisition of languages be a waste of time, no person should be encouraged to extravagance. Whatever my respect might be for gentlemen who think differently, I am clearly of opinion that a perfect knowledge of the ancient languages is required for the study of ancient documents and of ancient history, and that such learning is far from being unnecessary for an accomplished legislator. It is to him the experience of several ages.

It is not unfrequently urged against this position that we have seen in these republics many instances of great men who have well discharged their duty without these aids. I do not question the truth of the assertion; but my inference would be that they would have done better had they been so aided. It is added that men of this description have, in some instances, outstripped those of classical attainments. I would only reply, that with the help of those attainments, they would have gone farther. I am equally far from supposing that what is useful is all-sufficient, as I am from imagining that every rule is without an exception, or that a prodigy is an ordinary production. As well might it be argued, that the improvements which produce speed and comfort in our packets are useless, because our rivers and our seas were passed before their introduction. I have arrived then at the conclusion, that for the legislator the

perusal of ancient documents is extremely valuable; and that as they can be best understood in their original phraseology, the study of the languages in which they are written is not, for him, a mere speculative engagement, but a useful portion of practical literature.

The judicial application of the law requires all the critical qualifications of the legislator in a more perfect degree, because, for this purpose, the object and meaning of the statute or custom must be perfectly comprehended: not only must its principles be appreciated, but the fair exceptions should be known with equal accuracy as the rule itself: the judge should be familiar with the great maxims of evidence, by whose aid facts will be clearly developed and placed in their proper and precise station, for the purpose of learning how far they come under the operation of the enactment. Nor can the jurist who is to arrange and bring his case under the observation of the court be less able to make that disposition of his materials without serious injury to the client, who, relying upon his capacity, has placed his interests in his hands. How much, then, of what is thoughtlessly called speculative learning, is of absolute practical necessity to the sages of the bench and the members of the bar? He who will make ancient language and ancient history his study, and will look patiently to their mutual aid for their mutual explanation, will discover treasures of ancient lore, which the half-informed pronounce, hastily, to be barbarism, because in a different state of society from that to which we are accustomed they aptly provided for the public weal, by remedies which would be equally unsuited to our circumstances as our regulations would be inapplicable to the customs of that age. Their laws and ours, like the coin of different nations, bear different devices and unlike inscriptions, but each is plate or bullion; and he who possesses both is richer than is the one who in fastidious self-sufficiency flings either away. Certainly, he who could acquire coin of only one description would act prudently in preferring that which is current where he sojourns: and if the

contracted mind or the curtailed opportunities of a professional man compelled him to be satisfied with only an alternative, the language which is now used, and the laws now in force, demand his preference; but if his leisure and opportunities will allow him to extend his studies, the added wealth of ancient times will better qualify him for enacting, for expounding, and for applying the provisions of the law to the circumstances by which he is surrounded.

Let us view the requisite qualifications for a useful member of the medical faculty, or for an accomplished and scientific surgeon. Besides that power of acute perception with which, as a kind of instinct, a man might be specially gifted, so as almost intuitively to detect the seat, the nature, and the extent of a disease, it is highly desirable that the mind should have been so disciplined as to avoid the hasty conclusions to which an overweening and too confident self-sufficiency would rush. The general and usual diagnostics are greatly modified by the habits of the individual, by the influence of climate, by the period of life, by the previous treatment, and by a number of other peculiarities which vary to an indefinite extent. If the truth of the admonition, *festina lente*, can be more usefully practical in any one case than another, it is here. Genius, decision, and action quick as thought can often do much for life and health; but, unfortunately, they may also, by one mistake, fix the irrevocable doom of the patient. It is not by the knowledge of the names of diseases and of their usual stages; it is not by the repetition of the vocabulary of a dispensary, and an acquaintance with some of the chief properties of drugs; it is not from the hasty, wanton mangling of a decaying subject, and possessing a general notion of the uses of bones, muscles, and vessels, that correct and useful medical skill is acquired. No; it is by the laborious investigation of a clear, calm, and cautious mind. No reading can supply the want of judgment, but no power of judgment will avail much without facts upon which its decisions may be formed. An original and distinct perception united to deliberate

reflection and steady habit of observation form the best foundation for useful healing knowledge; and every mode, by which these faculties can be improved, is an important branch of previous education.

I would here ask whether, generally speaking, the mind is prepared to receive the seeds of science by what is usually known as ordinary school discipline. I know not much the opinion of others, but I have formed my own. I would unhesitatingly say, No! And my impression is that it would be just as reasonable for the planter to expect a superior crop from an unprepared soil as it would be to look for medical or surgical proficiency from the attendance upon lectures by a half-educated youth, let his abilities be what they may. Whoever, either from his own experience or the testimony of others, is acquainted with the progress of knowledge amongst students, must at once concede that even the best-prepared tyro in science will lose at the commencement far more than is usually supposed, from the mere inability of an untrained mind to comprehend the views or to keep pace with the strides of an experienced proficient. We are the creatures of individual habit; no speculative observation will supply the place of training; it will certainly do much to improve the observer; but it will never, even in a moderately remote degree, be equally beneficial. It is true, you may sometimes meet with apparent exceptions to this rule, but I apprehend, that upon examination they will not be found such in reality. As there are men of great natural strength of body, of well-regulated courage and extraordinary agility, who will always be an overmatch for the best-trained individuals of puny frame and nervous debility; so in the literary world, there are those to whom God has given great mental energy, but to which power man has added little cultivation; such persons will always surpass these others, upon whom great human labor has been comparatively lost, because the Creator has withheld the necessary share of capacity. I need not, with you, dwell upon the impropriety of raising a sophism upon this

fact. I believe you will agree with me, that they whom this delusion could influence are not of the race of intellectual giants. Yet, in a community like ours, where there exists a general ambition to obtain the honors and emoluments of the learned professions in the shortest possible time, with the least possible expenditure, and only that quantity of exertion which will barely suffice, there must always be a disposition to dispense, as far as possible, with extensive preparatory education. When we add to this, that self-love which, in every individual, creates partiality and great esteem for himself, and for all his connections; and take into account a propensity to draw conclusions rather from possibilities and the imaginary fitness of things, than from observation and fact,—we need not be surprised at the prevalent disposition to dispense with altogether, or greatly to curtail, those preliminary modes of mental exercise which discipline the understanding and regulate the judgment; we need not be astonished, that, by several persons, the information which I would call practically useful will be denominated speculative. Under this head, I would class especially, mathematical, arithmetical, and metaphysical reasoning. The mind, thus prepared, will be more powerful, more attentive, more patient, more discriminating, and more expert. The attendance upon a single course of scientific lectures, by a person thus prepared, will generally be far more beneficial than the same course thrice attended by the same person, without this previous exercise.

Medicine is a more extensive school than that of law. Every observation which I have made regarding the utility of the dead languages to the lawyer, will apply with at least equal force in this school. It is in those languages that one will best converse with the great fathers of the science; it is in those peculiar idioms, of which no translation can convey the spirit which yet dwells in the original, that the very soul of the master is discovered. The structure and organization of the human frame is everywhere the same; and the science of healing its diseases is one of universal

interest. Wherever the victim of the original malediction is found, whether at the equator or near the pole, in China, in California, upon the Mississippi, the Ganges, the Danube, or the Nile; in the monarch's palace, or in the Arab's tent; whether he discourses in the halls of the academy or encounters the lion or the panther in the recesses of the forest, or under the open canopy of heaven; whatever be the tinge of his complexion, or the quality and form of his vesture he is equally a child of Adam, and not only bone of his bone, and flesh of his flesh, but moreover liable to all those disorders which that flesh is heir to. The necessity of studying and remedying or alleviating those disorders is, and has always been, and will always continue to be, a universal and an important concern. The subject of those disorders being, then, everywhere the same, and the attention of so many persons of various nations and ages having been given to the improvement of the science of healing, nothing can be more beneficial, or desirable, or proper, than that the good men so employed should possess the faculty of communicating, with ease and precision, to their brethren throughout the world, the useful discoveries which they make; and thus rapidly give to each individual of the fraternity the benefit derived from the experience of the whole body. This can only be continued, as it has heretofore been effected, by the preservation of a common language, the meaning of whose terms is not liable to change, and which is more or less prevalent throughout the regions of science and civilization, all over the universe. In this view, I fearlessly assert, that an accurate and extensive knowledge of the Greek and Latin languages, so far from being speculative or unnecessary literature, is essential for the preservation and perfection of medical knowledge and surgery.

Allow me to add one other observation. The names of drugs, of Chemical, mineral, and botanical productions, of which such extensive use is made, are, I may say, altogether in those languages, and certainly the vernacular appellations of substances in one region would be unintelligible in

another; and whosoever would profit by foreign research, or turn the discovery of another to account, must be at least acquainted with the tongue in which he speaks. The acquisition by all, then, of a few common languages, so far from being a useless waste of time and labor, is to the physician the saving of both; because it relieves him from the necessity of acquiring several new dialects, that he may converse with men of science; or, in case of neglect, he cannot profit by their labors, he must have his knowledge greatly abridged, he must be dependent upon his own experience and that of the comparatively small number by whom he is surrounded. In fact, the want of such a medium of scientific intercourse would be equivalent to a professional exclusion of each nation from the remainder of the universe. And what would now add to this evil, is the fact that the present nomenclature is, to those who are critically acquainted with the languages, an extremely well-regulated mode of instantly and exactly bringing several useful and important facts, regarding the nature of diseases and remedies, before the mind, with the lightest possible tax upon the memory. Thus, to the physician, the labor of a few years in childhood is, in fact, the economy of a large portion of his after life, and the greatest aid to his accuracy in practice. For him a large portion of what is hastily called speculation is the basis of truly practical knowledge.

My own peculiar situation, as well as the state of our religious society, preclude details regarding the science of theology. I shall merely observe that nearly all the principles that have been applied respecting the two professions which I have reviewed, are equally of force here. I shall make but a single statement regarding that science in the Church to which I belong; and in doing so, I would not be understood to insinuate any contrast to any other society, but merely to testify a fact for the purpose of sustaining the conclusion which I am anxious to support In our view, the science of theology does not, in the whole system of revealed religion, recognize a single speculative opinion,

but views the entire as a collection of facts, whose truth is to be ascertained by the most strict application of the ordinary rules of evidence. Supposing them to have been thus demonstrated, it considers every one of them to have an important bearing, not only upon the moral conduct of man in this transitory world, but upon his happiness or misery in that which is eternal. Thus we assume that in what is called speculative or dogmatical theology there does not exisist one merely speculative opinion. The Church itself is considered as a numerous society, whose discipline is law, one portion of which is a constitution that is considered permanent and unchangeable, another portion consists of statutes enacted by the universal legislature for the universal body, or by the local authorities for their particular districts. The enactment, repeal, amendment, and application of those laws must be governed by the same principles that regulate all other descriptions of correct legislation and judgment. However, upon this topic I do not wish to proceed farther, nor indeed is it necessary for my present purpose; I only desired to show that in each of the learned professions the usual classical education was an exceedingly useful preparation for the professional study itself; and I believe that I have made a sufficiently extensive enumeration, with observations calculated to show that, in preparing for the learned professions at least, what is too generally pronounced to be speculative literature is but the proper foundation for that which is truly practical.

I do not undertake to defend the abuses of the schools or of systems, nor to deny that there did exist a very injudicious mode of what was called "sharpening the mind," by habituating it to distinguish when there existed no ground for distinction; to affect doubt, where not only was common sense satisfied, but one would scarcely find room to thrust the other ingredients of a syllogism between the plain maxim and the palpable conclusion: neither will I make common cause with those superlatively ingenious disputants who demanded, for maxims, proof beyond the universal

testimony of common sense; and who would set up the assumed possibility of a doubt as of sufficient weight to counterbalance an ascertained fact. It is true that, at a former period, the schools of Europe trained up many of their students in an excess of this mode of exercise; it is true that the technical phraseology which they used was harsh and barbarous. But it is equally true, though perhaps it is unfashionable to make the statement, that many of the persons who in those days had to contend with disadvantages, which we might imperfectly describe but can never feel, have left us the evidence of the prowess which was then in existence. This is not the place, nor this the occasion, to say how many of the productions of those times have perished, like the glories of ancient Egypt, leaving but a few heavy pyramids and some splendid ruins to testify, amidst the lasting desolation, that before the day of wreck there was an age of genius.

During centuries, the way to the temple of literature has been through the halls of the ancients, and the languages of the republic of science have been principally the Greek and Roman; especially and more generally the latter. They who have been eminent in these great departments of knowledge, were made familiar with these tongues by their early and assiduous conversation amongst the classic authors. As it has sometimes happened that a nation has been assailed with the arms furnished from her own arsenal, so has the study of the classics been chiefly, and most formidably and adroitly, decried by men whose minds were amply furnished from these extensive and varied stores. We have occasionally, it is true, beheld some gigantic warrior, careless of discipline, untutored in tactics, and despising evolutions, rush boldly into the fight and spread destruction and terror for a time; the contusions of his uncouth mace gave to the carcasses of his victims an appearance even more horrid than that of death; but when the first emotions subsided, and his manner was observed, how easily was he overcome! The transient success which

he obtained was the result of the mighty force with which he had been originally gifted, and the unusual mode in which he made his assault; but had he added to his natural prowess the advantages of discipline, how much more formidable would he have been! The war-cry of such a combatant excited attention; an unusual interest was felt on his behalf; in his own person, he for a time seemed to furnish a practical illustration of the soundness of his cause. Yet, I would ask, to what are we to attribute that suggestion which is continually urging the observer to make considerable allowance in favor of such men because of their want of regular education, if it be not a universal concession that the mind thereby prepared is made therefore superior? For why should anything be conceded because of the neglect of classical education, if the want of that disciplinary course be not a manifest disadvantage?

The principal objection of those who would discontinue the study of the ancient classics is the alleged waste of time. They thus assume the very point at issue that the time is wasted. They attempt to prove the waste by the new assumption that no advantage is derived from the study. I have endeavored to show that the advantages were very great indeed. Conceding them to be great, they assert that the time and the means consumed are beyond the value of the acquisition. To sustain this position, they assume that, during the whole period in which the study of those authors is continued, the students have little or no other occupation. Such, however, is not the fact. This is not the place to enter into details, but it will easily be perceived that in a well-regulated course, though the classics appear to be the principal, because of the prominent objects, yet there are a multitude of others which, as an aggregate, equal, if they do not exceed, the quantity that occupies the foreground. It is stated that the time given to this useless occupation would be better devoted to more practical studies, which are omitted on its account. I apprehend the argument would be found quite defective if it were required to specify,

on one side, what the more practical omitted studies are; and then the occupations of a judiciously arranged course of education were exhibited in contrast; for not only would the object of these particular studies be found not omitted, but it would be seen that their perfect attainment was facilitated by the very means which were said to impede their acquisition.

Objections have frequently been made to the works used in the acquirement of those languages. They are said to be calculated to pervert the judgment, to delude and corrupt the imagination, and to taint the heart; perhaps I would be more accurate in saying that the allegation is, they tend to confirm its depravity. Were either of these statements sustained by evidence, I trust our society would be one of the last to encourage the destruction of the mental powers, or to ruin the eternal prospects of the children of Carolina; and if the classic authors usually read in schools were fitted to ends so mischievous, we would, indeed, be criminal in the highest degree by continuing or by encouraging their use. But let us not too hastily decide.

I know it is fashionable to decry almost the whole body of those men whom the civilized world, during ages, has regarded as learned. Men who have never read a page of their works have passed judgment upon them; persons who do not understand their language have furnished essays upon their demerits; they who know nothing of either the peculiarities of their situation, the circumstances of the nations in which they lived, the genius of their age, or the objects they had in view, have condemned them. For some it was convenient, for others it was easy; where the bold and the reckless lead the way, and some of the leaders are distinguished, it becomes as facile as it is fashionable for the multitude to follow; and he who hesitates is perhaps undervalued. We can easily observe how the great bulk of mankind is led along in fashion, in party, in taste, in politics, in amusement. Boldness, perseverance, zeal, and tact in turning favorable circumstances to account, will generally

insure success. Hence, though it be fashionable amongst a large class of our modern writers to cast obloquy upon the genius and acquirements of from twelve to fifteen centuries, the individual who addresses you must be permitted to say that he cannot unite in the vituperation. His own vision may be imperfect, or it may be that he mistakes the phantoms of imagination for the realities of life; and if it be a misfortune, he is unfortunate in common with a large portion of the great lights of our latter age; men in whose track he is proud to follow at a mighty distance. Though he be not "habituated to swear to the words of any master," yet he pays great deference to the united judgment of the learned men of every age and every nation of the civilized world; and, with very few exceptions, they have, by their precepts and their practice, exhibited the classic authors of Greece and Rome as the most correct models upon which to form the judgment of the literary student. To the mind's eye of him who stands before you, these witnesses appear venerable on both sides of the Bosphorus; rising up in the more polished parts of Asia, upon the continent and in the islands of Greece, spread along the northern coast of Africa, as also through Italy, Gaul, and Spain, during some centuries. It is true that the brilliancy of this scene was, for a time, overshadowed by the clouds of the tempestuous North and the desolating East. But as the atmosphere became attenuated, the beams of knowledge again diffused their cheering influence. Much has been swept away by the ruinous flood; but the cultivation became more widely extended, many of the former regions of science again produce their flowers and their fruits; Britain, Germany, and even Scandinavia herself became mellowed and fertile. In all those places the classic authors have been principally used for the direction of the judgment and the improvement of the taste; here, too, does he find many witnesses, and their succession continues. They appear also respectable and comparatively numerous at our side of the Atlantic. And though the speculative mind should indulge the inquiry as

to the mode in which they aid the judgment and improve the taste, and should declare itself unsatisfied with the philosophy of the explanation, yet the fact would not be the less obvious, and its nearly universal admission might be reasonably considered as good evidence as that which we have of our power of motion, though some abstruse investigators might be disposed to question the existence of even this too, as they can discover neither its origin nor process.

Will not the architect be greatly improved by the study of the ancient models? Does not the painter eagerly review the productions of former masters? Would the works of Phidias or of Praxiteles be useless to the sculptor? It is true, he might employ himself beneficially in contemplating those of Canova, of Thorwaldsen, and of Chantry: but why should even the torsos and fragments of former ages be cast away? Will the jurist make no useful acquirement by studying the disused or the repealed code, or the obsolete pleadings of his mighty predecessors? Though he should not find them obviously applicable to his immediate purposes, yet will they expand his mind, extend his views, confirm his knowledge of principles, and render him more acute in the investigation and arrangement of his facts. Thus will he be better qualified to turn to useful account the science that bears upon the very business in which he is engaged. The study of these ancient authors is not only useful to guide the judgment and to correct the taste, but to refine and warm some of our best affections. When the cloak of Cincinnatus is flung upon the shoulders of Washington, the coldness of even affected philosophy will thaw in the glow of that current which diffuses life and heat and ardor through the frame of the patriot; and the energy of his feeling has already secured in action that result, regarding whose attainment our semblance of reasoning would be only commencing its calculation. It is not so easy to give a demonstration of the mode in which the ardor is excited, as it is to prove that excitement itself exists; neither is it so perfectly within our reach to determine the process by

which our faculties are improved as to observe and to testify the improvement. The principle upon which the human mind is formed, the springs of action, and the workings of the human heart, are alike impervious to human observation; perhaps there is only one eye in the universe by which they are clearly discernible; and how immense is the distance between its strength and the weakness of ours? Shall we then deny the plain results of the experience of centuries, because we cannot perhaps give a demonstration from principle? To my view this would not be the perfection of wisdom; the larger portion of the little that we know has been derived from the observation of facts; we have very little, indeed, scarcely any, that is the mere deduction from principle; and though I have the full conviction that I am surrounded by my friends, still I am, as yet, altogether a stranger to the principle upon which consciousness accompanies vision; and I must candidly avow, that it is not by the aid of my philosophy I have become convinced of your presence.

The experience of the learned world has testified generally in favor of classical education, for directing the judgment and correcting the taste in composition, as well as for opening vast stores of useful information upon several of the most important subjects of practical science and historical details. My object not being to enter at large upon the vindication of the opinions which I communicate, nor to refute at length those from which I dissent, but rather to bring the topics under your consideration, and to suggest the points which would seem to demand special attention, I shall not enter farther upon the subject. To me, individually, the testimony to which I point is sufficient.

But, if I were insensible to the varied beauties of Virgil, the power of Demosthenes, the simplicity of Cæsar, the polish of Horace, the sublimity of Homer, the wit of Lucian, the neatness of Epictetus, and the perfection of so many other models of composition; if, in addition to all this, I held in no estimation men whose names have been

rescued by admiring multitudes, in every age, from the grasp of death, that fame should preserve them burnished —if the structure of my mind differed so widely from that of the great bulk of my fellow-mortals—and that, considering my own judgment and my own feelings the only tribunal by which I should be guided, I should find myself alone or with few associates; I might claim indeed to be unmolested, though I could not reasonably expect to have that which was esteemed valuable destroyed, because of the singularity of my notions. There is, perhaps, no truth, except a palpable fact or a manifest principle, which has not some opponents; and even here, perhaps, I would be warranted in striking out the exception, for Dagouner denied that there existed a negative proposition; and I have known an ingenious scholar who asserted that all mathematical reasoning was fallacious, because it flowed from first principles that were absurd, viz: the definitions of a point of a line and of a superficies. Hence, the dissent of some respectable men and good scholars, united to the declaration of some unlettered though vigorous-minded writers, weighs, I believe, but lightly against the general testimony in favor of the benefits conferred by an intimate acquaintance with the select writers of antiquity; and those which remain to us are merely a selection from the mighty mass, of which the vastly greater portion has perished. Should I be asked to explain philosophically the process by which the beneficial effect is produced, I will avow that it is as far beyond my power to undertake the specific exhibition, as it would be to demonstrate the special and particular process by which I was nourished and strengthened, and my powers developed by the food which I consumed in my adolescence. I doubt whether any of our medical friends would hazard his reputation by asserting that he could satisfy us upon the subject; or that the most speculative of our inquirers would abstain from food, until no doubt remained as to the correctness and sufficiency of the demonstration.

Respecting the tendency of these works to delude and to corrupt the imagination, or to confirm the depravity of the heart, I would beg to make a few observations. To the individual who addresses you, it has caused unmixed astonishment, when he more than once noticed this objection seriously urged, upon the ground of their tendency to gloss over the errors of polytheism and idolatry, and thereby to diminish the esteem in which we should hold the Christian dispensation. I trust that, with some few at least, I shall find credit for the declaration, that, however imperfect my practice may be, there exists not an individual who holds that dispensation in more high esteem than I do. To me it is everything. I value not the wealth, the fame, the science, the honors of the world, as worthy even for an instant to be taken into competition with the least of its appurtenances; and yet from my keenest scrutiny, from my most jealous examination, this danger has hitherto escaped notice. I will not say, that others might not have made the discovery: if they have, God forbid that I should for a moment condemn their rejection of this stumbling-block in the way of truth and life. If I could find in the annals of eighteen centuries a single act of apostasy fairly attributable to this cause, I might hesitate. But I find the earliest and most able advocates of Christianity generally deducing from this topic the very opposite conclusion; and, in several instances, their victory was achieved, and the cause of religion gained glorious accession, by the judicious contrast. I am under the impression that this is only one of those exhibitions in which there is evidenced considerable dexterity in the use of a weapon which is wielded only for exercise or amusement. No, my friends, I cannot think so poorly of the evidences of the Christian faith, as not to feel confident that their polish is made brighter, their temper better proved, and their points better sharpened, by trying them against the defences of opponents. Do forgive me, if I assure you that I am tempted to consider the man who would proclaim danger to Christianity

from the perusal of the classics, "would," to use the strong expression of another, "have cried fire in the days of the deluge!" Did I suppose that any one seriously entertained the apprehension I might seriously undertake to show it was groundless.

Their immoral tendency is the next ground upon which it is sought to sustain the objection. If the accusation be intended to apply to the great bulk of the authors, I apprehend that the charge can by no means be sustained. The works may be ranked in two divisions—into various classes: history, orations, harangues, philosophical disquisitions, literary dissertations, and epistles of friendship. These classes form an exceedingly large proportion of the whole. I do not think that I am by any means incorrect in asserting, that, as an aggregate, this collection is as free from immoral tendency as any equal bulk of the most select literary compositions of the present day. The historian of then and now will have to relate instances of gross turpitude and crime, but surely the sacred penman has done the same; and, generally speaking, the great crimes which disgrace our nature are censured as fully and as freely and as eloquently by the ancient classic historian, as they are by the modern. If, sometimes, the man of yore lauds the ambitious, the proud, the revengeful, the unforgiving, such characters are praised also in our own day; the maxims of the Gospel condemn both historians alike, and form a splendid contrast to each, showing that, at both periods, man is naturally the same; and that his perfection arises not from the progress of science, the march of intellect, the accumulation of time, and the wisdom of experience, but from a source different from all these. I am under the impression, that the effusions of Cicero and of Demosthenes might be as safely read as any forensic effort or popular harangue of the last year, within our own States. I do not argue for the perfection of the philosophy taught in the academy or in the palace; but I admire the efforts of the men, whilst I admit their

mistakes, and would correct their errors, whilst I point them out. I would also, where allowable, exhibit the simplicity and purity of that moral code bestowed by heaven, in contrasting it with the doubts, the conjectures, the imperfections, and the mistakes of those merely human efforts which at once exhibit the strength and the weakness of the human mind; and would establish their moral philosophy as an authentic document, to prove how necessary it was that man should learn his duties immediately from the mouth of his Creator. In the other compositions contained in this division, I feel confident that the closest scrutiny would result in the conviction, that, whilst they show the unchanging principles of literary excellence in the judicious precepts, the correct observations, and the pertinent and apt illustrations which they contain, they are as thoroughly free from any moral poison as the best and purest similar productions of any period or nation.

Another division consists of works of fancy and taste; principally epic and lyric poetry, fables, satires, mythological allegories, and a varied miscellaneous exhibition. I am free to acknowledge, that I know of no language or nation in which productions of this description have not their dangers, and are not, in several instances, liable to serious objection. However, in that portion of the ancient classic authors generally read in the schools, the selection will, I apprehend, be found less objectionable than what is every day in our tongue within the reach of every schoolboy. In the epic poetry, particularly, there is generally not only great delicacy of expression on all occasions, but there are very few instances where either by description or allusion any indelicacy is suggested; and he who would discover any in the portions of these works usually placed in the hands of children, may, without injustice, be supposed better fitted for the search than not only youths, but than the ordinary class of adult readers. I shall give no opinion as to whether so exquisite a tact for such discoveries argues more in favor of the vigor of the understanding or the

purity of the imagination. There are no well-regulated schools that I have known in which all the works of any author are read through; selections have been made from several; and the true question is, whether the portions so chosen are of a mischievous tendency. I shall make only two assertions. First, that a superabundance of what is admirable in literary merit, and perfectly innocuous in respect to purity of morals, can be taken from those authors. And, secondly, that, in the course of several years of intimate acquaintance with many schools, I have never known a departure from the principle of confining the pupils to the portions so selected. I might add, that I cannot, after considerable reflection, charge my memory with an instance of moral mischief that I could trace to this system of education; and perhaps my opportunities of observation have been less restricted than those of most of my acquaintance. That objectionable passages might be found in other parts of the same work, or that they were taught in other schools, or that they were read subsequently by the pupils, is no answer to the proposition which I sustain; for I do not assert, that there are no actual or possible abuses; and if I am to abandon every useful object which is liable to abuse, the residue, which I may lawfully take up, will be small indeed!

Far be it from me to say that an ingenious mind could not get up an admirable dissertation to contravene what I advance. I only make a simple appeal to your own memory and to your own judgment.

The care in selecting from the lyric poetry should be far greater, for I am ready to admit that a large portion of it, in Greek and Latin, as well as in English, is of a most censurable character; but I have never known this read in schools, and am decidedly hostile to its introduction. If a satire be a less perfect mode of censuring vice, yet it is a censure; and though there exists a preferable course of correction, it does not follow that what is less good is absolute evil, and therefore unfit to be perused,

though not under all circumstances the best model for imitation.

The principal ground on which the more numerous body of objections have sought to maintain the position, that morality was injured by the classics, was the assumption that the very essence of mythology is contaminating, by its exhibition of the unbecoming criminal adventures of the principal deities; whereby, not only is vice made respectable, but the imagination is seriously injured by filling the memory with the knowledge of these demoralizing transactions. This topic has, unquestionably, a better appearance of force than most of the others which I have considered; yet, upon examination, it will be found of little value. In such recitals, the good or evil is produced by the mode of representation. The preacher of the most pure morality is frequently employed with great advantage in painting the most revolting scenes of vice, for the purpose not only of holding it up to the detestation of the innocent, but to strike the very profligate themselves with horror at the view of their own likeness, and thus bring them to repentance; whilst, on the other hand, the artful and eloquent destroyer of virtue will succeed in his nefarious projects, by delicately turned allusions, which excite the most dangerous passions, without the employment of a single expression of a revolting character.

Two questions would here present themselves for solution. The first, whether all knowledge of ancient history is to be withheld from future generations. The second, if that knowledge neither can nor ought to be extinguished, whether it can be preserved without an acquaintance with mythology. I apprehend the effort to destroy the knowledge of history would be as useless as it would be unbecoming; as ridiculous as it would be unjust. And I would ask, how any one could seriously undertake to preserve the history of nations, whilst he suppressed all allusions to their religion; or how those allusions could be intelligible without entering upon the region of mythology? If, then,

this obliteration of knowledge be neither practicable nor desirable, we must, whether we will or not, examine how it may be communicated, not only with safety, but with advantage. The best things are liable to abuse, and it has frequently happened that what was most sacred has been most perverted. Far be it from me to insinuate that an impure mind has never turned to vile purposes the facts and fictions of this ancient religious delusion, in like manner as such minds have in an impious way perverted the most awful facts and useful institutions of divine truth. The knowledge of mythology, however, is generally, if not always, communicated to students in such a way that, whilst it enriches the understanding, it does not defile the heart; and the exhibition of its folly, when held in contrast with our sublime and perfect religious system, is far from being a mischievous or a useless lesson.

The good Fenelon did not confirm the depravity of his pupil's heart, either when he showed him the dangers of the Island of Calypso, or when he led him through the very temple of the Cyprian goddess. It is, moreover, impossible to have an adequate knowledge of sacred history, without being conversant with that which is profane, and it is out of all question that a person can be master of either, without an extensive acquaintance with mythology. Let us, then, even suppose it to be a burning furnace into which these children must of necessity be cast; the angel of the Lord will be seen walking with them through the very flames; they will be protected by his influence. The knowledge might be conveyed in a manner that would be most destructive; but, the fact is, that such is not the mode in which it is communicated; therefore did I state, that, although the objection had a semblance of force, it would, upon examination, be found of little value.

It has frequently been urged by excellent men, and from the best motives, that education would be as well cultivated by substituting the sacred volume of the Scriptures for these dangerous books; that thus, not only would all

apprehension of the evils be removed, but an immense benefit be conferred by the great knowledge conveyed to the mind upon the subject of our holiest obligations, our highest hopes, the great Author of our being, the glorious Redeemer of our race, the purest morality, the most perfect religion, in fact, the great end for which man is permanently destined. It has been stated that if this volume exclusively would not suffice, at least its use would supersede the more dangerous books now in the schools; that, in it, the highest perfection of literature is contained, that its diversified style of simple narrative, historical precision, ornamental description, pathetic prayer, sublime oratory, and impassioned eloquence, make it a copious and never-failing repository of every topic of improvement; and that its parables and poetry, in rich and varied combinations of glowing fancy and elegant expression, are surpassed by no human production, and probably equalled by none.

Whilst the peculiarity of my situation admonishes me to touch lightly, if at all, upon this topic, and the principle which we have always desired should govern our society would preclude much that, under other circumstances, I might urge, I trust that one or two observations might be, without impropriety, hazarded in your presence.

The questions would present themselves to us in the following order: First, whether, as some contended, the Bible should be made in our schools the exclusive text-book for the purpose of acquiring the knowledge of what we call the learned languages. My previous remarks will easily indicate to you the answer that I should give, and in addition to the reasons urged before, it might be added, that the question could be properly resolved into these:—Whether, if it were even possible to understand the contents of this volume, without previous acquired knowledge of considerable extent, all that other information should be withheld; whether, because religion is man's paramount concern, it should be his exclusive occupation; and whether, the effort to bring the learned world to this state would

serve the cause of religion itself I shall leave the determination of this to your own unbiased judgment.

I fully assent to all that has been urged in favor of the divine production, though I am not bound to consider it a model of more than human perfection; for whilst I believe all the ideas of the writers to have been regulated by the influence of the sacred Spirit, I am at liberty to believe that the style in which those ideas were communicated, was the natural expression of the individual whom heaven had used as its instrument. And even if it were otherwise, I apprehend that the use of scriptural phraseology, upon the ordinary occasions of life, is not considered the evidence of religious feeling. So that, whilst the sacred volume calls for the pious respect of the good, and is, in a peculiar range, worthy of the admiration of the learned, it is not the archetype for the literary world, nor a model for the compositions of business. Hence, invaluable as is the Bible, for the purposes of religion, I do not consider that it was given for other ends, and I cannot, therefore, believe that it would be useful or expedient to make it a substitute for the classics.

Another question, however, presents itself for consideration—Whether the volume might not be usefully substituted for those which are most dangerous? I would correct the assertion implied in the question itself; for I would place no dangerous book in the hands of the pupil. The true question, then, would be, whether the Bible should not occupy a considerable place in our literary institutions. The answer to this must depend upon a variety of circumstances which greatly vary, in different times and places, and, therefore, no precise general answer could easily be given. The great object of those who advocate its introduction, it will always be found, is, by its means, to impart religious information. The great difference of sects in Christianity arises not so much from a difference as to what are the words of the book which they acknowledge contains the law, but as to the construction which will

give the correct meaning of the great legislator to whom they profess obedience. If there exists a serious difference between them, as to either the construction of the law, or the existence, or the nature, or the authority of a tribunal from which that construction is to be received; in such a case, if this book be given for their common instruction, we must expect that the several will yield to one, or there will be jealousies, disputes, or estrangement. Experience has taught us that the first result is not to be expected; charity and prudence would guard against the second. Thus, unless all parties were either agreed as to the construction of the law, or the tribunal by which it was to be expounded, I would consider its introduction into a school of different and discordant denominations to be not only a departure from the first principle which the volume inculcates, which is that of charity, but also an impediment to the progress of literature, inasmuch as it would distract the attention from the legitimate objects of the institution to sectarian contests. I cannot avoid viewing the question as more properly one of religion than of literature, and would therefore give my answer upon that principle by which I have always hitherto been guided. Let religious instruction be freely and fully given, at the earliest period, to youth; but never permit the emissary of proselytism to assume the garb of literature as a disguise; when it is intended that religion should be taught, let it be called by its own name —when it is proposed to communicate merely human learning, let nothing else be introduced. If there be no insuperable bar to a union in receiving religious instruction in common, let it be so given; but if, unfortunately, there should be an irreconcilable discrepancy, let not that evil be increased, by superadding those of jealousy and quarrels. Let there, in such a case, be a union in the pursuit of literature—let there be a separation, for the purposes of religious instruction; and in communicating this latter, no one of my hearers will be more gratified than will he who addresses them, at using all due means to extend

widely the most perfect knowledge of the religion of the Bible. But when he surveys the actual state of our country, he must beg leave to say, that he cannot, in accordance with the principles that he has advanced, arrive at the conclusion, that it would promote the cause of learning to make the book itself a substitute for any considerable portion of the usual class-books. Though he cannot hope for a general acquiescence in his views, he trusts that, in freely expressing his convictions, he will not be considered as outstepping the proper limits of his subject, or intending unkindness to those with whom he might have the misfortune to differ.

I have dwelt upon this subject of classical education as one appropriate to the literary character of our society, not so much from an expectation of your devoting to its concerns any particular or special efforts, but considering that, not only the standing of the individual members, but the aggregate influence of the body, might produce a serious effect upon the public mind; and if the topics I have urged were in accordance with your views, they might, to a certain extent, be enforced by the moral power that you possess in that community to which we belong; and thereby not only would the rising generation be induced to make more progress in this field, but the general cause of literature be greatly aided by your own example, in continuing to cultivate what, though long since sown and thriving, has, perhaps, been only seldom examined, and but lightly tended. And for this object, an excellent opportunity is afforded by those literary exercises which the society has lately resumed.

To what I have urged on this head, I shall take the liberty of adding some observations upon the other branch of our duties as a society.

Philosophy is, properly speaking, the deduction of correct conclusions from evident principles and ascertained facts. In order, however, to proceed safely to the results, the premises must be secured, and the mighty evil of which

we have to complain, is the great facility with which probabilism, conjecture, and speculation have been substituted for principles and facts. Thus has the region of science been thickly sown with error, and rank weeds have luxuriantly abounded, where order, and beauty, and symmetry should prevail. It is with reluctance that the human mind assents to the evidence of its own ignorance, and even when yielding to the conviction, its vanity urges the concealment from others. Hence, the ambition of man is not so much to be wise and learned, as to be thought so. We are more soothed, even when conscious of our defects, by the delusion which overestimates our acquirements, than we are by the possession of that knowledge for which the world refuses us credit. Probably, the mortification, in the latter case, exceeds the gratification in the former. The discovery of fact, and the establishment of its evidence, do not always form so easy a process as is generally imagined. Let us consider the revolution of the planets, the circulation of the blood, the attractive power of the magnet; not to speak of a vast number of other instances, how clearly do we now perceive facts of which successive generations were so totally ignorant. Let us contemplate their results. Were not several of those results themselves, facts very obvious, and always observed, for which we can now easily account; whose causes, whose origin, and whose nature are perfectly open to our view? Yet, though the results themselves were always ascertained, their origin was not always obvious, their causes were not always known; even whilst the fact was evident, the source was altogether mistaken; but now, owing to more deep research, more accurate observation, and more fortunate circumstances, both cause and effect are equally exposed to our ken. Let us learn a salutary lesson from the history of our predecessors. In their day, those results were known to be facts, but their origin was not then discovered. Still, desirous of appearing learned, the men of that day undertook, not only to declare what they saw, but, moreover, to explain the causes and the objects of

those results; and when we read their lucubrations, how are we astonished at their blunders! How do we decry their ignorance, and affect to commiserate their blindness! How do we estimate the superiority of our intellectual powers above theirs! Yet these men were philosophers; they had minds formed by the same Almighty who made ours; they were, in every respect, our equals, but that we have the knowledge of some facts of which they were ignorant—facts discovered and ascertained principally by the men intermediate between them and us. They endeavored, by speculation, to supply the want of actual knowledge, and this want alone constituted their inferiority. They, too, had a knowledge of facts undiscovered by their predecessors; and smiled at the ignorance of those to whom they were as superior, in this sort of information, as we are to them. Are we not destined to pay to posterity, and, perhaps, with usurious addition, the tribute which we have exacted from those at whose ignorance we sneer, and over whom we elevate ourselves, with the importance of our imaginary perfection? Alas! my friends, need I describe to you the feelings which overwhelm us at witnessing the haughty and sarcastic contempt with which a child, who blunders towards reading, regards him who only stammers to spell! Does it not expose to us an emblem of that scene which much of the history of human philosophy presents to those spiritual intelligences that, in their graduated perfection, rise circle above circle, occupying that space which intervenes between man and their Creator?

The great obstacles to correct and useful philosophy, then, are to be found, I believe, in the facility with which our sloth and vanity combine in leading us to substitute speculation for fact, because it requires less industry to form a conjecture than to make a research; in affecting a show of information that we do not possess, and endeavoring to sustain our claim by words without ideas; in rejecting as useless what some others have collected lest we should sink in public estimation, by turning to account what we or

our colleagues had not discovered; and in decrying our predecessors, instead of profiting by their labors. It is true that the pick or the crowbar would be exceedingly inappropriate tools for giving the last finish of taste to a splendid golden vase; but had they never been used for excavation, the ore would not have been furnished; and what a variety of intermediate hands must be employed between that which first opened the mine and that which finally touches the vessel! The pioneer who commenced the opening of the forest should not be despised by him who subsequently occupies the mansion and enjoys the wealth of the harvest and the luxury of the scene. Human science, like human labor, is progressive, and the peculiar duty of the philosopher, like that of the workman, is to exert himself for the improvement of what he received in a state of imperfection.

I am far from being an advocate for the modern theory of what is called the perfectibility and gradual progress to perfection of the human mind. My observations and reflections have led me to the conclusion, that God has given this lower world, with all its accumulated treasures and productions, as well as the firmament by which it is surrounded, and studded as it is with so many glorious decorations, as a vast field for man's temporal occupation; to search out their several parts, to discover their relations, their properties, their uses, their affinities, their opposition, to turn them to the purposes of his own happiness here; I shall not in this place advert to their uses for hereafter. This investigation, this application, is what I call philosophy. The astronomer who, by his patient and laborious observations and calculations, enables the navigator in the midst of the waste of waters to know his place and to pursue his proper course; the mathematician and the algebraist, who give to the ship-builder, the engineer, and to so many others, the rules by whose observance they can securely attain the useful objects of their pursuit; the botanist who secures to us the benefits of our diversified veg-

etation; the chemist who, by analysis and composition, turns such an immense mass of varied productions to the most extensive account; the physician who applies them to the solace of the human family; the anatomist who, by his almost godlike skill, is able to detect and to remove the obstructions as well as to repair the defects of the animal system; the legislator and the jurist who establish and reduce to practice the great principles by whose operation peace, prosperity and liberty are guarded; they who study to provide and to prepare for use the great articles of sustenance, of clothing, of shelter, of defence, of comfort and convenience for the children of Adam: all these form the vast aggregate of the several classes of philosophy. It is true that the climate, the soil, the productions, the temperament, the habits, the special wants and peculiar tastes of nations greatly vary, and that for these variations considerable allowance should be made; yet in all cases the great principle of philosophy is the same; that is, to extend our discoveries in that range which is subject to our research, and turn the discovery to beneficial account.

From this view, it would seem that the duty of the philosopher was simple, and that, by his faithful attention to its discharge, man must necessarily make constant and rapid progress to perfection; for he has only to pursue what he had received, to add his own observations to those of his predecessors, and to transmit the increased fund to those who succeed him; and since this is what really occurs, why should not man speedily arrive at perfection? The theory is plausible, but history and reflection will correct its fallacy. That the duty of the philosopher has been properly described, I readily admit; but that the specified result should be obtained, it is necessary, first, that all which has been acquired should have been preserved; and secondly, that the point of perfection should not be too remote. The advocates for what is called perfectibility, perhaps, never seriously examine either of these topics.

Let us try this theory of the progress of the mind, or

as it is sometimes called, the march of intellect, by the the test of facts. Think you was the mind of Homer more feeble than that of Milton? Was Virgil or Horace as far below the mental grade of Pope or Dryden, or these latter below Byron or Moore, as their intervened centuries between them? Had the intellect of Demosthenes less vigor than that of Patrick Henry? Or was Cicero twenty degrees upon the scale of forensic merit below William Pinckney or Daniel Webster, or even Baron Vaux and Brougham, the Lord High Chancellor of England? What shall I say of Archimedes and Euclid? Are we to find the proofs of this theory in the legislation of Greece and Rome, in the tactics of Cæsar, in the architecture of antiquity, in the statuary of the remote ages, in the minds that planned and the powers that erected the pyramids of Egypt? It is true that though the energies of the mind be unchanged, the facts upon which they operate may be extended and varied as time advances in his course. In the morning, the little speck, which is scarcely perceptible upon the verge of the horizon, alone breaks the serene uniformity of the vacant fields of air; but as the day advances it ascends and approximates, whilst other collections appear, accumulate, and unite; the pregnant storm shrouds the meridian sun, and envelopes the ocean in its shade, until amidst the echoes of the heavens it is discharged and expires; yet the unchanged observer pre-existed and survives.

How frequently have we witnessed a noble patrimony broken up and scattered by a dissipated heir! How often has the flood or the storm swept away a splendid mansion, and reduced a rich plantation to a desert! How many times has a licentious soldiery or an unruly mob devastated a noble capital in which the wealth of nature and the decorations of art abounded! So, too, has the sloth or luxury of one age dissipated the mental acquisitions of those which preceded it; an incursion of barbarians has frequently swept science from its domain, and

covered the land with ignorance and ruin and despair. When nations are disturbed for the purpose of ambition or the vengeance of disappointment; when the public mind is filled with discontent and indignation; when maddened hosts fly to arms and rush to mutual destruction in the rage of battle; or when the heavy yoke of robust despotism presses upon a crushed people; or when, animated by the spirit of liberty, men rise to assert their rights and to overthrow their oppressors; in times like these, under circumstances of this description, especially before copies of works were multiplied by the introduction of the press, and the few that existed being destroyed by the wantonness of the victor or the indignation of the vanquished, how frequent and how extensive was the destruction of the records and of the collections of the philosopher! Thus has the knowledge of many an ancient art been obliterated. The evidence of their existence, like the remnants of stained glass which are still found in many ancient churches, lets in upon us a soft and mellowed light, which informs us that if we possess knowledge which did not exist amongst men of other days, they enjoyed some which has not reached us; like many a rich cargo that has been lost at sea, it is covered with the waters of oblivion. Who will undertake to assert that the mass of what has been lost does not equal the bulk of what exists to-day? I am far from inclining to the opinion that it does; but I think it would savor of rashness boldly to make either assertion.

But suppose all the ancient discoveries to have been faithfully preserved and the new ones duly transmitted; when will the accumulation fill up the measure of perfection? What is its capacity? Should a myriad of men be continually occupied in depositing grains of sand, when would they form a globe whose axles would touch opposed points in the orbit of Herschel? Let us compare the progress of mind with the progress of motion. If we take our observations upon what was the perfection of the mind in the Augustan age and what it is to-day, you may assume

superiority to the fullest extent of your disposition, you will at all events allow that the progress has not been with the rapidity of light. And yet, even with this acceleration, when would you reach those fixed stars that show so dimly in their distance? Yet is the immensity of Him who alone is perfection spread abroad infinitely beyond where their faintest rays terminate in an opposite direction! When do we hope to reach it? I therefore admit that there is abundant room for the continual progress of philosophical improvement, though I cannot subscribe to the fallacious theory of human perfectibility. I allow that there are great incentives for approaching as nearly as we can to perfection, though we can never attain it; like the asymptotes of the hyperbola; He, who alone is perfect, continues in one changeless direction through eternity, whilst, though the created mind, like the curve, should continually approximate as it advances, yet will they never coincide.

There is another circumstance also upon which I desire to observe. Men do not always receive with implicit confidence the principles and facts of whose truth their predecessors were satisfied. The patrimony of the philosopher is not like material wealth, manifestly prepared and made quite available. And to a certain extent, this too is useful. First principles need scarcely an explanation, they readily receive our assent; but it is otherwise with the conclusions to which the ancients have arrived. In some cases our pride, our curiosity, our spirit of independence, our love of novelty, will lead us not only to question and doubt, but to use our efforts to prove them erroneous. This disposition, moderately indulged, has frequently been of the greatest advantage in detecting error, in correcting mistakes, and in protecting truth by the erection of new bulwarks, or of rendering it more bright by collision. When carried beyond its proper limits, it has not only been a waste of time and of energies, but a source of perplexity and error. How many fine minds have been ruined by this most mischievous practice? This was the great source

whence flowed that cold scepticism, which, whilst to some it seemed to be an enriching stream of philosophy, chilled the soil and destroyed its prolific power. It was like crystal to the eye, but its taste was of nitre.

But let us suppose the absence of doubts and the disposition to believe. Still, all minds are originally placed alike uninformed at the vestibule of science, and they cannot arrive at the shrine without proceeding through the temple; though the progress of some be more rapid than that of others, yet the advances of all are really slow. No anxiety to admit the truth of a mathematical demonstration will enable the tryo to comprehend it without the tedious preliminary process, though it is true, that when the way has been explored and the road formed, the consumption of time and labor is wonderfully diminished for us, who have the benefit of the works constructed by the preceding occupants; and thus, to a certain extent, we have considerable advantages; but the wealth of the mind cannot be attained without a large expenditure of years and application by the individual himself, let the deposit which has been transmitted be ever so valuable. Add to this consideration, the brevity of life, the variety of avocations, the allurements of pleasure, the duties of religion, the demands of family, the wants of ourselves and of our connections, the claims of the unfortunate, the concerns of the State, the faction of parties, and the vast multitude of other embarrassments; and what then becomes of the fine visions of philosophical accumulation and man's perfectibility? The realities of life correct the delusions of the sophist.

The portion, therefore, which any individual is able to contribute to the general fund, must be exceedingly small; exceptions will be noticed, and are admitted. But if we have our eyes drawn to the admiration of Plato, of Ptolemy, of Copernicus, of Galileo, of Columbus, of Newton, of Bacon, of Locke, of Des Cartes, of Leibnitz, and so many others, how many myriads have passed away from whom no contribution has been received? It is this poverty of

individuals that renders association useful, because from the difference of tastes there will arise a diversity of pursuits, and mutual exhibition of knowledge will create mutual confidence; each can easily judge how far he might with prudence and safety use the production of his associate, and each will be urged to greater exertions by the example which encourages and the emulation which provokes. Thus the very difficulties which would seem to impede us, should but animate us to proceed.

An additional motive will be found in contemplating the extensive opportunities which offer of increasing our advantages by a communion with similar societies, of which so many are found in the several States of our own Union, not to mention those of other regions of the civilized world.

What, then, should be our object?

In the first place, we must perceive how useful it would be to collect and to embody admitted principles concerning whose truth there is no longer any question; as they have the testimony of ages and nations, after deep and continued reflection: to these might be added those facts whose truth is proved by the same testimony, whether they appertain to history, to geography, to geology, to astronomy, to physiology, or to whatever class of science they may belong. Like the demonstrations of mathematics, they should be sustained by their appropriate evidence, so that, as the student is made acquainted with the fact, he should also receive its proof. How immense has been the loss sustained by the neglect of this simple and natural precaution! It too frequently happens that when we are ourselves convinced, we imagine that no one will be so absurd as to deny that to be true, to which we have given our assent; and we forget that, by our sloth, we have left others without the means that produced our own conviction. Were I asked, what I consider to have been the most efficient cause of dispute in the world, I would probably assign this disposition, which results from a combination of pride and sloth, causing us to feel a dissent from our views as an

insult, whilst from others we require assent without furnishing the evidence that would command it. Through want of this, it sometimes happens that fact and fable are, for a while, not distinguishable, and a man of prudence will avoid relying upon that statement of whose truth he has no certainty; the certainty must arise from a proof that is not furnished: upon what ground shall he rest? It is not then sufficient that we leave facts upon record; we should moreover leave record of their proof.

But of what description are these facts, whose knowledge it is so important to preserve? I answer: of every description. It is a serious mistake to imagine that nothing is useful for the purposes of philosophy, unless it has some extraordinary character, is out of the common range of objects, has been procured from some foreign region, or bears some name of learned length and thundering sound. The proper object of the philosopher, as I stated, is to ascertain truth for useful purposes. Now, the objects which are commonly met with are those most extensively applicable to our benefit, and of course, upon the principle which I have assumed, an accurate and comprehensive knowledge of their properties would be extremely advantageous. The wants and avarice of mankind have excited, during many ages, to industry in this department, and perhaps in this the discoveries have been most extensive and accurate. Yet, even here, our daily experience, and the history of other societies, exhibit the vast improvements of every year. The academies of Europe, especially those of France, of Italy, of Germany, and of England, are continually adding much to the stock of science in this department. The analysis and application of the most ordinary materials and productions are still in a march of uninterrupted progress; the arts have been wonderfully improved, facilities and comforts extensively increased, and the resources of man greatly enlarged by the scarcely perceptible labors of individuals, who, in the several societies and in mechanical occupations, guided by the principles daily imparted and the facts almost

hourly communicated, add some little to the accumulation already made. We do not indeed at present meet one of our exploring associates returning with the evidence that a new continent has been discovered; seldom do we observe a thick vapor to rest upon the troubled ocean, and find upon its thinning away that a new island has arisen; but this incessant addition, by a multitude of individuals, gives to us a more permanent though less showy acquisition in those rising and numerous masses of coral which afford room for secure and solid habitation. They are conquests made by untiring industry from the barren waste of the deep, they are lasting acquirements of new possession, monitions to activity, additions to wealth, and room for population.

There are indeed a variety of facts in what are called the higher departments of science, which are also occasionally developed; and perhaps in no period of some centuries at any previous time, have more facts been brought to light regarding the component parts of this our globe and their properties than within the last fifty years. Within that period also, man has extended his researches far into the regions of the air, and discovered new worlds by the aid of optical mechanism. How wonderfully has the dominion of the chemist been extended, and what power does he exercise through the vast regions made subject to his sway! How fallen, how imbecile, is the once dreaded magician at his feet! We are unable to enumerate the immense quantity of improvements effected in the useful arts by the application of those discoveries. How have the powers of man been increased within that period by the combinations of machinery! And as the events that would have been formerly spread over ages, appear crowded into that petty space; so, too, by our recent discoveries, distance, like time, has been subdued by the moral approximation of remote regions through means of steam and rail.[1] He who fifty

[1] Space has been still more astonishingly annihilated since Bishop England's day, by the invention of the telegraph; and we are only in the beginnings of the wonders of electricity.

years ago should have ventured to predict these occurrences, would be considered more visionary than he who would presume to describe the mountains and valleys of Saturn's ring. Who can undertake to say what another half century will unfold? He alone whose eye takes in, at every moment, all time and space. To us, the events of the past should be incitements to continued exertion; and though, perhaps, no one of us could devote any considerable portion of his time or of his talent to our common object, yet each, by keeping in view what we seek to attain, may be in some way useful.

Amongst those facts which are specially important to be well known and fully established, are those of natural history; and nothing can so powerfully contribute to this as the possession, the preservation, and the extension of a well-regulated museum. In it the lessons which would be tediously and imperfectly taught by mere recitation and description, are instantly communicated by a glance, they are impressed upon the memory by the gratification of curiosity, they are scientifically classed by the arrangement of rooms and cases. Thus, the mere upholding of such a department in proper order, with occasional public explanation, would be an extensive benefit, not only to our society, but to the citizens, especially to the youth. I shall not dwell here upon that commerce, as I might call it, in science, which consists in an interchange of natural productions of the various regions, by the several scientific societies; for the encouragement of which there appears to be amongst them all an increasing disposition. I am convinced that, upon proper application, every facility would be afforded by our general government for such interchange; and I trust that, whatever our political differences may be, we should find no disposition to nullify this regulation of commerce, or to destroy this species of protection. We might at least innocently, if not usefully, commence by preparation the manufacture of some of our native products, and be allowed a free trade with all similar societies, for cor-

responding returns, not only without the grievance of a tariff upon their importation, but even with the bounty of a free freight in our public vessels. Some of our Mediterranean squadron would probably feel no inconvenience in exchanging a few harmless wild-cats or peaceable panthers, for casts of antique vases or of exquisite statues, or for some of the utensils of Pompeii or of Herculaneum.

When the body is torpid for want of exercise the humors become sluggish or stagnate, and disease ensues; if there be excitement it is feverish, and the consequent restlessness irritates and increases the disorder. So it is with the human mind, if it have not some wholesome employment, it becomes sickly, irritated, and filled with discontent; it is easily excited; in the midst of the most gloomy scenes horrid spectres are presented to the imagination, and the consequences are equally pernicious to society and to the deluded individual. How frequently would it be one of the greatest earthly blessings, not only to the victims, but to their families and connections, if the strong powers of fine, but, alas! ruined minds had been early habituated to the healthful exercise of even the humblest philosophical investigation, instead of having been indulged in that sloth which has made them burdens to themselves, tired of existence, and worrying to their friends! How many are there, who, in dread or ignorance, turn from the philosophic hall, and, determined at all hazards to escape the horrors of *ennui*, plunge into dissipation! How many, perhaps, laboring under the influence of irregular excitement, communicate the frenzy under the semblance of religious or patriotic zeal! When this dreadful malady exhibits such symptoms, it is, perhaps, as hopeless of a cure as that which ensues from the bite of a rabid animal. But the evil might, in a great measure, if not altogether, have been prevented, by removing its cause; and where no more urgent mode demands a preference the occupations of philosophy are, perhaps, the most efficacious and the most useful; and, from the view that I have taken, you will perceive that they are within the reach of every individual.

There is another motive that I would press upon every Carolinian. Will you, whilst the rest of the civilized world is pressing forward in the career of science, stand with your arms folded? We do possess considerable facilities for scientific improvement; we have not made of them all the use which they afforded. Perhaps our fault has been, that, in this as in other instances, we have been too sanguine, and that, having commenced with ardor, we yielded to disappointment at not finding, as it were, magical effects flow from our very association. Perhaps we have been, in some degree, ourselves to blame, for want of regular attendance and strict adherence to system. When I look upon the few years that I have had the honor of being your associate I perceive that we had amongst us talents of the first order, zeal for the promotion of science, and deep philosophical erudition. In whom have they been more happily blended and clearly developed, than in that excellent individual who desired to conceal, if he was conscious of possessing them? Need I name our late lamented president, Elliott? But what was the concealment? Not of the knowledge which he communicated, but of the mind from which it flowed. He would veil the radiance that adorned him, yet so as to shed the light which informed and cheered those by whom he was surrounded. Estimable man! The remembrance which he has left, like the disposition with which he was blessed, combines the vigor of one sex with the sweetness of the other. You have heard his eulogy from lips well fitted to pronounce it. I shall not prolong its echo. Have we not seen in our late venerable vice-president,[2] an excellent model of that persevering industry, that patient research, that regular attendance, that extensive knowledge and devotion to the interests of our society, which it would be well if we continued to imitate?

Nor have we been altogether useless. Witness those admirable lectures on geology and botany, which, while they

[1] Doctor James Moultrie, Jr. [2] Timothy Forde, Esq.

attracted the talent and beauty of our city, gave to literature the sanction of fashionable support, and polished and extended that chaste and cultivated taste which pervades our first circles. Witness those literary and philosophical exercises, which, by their public occurrence, not only increased the appetite for knowledge, but also its supply; not for a select few, but for all our intelligent population; and the resuming of which, with our lately-increased numbers, promises to render our society more extensively and permanently useful. This is not the place, nor this the occasion, to advert to those other contemplated exertions, which have occasionally occupied our thoughts and engrossed our conversation during the last two or three years. I repeat it, we have great facilities, were we industrious in turning them to account. And why should not Carolina indulge and cherish this holy ambition? This State has held a high rank for polite literature; surely she ought to complain of her sons, if, recreant to their patriotic and literary reputation, they degenerate from their fathers, and slothfully permit themselves to be surpassed by States which, within their own recollection, were only heavy forests, through which the Indian and his game could scarcely penetrate.

I do cherish the expectation that they will arouse to exertion, and in their own sunny land, under their own serene sky, they will generously climb the hill of science, and cultivate it to its very top; crowning its summit with those useful productions which not only will delight the eye by the richness and delicacy of their color, but will gratify the taste by the excellence of the fruit, and send through many leagues on every side, upon the soft yet bracing air, an odorous perfume fitted to regale the home of her children, and to attract the praise and admiration of the stranger.

DESCENT OF ÆNEAS INTO HADES.[1]

In reading the works of poets or others, which are generally styled fiction, perhaps we have been too apt to regard the productions of the best writers as more imaginative than in truth they are. When Horace tells those who would write, either to follow nature, or to invent what would have all its parts in keeping; they who desire to observe the rule, will perhaps find it much easier and better calculated to insure success, to take the first part of the admonition than the second. Probably the great cause why a vast multitude of authors of this description have had so little success, will be found in the fact, that the greater number, in creating their scenery, have consulted their imagination in preference to their observation.

This idea has impressed itself more deeply upon my mind, since I have been led to believe, that the most beautiful and finished pictures of one of the masters of poetry were sketches from nature, embellished indeed by imagination and improved with exquisite taste, and not merely the results of fiction.

Something more than two years have elapsed since, on a beautiful evening in May, I drove out, accompanied by a few friends, on the road leading from Naples towards the ancient Puteoli. When we arrived near the entrance of the grotto of Posilippo, a proposition was made to alight and climb the steep zigzag road leading to the tomb of Virgil. Arrived at the door of the garden in which this mouldering relic is situated, we quickened our pace as we

[1]This essay first appeared as an article in the *Southern Literary Journal*, Vol. I, No. 1.

doubled the windings of the narrow path that, by a long circuit, leads to this spot of classic interest. We stood silent within this decaying chamber—we looked around on its desolate walls and time-worn, vaulted roof, all stained with the green tinge of successive centuries. A marble slab of comparatively modern sculpture, perhaps placed about two or three hundred years since in one of the sides, unnecessarily proclaimed, in a crabbed imitation of Latin, that of which every peasant child was aware, that this chamber was the resting-place of the great Mantuan bard; here what was mortal of the polished Maro had mouldered.

We viewed each other. We looked from the aperture in the side—the bay of Naples spread broadly before us. It was a serene sky; a light air moved along the waters; a thin, brown vapor above its summit distinguished Vesuvius in the distance. We looked down to the road where we had left our carriage; we involuntarily drew back from the precipice, and again advanced to see how diminished to the view were the beings entering or issuing from the excavated tunnel, as they traveled at such a distance below us, from or towards Naples. The tongue ventured to express a few words, and we soon resumed our conversation. We agreed that the spot upon which the body of the poet was deposited after death, was one well calculated during life to have excited his enthusiasm, enriched his imagination, and stored his memory with the materials for description.

A few mornings afterwards, we were seated upon the indurated lava at the summit of Vesuvius. It was about an hour after the sun had risen; even then his rays were powerful. We were fatigued and heated by the immense labor of climbing the mighty precipice of ashes; vast masses of cinder glowed under us, hundred of fissures emitted hot sulphuric vapor scarcely perceptible to the eye, but fully sensible to the smell and feeling. Our guides drew from the brown ashes the eggs which they had brought up for their repast; a very few minutes had sufficed for their cooking; they found the finest salt on almost every frag-

ment within their reach. And yet in this region of fire, the gentle temperature of the breeze gradually refreshed and invigorated us. Our faces were turned towards the tomb at the opposite side of the bay. The city, considerably below us, showed on our right like a rich, white margin between the land and water; in a few places this appeared thicker, and advanced a little upon the expanded plain that stretched along towards the Adriatic. The road to Herculaneum, the little town of Torre del Greco, and a number of others, were discernible, and we looked on our left, to try and ascertain the site of Pompeii, through whose desolate streets we had walked but two days previously. The island of Capri rose as a dark mass in what was anciently called the Tyrrhenian Sea, but the eye discerned the horizon of water glittering far beyond it, and we could observe the liquid element spreading to the west and south of Procida and Ischia, to the west from the ridge of Posilippo, the reflection from the waters near Baiæ, seemed like that of liquid silver, and the eye reached towards the north even to Gaeta. One of my companions, on discovering the headland, repeated:

> "And thou, O matron of immortal fame,
> Here dying, to the shore hast left thy name.
> Caieta still the place is called from thee,
> The nurse of great Æneas' infancy.
> Here rest thy bones in rich Hesperia's plains,
> Thy name ('tis all a ghost can claim) remains."

"This was the spot selected by Virgil for perhaps the best and most beautiful of his descriptions," said he, "and surely he could not have chosen a better." We had previously visited the splendid Museum of Naples, in whose numerous and extensive departments so many remains of the genius of southern Italy are collected. We spoke of several that had been lately dug up, after an interment of nearly twenty centuries under the masses of sand and ashes, flung over many a league from that very crater upon whose edge we were then seated. We admired the

ingenuity, the patience, the industry, the zeal and information of those scientific men whom we had seen unrolling, deciphering, copying, supplying the chasms, and preparing for publication the ancient volume of parchment, reduced nearly to a mass of carbon in the ruins which fiery lava had created. And turning to one of my friends, who was an inhabitant of Great Britain, I remarked: "These are the men whom your writers have represented as ignorant, lazy, priest-ridden Italians, enemies to science and degraded in superstition!" "I acknowledge," said he, "that our writers have, for party purposes, done the Italians the greatest injustice, and at your side of the Atlantic, you are not only our rivals, but as you claim pre-eminence in so many departments, you will not, I am convinced, deny that many of your writers have outstripped us even in this." I could not make all the concessions he desired. We agreed, therefore, to leave the pretensions of the United Kingdom and those of the United States to be settled by the king of Holland, or by any other arbiter that may be agreed on by better authorized plenipotentiaries, and we returned to the discussion of descriptions given by Virgil. Yet this was connected with the visits we had paid to the Museum, because it was there we had first heard of the work of the Rev. Andrew Jorio, a learned canon of Naples, who is as eminent for his literature as he is for his unpretending piety; it was there we had first learned his opinion, that the passages contained in the sixth book of the Æneid, describing the infernal regions of Tartarus and of Elysium, were all suggested to the poet from a spot near Baiæ. We had there procured the treatise, and were led to discuss its merits, whilst we projected a hasty visit to the same regions, to pass freely through which, even at this day, requires the offering of a sprig from the golden branch. I regretted that an indisposition under which he labored, whilst I was in the south of Italy, prevented my having the gratification of making the acquaintance of this respectable and accomplished scholar, whom I desired much to

know, not only on account of his scientific and literary attainments, but also for his ministerial usefulness. My own time was also curtailed, and I was not able to make all the excursions that I had intended in this most interesting neighborhood. I have, however, attentively perused the work of Canon Jorio, and seen something of the vicinity. Perhaps I could, therefore, with some little prospect of success, undertake to show you, by his description, some of the reasons for the assertion with which I have set out; that the writers who, in works of fiction, found their descriptions upon observation in preference to mere imagination, are those most likely to succeed.

Two facts are incontestable. First, in the fifth book the poet describes the departure of the remnant of the Trojan fleet from Sicily, for the purpose of making a descent upon Italy, and especially, that it was the intention of Æneas to visit the shade of his father in Elysium according to the admonition of Anchises himself, who in line 735 informs him who shall be his guide:

> "The chaste Sybilla shall your steps convey,
> And blood of offered victims strew the way."

It is also certain that his voyage lay nearly west of north from Gaeta to the mouth of the Tiber, and leaving the shore of Cumæ, the closing lines of the sixth book informs us that his way for Gaeta lay directly along shore, of course in nearly a northern direction. These premises lead us, independently of any other consideration, to the discovery of the spot upon which he landed in search of the Sibyl. It was the coast of Cumæ, upon the western side of the promontory which, at the north entrance to the Bay of Naples, puts down about three miles to the south, thus forming the tongue of land which divides the Bay of Puzzoli from the Mediterranean Sea. A difficulty seemed to present itself to a few critics, as some said it was not Cumæ, but Baiæ, and this would not lead us to the spot which, it is contended, furnished the poet with his topog-

raphy. Cumæ was a settlement of the Eubæans, and only one of the many Grecian colonies that filled the south of Italy, which, as every person at all acquainted with ancient geography knows, was called Grecia Magna. That there was an extension of this colony to Baiæ, which is quite in its vicinity, is pretty certain; hence Dion Cassius and others called the bay of this latter also by the name of the former. In 1822 an ancient Greek sepulchre, similar to those of the settlement at Cumæ, was discovered at Baiæ, which sustains the statement of Strabo respecting the extent of the colony. The headland, which we are about to examine, runs down little more than three miles at the utmost, and is scarcely two miles across. The spot where the poet makes Æneas land is somewhat less than two miles north from the southwestern point of the promontory, over which rises the hill now called Monte di Procida, and which, the canon says, is that described in line 234·

> "And deathless fame
> Still to the lofty cape consigns his name;"

and which derives its name from the burial of Hector's trumpeter. The shore here is free from rocks or cliffs, and is a fine strand. Hence the description of the arrival of the strangers, after the loss of Palinurus, is exceedingly appropriate:

> "He said and wept; then spread his sails before
> The winds, and reached at length the Cuman shore."

Turning to the left from the supposed place of landing, the site of the ancient temple of Apollo is found, at the distance of three-quarters of a mile. Here some remains of a structure are still discovered. Still the spot is called Procca di Cuma, and the peasants call the hill which rises here Monte di Cuma. The poet has certainly embellished the temple erected in a remote antiquity, with sculpture worthy of a better age. Yet it is astonishing to find from unequivocal proof, furnished by undoubted works of these

early times, the progress which had been even then made in the arts in those regions. I have seen frescoes which had been nearly three thousand years executed, and which were overwhelmed with rubbish during the greater portion of that time, as clear, as vivid, and as accurate in the outlines of the figures as many which would be admired as good productions at this day. That this temple was erected long before the arrival of Æneas in Italy, there is great reason to believe.

I shall not here inquire concerning the Sybil, but we may, perhaps, examine her supposed habitation:

> "A spacious cave within the farthest part
> Was hewed and fashioned by laborious art
> Through the hill's hollow sides; before the place
> A hundred doors a hundred entries grace:
> As many voices issue: and the sound
> Of Sybil's words as many times rebound."

The present appearance of this cavern certainly does not correspond with the description here given, nor would the description have been at any period perfectly accurate. Much must have been left to the imagination of the poet; all that the canon contends for, ought, I think, to be willingly conceded, which is, that the poet led his hero by this route to the nether world. To any person who has seen the Capitol of Rome, the Tarpeian Rock, the Forum of Trajan, the Arch of Septimius Severus, or any of the excavations by which the "Via Sacra" has been disclosed, little need be said to show how the accumulation of centuries will fill up hollows and reduce the elevations of precipices.

This spot is only a few miles from the tomb of Virgil, and the poet must have frequently strayed along this shore. Nearly two thousand years have passed away since he observed the place, and then it was at least a thousand years after the excavation had been made; and he who had been accustomed to examine such works, and who generally was exact in his descriptions, could at that time form a better idea of what this excavation was. The canon

thinks he only gives us the round number one hundred for several, and conformed to the ordinary notion that the cave was the residence of some supernatural or inspired being, and thus easily made it the dwelling of the Sibyl.

The substance of an interesting archæological dissertation which he gives, is that this, like many other caverns generally thought to be natural, is in truth artificial. Such clearly was Virgil's opinion: "Excisum latus ingens in antrum,"—that the cave was cut into the side of the rock. To sustain this position, the canon brings us to contemplate the customs of the first Grecian settlers, which indeed were similar to those of others similarly circumstanced. Scarcely landed, the first two objects they sought were a dwelling-place and security. No spot on the Cumæn coast offered a more convenient location for the purpose than this—the only rock which is near that part of the shore. Their usual mode was to build with stone, and for this the rock afforded material; its elevation was convenient for security, and this would be greatly increased by so clearing away the projections of the cliff as to make it perpendicular, at least on two or three sides. By the process of paring it off in this manner, they were also furnished with stone for building. They were a patient and persevering race, and though emigrants, they had not the insatiable, migratory spirit of many of our pioneers. Leaving one habitation, they determined to fix upon another as permanent.

Hence they made preparations for centuries of residence, as they built for a progeny through whose generations they considered themselves about to live.

After having given to the rock its faces, they proceeded from the summit to perforate to its bosom, and having descended to a sufficient depth, they excavated several large chambers for the double purpose of procuring materials and of creating a citadel and a store-house. Here, too, they penetrated to the living waters, so that no enemy should be able to cut off a supply. From the interior they wrought long passages towards the sides, and at the extrem-

ities they made loopholes through which they might receive air and some light and be able also to reconnoitre and to annoy an enemy

It is acknowledged by all respectable antiquarians that such was the origin of numerous excavations in rocks spread through the south of Italy, and of many elsewhere. Martorelli, upon the authority of Strabo and Ephorus, maintains that several of these were excavations in search of ore. In most of these citadels there was a temple, and generally the shrine of some prophet or prophetess was in the most retired part of the cavern.

In the time of Virgil several of these loopholes were considerably enlarged, and the earth had been gradually raised around the rock, so that the former windows now became so many entrances to the interior, which had probably been once famous as the shrine of some pythoness or perhaps of the great Sibyl herself. At this day some of those apertures exist, though the rock is nearly level with the surrounding accumulation of earth. We have the accounts of St. Justin the martyr and of Agatius the historian, describing this cave.

In 1787 Carletti says he got nearly lost in its labyrinths; but that he saw the remains of the temple and pieces of mosaic work at a spot where several passages united. Jorio himself, in 1811, went through a considerable portion of it, accompanied by a guide; he remained two hours, and found some human remains, which so terrified his companions that they could not be induced by threats or promises to go forward.

So far, then, we have the description accurate in its principal features, but highly embellished by imagination.

At the entrance of this cavern, the hero of the poem is admonished to seek for the information that he desired, and having obtained as much as the poet thought convenient to communicate, he requests to be taught the way to the infernal regions.

The lake known as Lago di Averno is little more than

half a mile east of this cavern, but at the time Virgil wrote, the country was more thickly wooded than it is at present, and it was still more so at that earlier period which the poet has selected, nor was the lake to be approached in a direct line; hence the canon supposes that the path to the spot which he indicates as "fauces Averni," must have wound along the valley which lies between the rock we have been describing and the high and rugged ground which surrounds the lake. The Trojan leader, in pursuing this course, would have increased the distance round the northern part of the lake, to arrive at its opposite side, nearly three miles, and this journey was to be made through a forest.

> "Betwixt those regions and our upper light,
> Deep forests and impenetrable night
> Possess the middle space."

In studying the topography, we have no concern with either the death or burial of Misenus, nor with the manner in which Æneas obtains the golden bough which was to insure his return to the realms of day; neither need we witness the sacrifice.

Little more than a quarter of a mile to the southeast of the Lago di Averno is the Lago Lucrino, or ancient Lucrine Lake, so famous for producing some of the luxuries for Roman tables, as also for the naval purposes to which it was destined by Octavianus, and generally for its being more appropriate to recreation than to the fears of those who dwelt or sojourned at Baiæ. A deep valley passed from the Lake Avernus towards the Lucrine. And in this valley the canon supposes that the doves led the hero to pluck the golden bough.

> "Thus they led him on
> To the slow lake: whose baneful stench to shun
> They winged their flight aloft; stopping low,
> Perched on the double tree that bears the golden bough;
> Through the green leaves the glittering shadows glow"

The branch having been delivered to the Sibyl and the last rites paid to the body of Misenus, we find Æneas and the prophetess already still farther south than the spot to which the doves had led him to obtain his passport. A large cavern here extends from Avernus nearly to the Lucrine Lake; at present it is seldom passable in summer, but it is opened occasionally in winter, and the entrance at the north was formerly quite overshadowed by woods. This has been appropriately selected by the poet as the entrance to the infernal regions.

"Deep was the cave and downwards as it went
From the wide mouth, a rocky, rough descent;
And here, the access, a gloomy grove descends,
And here the unnavigable lake extends,
O'er whose unhappy waters, void of light,
No bird presumes to steer his airy flight;
Such deadly stenches from the depth arise,
And steaming sulphur, that infects the skies.
From hence the Grecian bards, their legends make,
And give the name Avernus to the lake."

The sacrifice having been offered, the awful portents being manifest, Æneas is warned to draw his sword and to advance into the cavern, whither his guides had already rushed. This the poet calls "primæ fauces Orci," the first jaws of Orcus. The poetical description of the beings who occupied this cavern is one of the best-imagined and best-wrought productions of Virgil; but this is not the place to dilate upon its appropriate excellence.

Issuing from the southern aperture between you and the Lucrine Lake, even at this day, elms are abundant, but formerly they were larger, more numerous, and thickly entangled. The path is in a narrow ravine. On either hand were caverns, many of which were the dens of wild animals and the abode of serpents. In several places the earth has fallen in, and the caves are choked, but still some are visible on either hand; and the canon thinks it very likely, that about the period when Virgil wrote, this might

have served as a menagerie for the parties who rusticated near the ancient Puteoli or at Baiæ. In either case, the poet had the groundwork upon which his imagination could well indulge itself. The cavern is at present called Bagno della Sibilla, and the *stabula ferarum in feribus* exhibit to us the dwelling-places of the hideous forms that besiege the door and have their dens in its vicinity, and the elm with its dusky arms has to this day remained and made manifest the principle to which I have alluded.

Before proceeding further with the Trojan chief, it will be, perhaps, not amiss to examine briefly an assertion of our learned commentator, that the Styx is not specially described by the poet, but that where the expression does occur in this sixth book it is but a general designation, not a particular appellation of an infernal river. We have, it is true, five lakes within the compass of this peninsula, and there were five rivers of the shadowy regions. Avernus is too plainly marked to allow a doubt of its identity; the Fusaro and the Acquimarta will be easily recognized as the Acheron and the Cocytus; the context and other circumstances will lead us to the Maremorto as Lethe, and the Lucrine Lake alone would remain as the Styx. This river was said to be the daughter of Oceanus; every classic reader is aware that in the days of Homer, and even in those of Virgil, the Bay of Pozzuoli and the contiguous waters were known as the ocean, and when it was agitated by storms, the sea which rolled into this bay broke more easily over the low grounds, and rushed more forcibly through the communication with the Lucrine Lake; so that, in fact, it was in calm times comparatively dry, until the rushing in of the ocean filled, enlarged, and made it permanent. But Jorio says that Virgil had too much taste to say to the ladies and epicures of Rome that this was the infernal Styx—hence, that, through the entire of this book the word is to be taken in its general and not in its particular acceptation, and a review of the several passages will show us nothing incompatible with this opinion. It is mentioned seven times, besides the particular passage

which seems to me to create the greatest difficulty. First the prophetess says to Æneas:

"But if so dire a love your soul invades
As twice below to see the trembling shades,
If you so hard a toil will undertake
As twice to pass the unnavigable lake."

"This done, securely take the destined way
To find the regions destitute of day."

"With holocausts he Pluto's altar fills."

"Without whose aid you durst not undertake
This frightful passage o'er the Stygian lake."

"Now nearer to the Stygian lake they draw,
Whom from the shore the surly boatman saw—
Observed their passage through the shady wood,
And marked their near approaches to the flood."

"Know this the realm of night, the Stygian shore,
My boat conveys no living body o'er."

"But fate forbids; the Stygian floods oppose,
And with nine circling streams the captive soul enclose."[1]

Of those passages, the second, third, and fourth clearly have the expression general. The great difficulty would be to reconcile the 323d line and the general statement of the ancients respecting the oath of the gods, with the opinion of Canon Jorio, before we could say that in the first, fifth, sixth, and seventh passages, the expression was also general.

The expression of the Sybil appears to me not only exceedingly distinct, but points to a special circumstance respecting the Styx, than which there is not in all mythology one better and more precisely understood.

"Son of Anchises, offspring of the gods,
The Sibyl said, 'you see the Stygian floods,
The sacred streams which heaven's imperial state
Attest in oaths, and fear to violate.'"[1]

[1] The following are the verses cited: 154, 252, 368, 388, 391, 438.

If, however, we will suppose that Virgil, like most other poets, used freely the privileges to which he was entitled, we may then take the Lucrine Lake for the Styx. The traveller passing the *ferarum stabula*, after emerging from the grotto of Avernus, leaving this on his left, proceeds by what is known as the Scalandrone, towards Lago del Fusaro—called by Virgil the Palus Acherusia or "Acherontis ad undas."

Æneas and the Sibyl, having now passed through the dark grotto which lies between the Lago d'Averno and the vicinity of the Lucrine Lake, had issued from the cave into that region which we may now consider as the "Infernal."

From the southern aperture of this cavern there are three roads—one on the left hand leads in a northeast direction to Pozzuoli and Solfatara; with this we have no concern; another, southward of east, leads to the Lago Lucrino and the Gulf of Pozzuoli, the ocean of the ancients; whilst another, nearly south, leads to the Lakes of Fusaro and Aquamorta, which are not a furlong apart, and not more than a mile from the cavern of Avernus, called still Bagno della Sibilla. This is, then, the only road which leads to a spot whence a view might be had of the two lakes, and is, therefore, well described in line 295:

> "Hence to deep Acheron they take their way,
> Whose turbid eddies, thick with ooze and clay,
> Are whirled aloft and in Cocytus lost."

The relative position of the two lakes, neither of which is large, but that of the Aquamorta much the smaller, produces even to-day the same effects that are described. When by the overflowing of the sea or any other cause, the Lago del Fusaro is overcharged, it pours a flood of turbid water, thick with filth and sands, into the Aquamorta or Cocytus, which is one of the most pestilential little mud-holes in this vicinity.

The present road from the Lucrine Lake to that of Fusaro leads towards the northern extremity of the latter,

and gives no opportunity of seeing both the supposed Acheron and Cocytus from one point. Jorio, however, gives sufficient reasons to show that the ancient road, which existed in the time of Virgil, had a different direction, and led to a small elevation less than a furlong distant from the southeastern border of the Acheron, whence they are both fully visible, and where the Sibyl might very properly have said:

"Cocyti stagna alta vides, Stygiamque paludem;"[1]

and, indeed, the lake of Fusaro may this day, as well as nineteen centuries ago, be properly called *palus*, as the Aquamorta is most aptly designated by the expression *stagna*.

Upon the borders of the Lake of Fusaro, the poet placed those whom he described as

"The ghosts rejected are the unhappy crew,
Deprived of sepulchres and funerals due."

The crowd here is very great, and amongst them is the lost Palinurus, who most pathetically implores to be relieved, by having his obsequies performed, and receives the assurance from his former chieftain that a day will come when the rites shall be paid, and his name honorably transmitted to future ages.

At the present day, you will easily find a boatman who, occupying a bark at the spot which our canon believes to be the same which Virgil assigned to Charon, will convey the traveler across; though this ferryman must receive a larger fee than the tariff which Pluto fixed as a sufficient remuneration for the grisly boatman of former centuries. However, all this is, perhaps, just, because the modern tourist will be treated with more civility, and is certainly more weighty than a ghost.

Having crossed the lake at a place where it is something less than a half-mile in width, you land at less than that distance from the sea, and upon soil which this day answers the description given by the poet:

"His passengers at length are wafted o'er,
Exposed in muddy weeds upon the miry shore."[2]

[1] Line 323. [2] Line 415.

Turning to the north from this spot, the lake is on the left hand, and the sea within a little more than a furlong on your right, and the high headland of Monte di Procida rises with abrupt rocks before you. But not more than one hundred yards in front of you, is the little hill of Torre della Gaveta, quite near the shore and the mouth of the stream which communicates between the Lago del Fusaro and the sea. Here, in a hill, is a cavern, cut by the early Greek settlers, to form this communication between the lake and the Mediterranean. It has frequently, however, its channel so choked with sand that it becomes necessary, in the end of the spring, to clear and deepen the passage. In this also winds and waters frequently make a fitful noise, and this was the fancied abode of Cerberus:

> "No sooner landed in his den they found
> The triple porter of the Stygian sound,
> Grim Cerberus."[1]

Having given to him his sop, and finding him now spread powerless in sleep:

> "The keeper charmed, the chief, without delay,
> Passed on and took the irremeable way."

The stream here may, without any great stretch of imagination, be called "not to be repassed;" for it is not by this path our hero returns.

Going forward, the traveler now ascends the hill upon which the tower of Gaveta is built, and as he descends towards the southeast, he enters a valley which the poet describes in the succeeding lines:

> "Before the gates the cries of babes new-born,
> Whom fate had from their tender mothers torn,
> Assault his ears; then those whom form of laws
> Condemned to die when traitors judged their cause."[2]

It would be curious and instructive here to enter upon the examination of the doctrines of the ancient schools,

[1] Line 417. [2] Line 424. [3] Line 426.

especially that of Plato, concerning the future state; particularly as Virgil, throughout his book, gives a beautiful exemplification of the opinions of that celebrated philosopher. Having ascertained what those doctrines were, the next step would be to trace their origin; to see the sources whence he derived his information; to find how much of his knowledge he drew from the sacred volumes of the chosen people of God, and from the original traditions given by the patriarchs, of the information directly received, concerning the other world, from God himself, by Adam, by Seth, by Enos, by Noe, by Abraham, and others; to view the additions and the changes which mythology had introduced, and to see what beautiful imagery the mind of the poet spread through the description; but this is not our present object. The valley here is just such as you would consider calculated to fill the helpless babes with terror, and to minister to the pensive feelings of the innocent victims of mistaken justice.

Jorio informs us, to sustain the accuracy of his remarks, that if you inquire of the peasants who inhabit Monte di Procida, and particularly that part called Cappo Vecchie, marked by the ruins of Roman buildings, where is the road *de l'inferno*, they will bring you by the winding road to the descent on the side of this outlet of Fusaro, by the tortuous paths going down from crag to crag—they will lead you to the entrance of this valley, and thence through it, by the very way which I am about to describe.

He places, after describing the tribunal of Minos, the unfortunate suicides in the next location on the southern side of the Aquamorta, or Cocytus. We have then the description:

> "Not far from thence the mournful fields appear,
> So called from lovers that inhabit there;
> The souls whom that unhappy flame invades,
> In secret solitude and myrtle shades
> Make endless moans, and pining with desire
> Lament, too late, the unextinguished fire."[1]

[1] Line 440.

After describing a number of the unhappy victims who dwell in this dismal region, Æneas is brought to meet the wretched Dido, who treats him with fixed dislike and deserved scorn. These plains stretch forward better than a furlong, a little south of east from the Aquamorta, and the canon brings to our view the mythological statement that the waters of the Cocytus were increased by the tears of unfortunate lovers, which adds to the evidence of the poet's precision and to the probability of the canon's opinion.

In the last stage of this region, he places the warriors, and takes occasion to describe several of those famed for prowess in the Trojan war, and to introduce the beautiful but concise history of Deiphobus, with its instructive moral.

We now come to a spot which the poet thus describes:

> "'Tis here in different parts the way divides.
> The right to Pluto's golden palace guides,
> The left to that unhappy region tends,
> Which to the depth of Tartarus descends,
> The seat of night's profound and punished fiends."

This spot is little more than half a mile from the Aquamorta, and at present the road divides; on your left, advancing in the way which leads from the supposed cave of Cerberus. When you come to this division, you see a region which is fitted to suggest the idea given of Tartarus by the poet; and keeping the line to your right, you would arrive at those regions that he calls Elysium. To the left is a region bounded on the west by the Acherusian Lake and the muddy and pestilential Cocytus, while the sterile region leading to the den of beasts stretches on before you. Several critics have ridiculed the notion that there could have been in this vile and deserted spot anything to suggest to Virgil the existence of the city of the damned, such as he describes it in this sixth book. But suppose there was nothing which bore an actual resemblance to the place described, still it is properly urged

[1] Line 540.

that at least this much latitude should be fairly allowed to the bard, that he might place an imaginary city on the spot. Yet we will not content ourselves with this answer. It can be easily shown that in this region are to be found many of the materials from which such a city could be constructed, and that there was in former days a city upon the very site. Let us, however, look at the description:

'The hero, looking to the left, espied
A lofty tower, and strong on every side,
With treble walls, which Phlegethon surrounds,
Whose fiery flood the burning empire bounds,
And pressed betwixt the rocks, the bellowing noise resounds."[1]

In the first place, this whole region is in a great measure volcanic; and not only here, but at the other side of the Bay of Puzzuoli, the evidences of it are abundant. In this very spot are the craters of two scarcely extinct, though small, volcanoes. No very great stretch of imagination is required to view in their flood of burning lava the fiery stream of Phlegethon, either roaring as it rushes between rocks, or as it bears them along tumbling in its torrent, creating an appalling noise. The peasants will this day point out what they call Fumarole, very distinct tokens of subterraneous fires to the west of the Scalandrone, on the very site of the city of the damned, as described by the poet. Homer informs us that the Phlegethon is discharged into the Acheron and the Cocytus. Virgil was a close student of Homer, and his Phlegethon would naturally flow from the site into the Lago del Fusaro and the Aqua-morta. These volcanoes were probably much more active in the time of Virgil than we find them to-day. Thus, the fiery stream was a natural suggestion.

The walls of the city of Misenus presented themselves here also to the observation of the poet. Even to-day you will find scarcely a space of three hundred yards without the ruins of some ancient Roman structure, some of them of considerable extent, many of them covered with strata

[1] Line 548.

of volcanic matter. You will find several caves and Greek and Roman sepulchres, so that there was sufficient occasion to lead the imagination to a subterraneous fiery prison, the entrance to which was in a citadel surrounded by a flaming river. This was the Tartarean region, or the hell of the poet, which was exhibited to his hero, but into which he did not enter. The fortress was impregnable, and from it issued the cries of the tortured. His guide informed him of the mode of judgment and the dire infliction of vengeance; and the hero saw the gates open, so as to enable him to describe the terrific disclosures that were thus made, and to convery the detail to those who had not been privileged as he was.

"The gaping gulf low to the centre lies,
And twice as deep as earth is distant from the skies.
The rival of the gods, the Titan race,
Here singed with lightning roll within the unfathomed space."[1]

Whoever has been at the Grotto del Cane or in the hot sulphur caverns between Naples and Pozzuoli, is perfectly aware of the effect of the exhalation from this soil. Add to this the volcanic matter, the ruins of ancient tombs, the occasional shakings of the earth, and some notions may be formed of the mythological relations of the restless and tortured Titans, endeavoring to rise and disturbing the soil under which they are buried, so as to create those fissures which emit the stench of their brimstone graves to our upper world.

The concluding lines of the poet, after the enumeration of several of the wretched culprits, are beautiful and highly instructive:

"Unhappy Theseus, doomed for ever there,
Is fixed by fate on his eternal chair,
And wretched Phlegias warns the world with cries,
(Could warning make the world more just or wise,)
Learn righteousness, and dread the avenging deities.
To tyrants others have their country sold,
Imposing foreign laws for foreign gold.

[1] Line 577.

Some have old laws repealed, new statutes made,
Not as the people pleased, but as they paid.
With incest some their daughters' beds profaned;
All dared the worst of ill, and what they dared, attained.
Had I a hundred mouths, a hundred tongues,
And throats of brass, inspired with iron lungs,
I could not half those horrid crimes repeat,
Nor half the punishments those crimes have met."[1]

This was the Tartarus, or hell, into which, as I remarked, the hero did not enter, but with a view and description of which he was favored. The spot from which it was examined was just beyond that described as the division of the roads, "Hic locus est partes ubi se via findit in ambas," and is now called Croce via di Capella. At a short distance beyond it, on the road, is the Mercato di Sabato, where formerly stood a circus, which probably suggested to the poet the following description, given by the priestess:

"The walls of Pluto's palace are in view;
The gate and iron arch above it stands,
On anvils labored by the Cyclops' hands."[2]

We have again, in a single expression of the poet, an admirable coincidence with the site:

"She said, and through the gloomy shades they passed,
And chose the middle path."[3]

Just here, even at this day, the road branches into three parts; that to the right leads to the western extremity of the Mare Morto, where it approaches the Monte di Procida. Mythological writers inform us that Lethe touches on the confines of the infernal regions, a portion of which was in the ravines of this mountain; and thus we may suppose this lake, which is formed by an influx from one of the deep indentings of the Bay of Pozzuoli, is the fabled Lethe itself. On the left, the road leads towards the Scalandrone, and back to Averno. The Spatium Medium will lead to the northeastern shore of the Mare Morto, or Lethe, and here are the Elysian fields; for again mythology

[1] Line 617. [2] Line 630. [3] Line 633.

informs us that Lethe stretched along the borders of those happy regions. This middle path, then, was followed by the Trojan chieftain, who having performed the proper lustrations and duly offered his golden bough by placing it over the portal, was admitted.

The difference of the soil and the variety of productions form here a contrast with the gloomy, the sterile, the volcanic, and the rugged regions through which our way had lain before, and very naturally suggested to the Mantuan bard those happy lines:

> "These holy rites performed, they took their way
> Where long-extended plains of pleasure lay.
> The verdant fields with those of heaven may vie,
> With ether vested and a purple sky;
> The blissful seats of happy souls below,
> Stars of their own, and their own sun they know." [1]

The melody of the raptured poet now grows richer with the increasing grandeur of the scene, and perhaps few descriptions can be found to equal that which is given in his succeeding lines. To observe upon this is not, however, our object. After due inquiry he discovers the loved object of his search; their interview is in the midst of those gentle elevations and the varying undulations which enrich this spot. The Platonic system, modified with peculiar diversities of the poet's own adoption, is beautifully unfolded—the mingling of the universal mind with matter in its various modifications, the death of man, and his judgment. They who escape Tartarus are generally doomed to a variety of purgations, according to the stains with which they are disfigured:

> "E'en when those bodies are by death resign'd,
> Some old, inherent spots are left behind,—
> A sullying tincture of corporeal stains
> Deep in the substance of the soul remains.
> Thus are her splendors dimmed and crusted o'er
> With those dark vices that she knew before.
> For this the souls a various penance pay,
> To purge the taints of former crimes away." [2]

[1] Line 637. [2] Line 735.

Of Elysium he proceeds then to say, after some special descriptions of the previous process of purgation:

> "And few so cleansed to those abodes repair,
> And breathe in ample fields the soft Elysian air." [1]

However, this happiness is not to continue, for the transmigration of souls forms a part of the system:

> "Both these thin airy throngs thy eyes behold,
> When o'er their heads a thousand years have rolled,
> In mighty crowds to yon Lethean flood,
> Swarm at the potent summons of the God,
> There deep the draught of dark oblivion drain,
> Then they desire new bodies to obtain,
> And visit heaven's ethereal realms again." [2]

Thus, numbers who never entered Elysium, but were detained in their state of purgation, were, according to this philosophical system, sent back with the happy souls to animate new bodies. After this view of the poet's notion of Elysium, I shall hasten to compare the few remaining passages with the topography. At the moment when Anchises was discovered by his son, the poet describes his situation:

> "But old Anchises in a flowery vale
> Reviewed his mustered race, and took the tale:
> Those happy spirits which, ordained by fate,
> For future being and new bodies wait;
> With studious thought observed th' illustrious throng,
> In nature's order as they passed along.
> Their names, their fate, their conduct and their care,
> In peaceful senate and successful war." [3]

After having gone forward from the Mercato di Sabato, and stood on one of those pretty swellings of the ground, the hollows are exposed to view, and we find Anchises thus occupied in one of those delightful spots, at some distance forward. The Mare Morto is also visible, with its open strand on the right; and it was to its banks that they who now pressed forward to re-enter mortal existence

[1] Line 743. [2] Line 748. [3] Line 679.

were approaching, whilst amongst them the great father of the Roman race was surveying his future progeny. Æneas went quickly forward to him, to a spot answering the description, near the northeastern extremity of this lake; and after the first efforts to embrace his parent, Virgil informs us:

"Now in a secret vale the Trojan sees
A separate grove, through which a gentle breeze
Plays with a passing breath, and whispers through the trees;
And just before the confines of the wood,
The gliding Lethe leads her silent flood,
About the boughs an airy nation flew."[1]

And when the visitor expressed his desire to know who they were, the father answers:

"The souls that throng the flood
Are those to whom, by fate, are other bodies owed.
In Lethe's lake they long oblivion taste;
Of future life secure, forgetful of the past."[2]

Mentioning a desire, which he had long entertained, to give to his son the knowledge of his future descendants, he proceeds to unfold that explanation to which I have before drawn your attention, of the process of man's existence and of the Platonic system.

It is here to be remarked, that at this day the scenery at this northeastern part of the lake is described with tolerable accuracy by the passage which has been quoted before the last, if we credit many who have seen and testify it. After the doctrinal communication, if I may so call it, Anchises is desirous to bring under his son's observation the succession of heroes which he had been contemplating, and for this purpose the poet very naturally caused him to bring Æneas to a more elevated spot.

"Thus having said the father spirit leads
The priestess and his son through swarms of shades,
And takes a rising ground from thence to see
The long procession of his progeny."[3]

[1] Line 703. [2] Line 713. [3] Line 732.

This is a spot called Puzzillo, and here the poet takes opportunity of giving, through Anchises, that splendid enumeration of those sages and heroes whom he desired to celebrate, until the catalogue closes with that sublime and pathetic exclamation which procured wealth and fame for the writer:

> "Oh, couldst thou shun the dreadful stroke of fate;
> Rome should in thee behold, with ravished eyes,
> Her pride, her darling, her Marcellus rise."[1]

A little above Puzzillo are the ruins of ancient vast structures, and this day, in the midst of them, is the parish church of St. Anne, the vestibule of which is marked by the canon as the spot where stood, in former days, the gate which was selected by our poet as that of horn. This is on your right, and a short distance on your left is Bacoli, not far from the tomb of Agrippina; here was the gate of ivory.

> "Two gates the silent courts of sleep adorn
> That of pale ivory, this of lucid horn,
> Through this pale visions take their airy way,
> Through that false phantoms mount the realms of day."[2]

The Sibyl and her companion having been dismissed by Anchises through the ivory gate,

> "Straight to the ships Æneas took his way."[3]

In the very expression, "secat viam," the canon finds evidence of correctness of his illustrations, because there is a short path from Bacoli to the spot where the Trojans landed, which cuts straight across the peninsula and at angles with the other roads over which we have gone.

> "Then steering by the strand he plows the sea,
> And to Caieta's port directs his way,"—[4]

which could not have been the case from Baiæ, which is at the opposite side of the promontory from Cumæ and

[1] Line 882. [2] Line 893. [3] Line 899. [4] Line 900.

within the Bay of Pozzuoli; the voyage from which would require the rounding of that cape, and certainly could not be said to go *recto litore;* whereas, from the coast at Cumæ it is a plain direct course, straight along the shore to Gaeta.

I have thus endeavored to give you the principal illustrations exhibited by the learned Italian canon, to show that in this, which is amongst the finest books of descriptive poetry and splendid fiction, the great author was more guided than is generally imagined by a close and patient study of actual scenery. How far I have succeeded in conveying his reasoning, I cannot say; how far I have sustained my position, it is for you to judge.

THE CHARACTER OF WASHINGTON.[1]

That it is useful to set aside particular days for the celebration of great events, is sustained not only by the usage of all nations, but by the advantages resulting from that usage. Each succeeding week is, by divine institution, marked by a day made holy. Man is thus reminded of his duties to his Creator; he thereon withdraws from the bustle of worldly occupation, he devotes himself to the contemplation of his eternal destiny, he seeks to discover the means whereby he may secure his lasting happiness. For this purpose he revises his conduct, endeavors to correct his faults, to make progress in virtue, to partake of the benefits of religious observance. He also, by the observance of the day, gives encouragement to his companions, and trains up those who depend upon him, and who are to succeed him, in an acquaintance with the great principles which are to direct their practice, so as to perpetuate the service of God, and to secure the salvation of himself and of others.

That great Being from whom the precept for this observance emanated, was well acquainted with our nature; because He formed us, and was able to regulate and to direct the work of His own hands. The law was enacted to preserve in our memory a recollection of our duty, to enforce its obligation on the understanding, to excite the will to resolve upon its performance, and to interweave an attachment for it with our dearest affections.

[1] Oration delivered before the Washington Light Infantry, at their request, in the Roman Catholic Cathedral Church of St. Finbar, in the city of Charleston, on the 22d of February, 1838, being the thirty-first anniversary of the Company.

But though the religious homage of God be our first duty, it is not our only obligation. Not only is man destined to be an inhabitant of heaven, but he is also doomed to sojourn for a while upon the earth. During that period assigned for his pilgrimage here he is surrounded by many cares, and subject to several wants, for which he not only is bound to provide, but in exerting himself for which purpose he may lawfully seek, especially for those who depend upon him, or with whom he is connected, such a measure of enjoyment and happiness as will gratify him and them, without endangering that more glorious inheritance to which we all aspire.

In his relation to transitory things, man is liable to more immediate, more vivid, and more lasting impressions from those things which affect him directly and personally, than from those which regard him but generally as a member of society, and indirectly through that circumstance; just as he is more wrought upon by sensible objects and present enjoyments, than by the invisible things of a future world, and by the remote prospects of happiness or of misery. Yet it frequently happens in society, as in religion, that our true welfare depends infinitely more upon what is least calculated to attract our immediate attention or to excite our first or our warmest interest. And upon the same principle that the Lord instituted His holy day, to correct this evil as regards religion; so is it useful to have certain days set apart, to correct the mistakes of human selfishness, and to convince individuals that their own respective advantages will be better secured by laboring together as members of society to promote the general welfare. Hence, civil and political festivals, judiciously regulated, are of great advantage to the State at large, and consequently to the individuals who compose the body politic.

That same character of our nation, to which I have alluded, also shows that the bulk of mankind are necessarily more affected by those objects that strike their senses,

than by any abstract meditations. Man is not a merely spiritual being; he sees through the eye, he hears through the ear, he tastes by the palate, and so of the other organs of sense. They are the usual channels through which his soul is informed, impressed, or excited, and therefore, by a common usage of our race, on those festive occasions, there are exhibitions to the eye, information by addresses, or excitement by music for the ear, the indulgence of the feast, and other devices of enjoyment; and all are calculated, by a proper and judicious distribution, to produce the happiest effect upon the mind, though, like every other good, they may be abused, and may thereby occasion the most deplorable results.

The mind, also, is much more easily and securely instructed by the contemplation of striking events properly displayed before it, than by any abstruse reasoning or speculative disquisition. In this contemplation, objects are easily grasped by the senses or apprehended by the imagination, and retained by the memory. Hence, festivals are not, whether in religious or civil society, the mere contemplation of abstract principles, but the commemoration of events in which principles are practically and beneficially exhibited.

Man is easily and powerfully wrought upon by the example of his fellows. We would derive little, if any, benefit from attempting a philosophical inquiry into the cause; it is enough that we know the fact; and hence the public good is greatly promoted by holding forth to the world the bright examples of the benefactors of mankind. Not only are salutary emulation and a virtuous ambition thereby created, but the vain excuses of timidity or sloth, when they plead the existence of insuperable difficulties and the impossiblity of success, are at once triumphantly answered, by showing what men like ourselves have achieved; and the noblest human motives to exertion are furnished, by showing the benefits which one man may procure for millions. Whilst the deeds of our honored brother are recounted, we feel an energy for whose origin we cannot indeed account, but

whose effects are powerful and may be highly beneficial. Thus has the roll of fame been inscribed in every age and in every nation, with the names of the wise, of the good, of the learned, of the brave, of the holy, of the devoted, of the laborious, of the benevolent, and of the just. Temples have been erected, cities have been named, monuments have been raised, games have been instituted, festivals celebrated, and a variety of other modes devised, to hold forth their example, and to perpetuate their renown. But in the whole multitude, I find few, who in respect to the peculiar end for which he appears to have been fitted by Providence, stands so honorably conspicuous; not one whose example can be so beneficially held forth as a lesson and a model to the citizens of our republics, as our own Washington. And I undertake the task, which you have so kindly assigned me, with high gratification indeed, for the honor you have conferred upon one whom you have long since thought proper to enroll upon the respectable list of honorary members of your corps, but with a diffidence which is as unfeigned as it is unusual; because the undertaking in which I have engaged is quite new to me, and the theme is as difficult as the subject is elevated.

Though I cannot attempt to delineate the character of the father of our country, I shall endeavor to sketch an imperfect outline, and my deficiency will require all your indulgence.

The date of his birth is well known, the 22d of February, 1732; and that his family was one of repute for a considerable period previous to the departure of his ancestors from England, as his relatives and connections were subsequently amongst the most respectable in Virginia.

I am far from attributing merit to birth, but I am by no means inclined to deny the general influence of station and society upon the education, the sentiments, and the conduct of individuals. Several of the greatest men that have conferred benefit upon the human family, have steadily risen from the humble position into which they had been

cast by the obscurity of their origin; and we have numberless instances of the degrading vices, the mischievous pranks, the criminal courses, and the base and unprincipled tyranny, of not only individual members, but of entire progenies of the aristocracy. Unfortunately, also, it is but too true, that instances of the former description are far more rare than of the latter. This, however, does not interfere with the position that I would lay down; which is, that the civilized habits, the polite manners, the more extended information, which are generally found in some classes; the necessity under which their station places them of giving to their children the best education, and the facilities which they have of procuring it; as well as the conviction of the child, that it is only by sustaining himself in his place, by having the manners, the conduct, and the information, which are expected to be found therein, that he can escape degradation and contempt, form a union of powerful aids and incentives to improvement. We need not, therefore, distribute mankind into classes of different blood and unlike nature, in order to arrive at the conclusion, that the circumstance of birth is in many instances favorable to the improvement of the individuals. So far from being injurious to our republican principles of the equality of citizens, and tending to degrade a large portion of the community, I can consider it only as giving more merit to the individuals, who with less favorable auspices have, by the power of intellect, the adherence to principle, and the application of industry, outstripped those who had greater original advantages. I consider the mischievous concession to aristocracy to consist in attaching peculiar privileges to those born in a particular family; but not in the admission, that from the peculiarity of their position they have greater opportunities of improvement.

George Washington was thus at his earliest moments placed in the most favorable position that the circumstances of the colony would allow, for the best education that could be obtained, from an intercourse with those whose

minds were cultivated, whose principles were established, and whose habits were formed by a good stock of knowledge, by industrious pursuits, and honorable occupation. The schools then existing afforded indeed but little scope for great progress in science. At the period of his father's death, in 1743, he could read, write, and solve a considerable number of arithmetical questions; and very few schools at that time in the Southern country carried education to a higher grade. The character of the mother is generally supposed, and I believe not inconsiderately, to have from nature, even more than from the force of teaching or example, a powerful influence upon the character of the son. As far as we can learn, Washington was again fortunate in this respect. This widow had been a Miss Ball, and was the second wife of Mr. Augustine Washington, who, at the time of his death, placed in her a well-deserved confidence of managing a large property, chiefly acquired by his own industry, and of superintending the education of her children, of whom George was eldest. She continued to keep him at school, and to enable him to acquire such information as could there be afforded him.

At this early period, he had obtained over the minds of his companions that moral ascendency, which through life he was enabled by the very same principles, more fully developed and more extensively applied, to gain over his fellow-citizens and to preserve to the termination of his life. His love of discipline caused him to be placed at the head of their little military organizations; his probity and judgment secured to his awards, as arbiter in their differences, a ready and willing execution. His exercises were such as fitted him for activity and vigilance, and his love for mathematics and attention to forms of business showed a fondness for order, a patience of toil, a desire of improvement, and steadiness of purpose not often found in a youth of only fourteen years of age.

His eldest brother, Lawrence, the first son of Mr. Washington's first wife, was at this period a respectable officer

in the British forces; he had served under General Wentworth and Admiral Vernon at the siege of Carthagena, and he had acquired with them some influence by his correct and gentlemanly conduct. Lawrence was greatly attached to his brother George; and believing, from what he had seen of his capacity and habits, that he would easily win his way to distinction in the British navy, procured for him, through these friends, a midshipman's warrant, in the year 1746. George, pleased with the appointment, was preparing to enter into a service that, if once taken up by him, would probably have materially interfered with the progress, if not the issue, of a revolution, which amongst the many that have shaken the nations within the last century, stands alike distinguished for the justice of its grounds, the moderation of its proceedings, the wisdom of its process, and the success of its results. A mother's authoritative request was the mode through which this difficulty was removed, by that God who sweetly and powerfully brings about His own wise purposes, without exposing His counsels to the over-curious scrutiny of men.

We have already seen in the boy many traces of what became the character of the man. The eye of the artist discerns in the block of marble the fair proportions of the concealed statue; the material is precious, but much of it must, by patience, by attention, and by exquisite skill, be cut off and pared away, before the majestic figure, which he detects, can be exhibited to the eye of an admiring multitude. Washington may, under God, be considered as having been fashioned by a special providence. At this early period, he had already either laid down or adopted a wise code for the regulation of his conduct. This consisted of one hundred and ten rules, of which Mr. Sparks, his biographer, justly observes: "Whoever has studied the character of Washington will be persuaded, that some of its prominent features took their shape from these rules, thus early selected and adopted as his guide." In another place he says of some of them, that they were "fitted to soften

and polish the manners, to keep alive the best affections of the heart, to impress the obligation of the moral virtues, to teach what is due to others in social relations, and above all to inculcate the practice of a perfect self-control."

"In studying the character of Washington, it is obvious that this code of rules had an influence upon his whole life. His temperament was ardent, his passions strong, and, amidst the multiplied scenes of temptation and excitement through which he passed, it was his constant effort and ultimate triumph to check the one and subdue the other. His intercourse with men, private and public, in every walk and station, was marked with a consistency and fitness to occasion, a dignity, decorum, condescension, and mildness, a respect for the claims of others, and a delicate perception of the nicer shades of civility; which was not more the dictate of his native good sense and incomparable judgment, than the fruits of long and unwearied discipline."

It would be well if the respect that is so justly due to the father of his country, engaged its children to adopt the maxims by whose influence he became worthy of their esteem. It would be well if, in place of encouraging a spirit of bad pride, of arrogant self-sufficiency, and permitting unchecked rudeness to become a habit, under the notion of preserving a spirit of independence, parents would instill into the minds of their children such maxims; and by the proper exercise of their authority keep them within the restraint of that politeness which so peculiarly characterized, perhaps, the least offensive and the most resolute man that the eighteenth century has produced.

At the age of sixteen, he entered upon the laborious duties of a land-surveyor in a wilderness. The profession, besides promising to be lucrative, afforded an excellent opportunity for the inspection of new lands and for making valuable purchases. His first excursion was beyond the eastern Alleghany range, whither he went in March, 1749, whilst winter still held possession of the summits of this lofty bar-

rier, rivers were swollen by falling rains and melting snows, and his path lay through tangled forests, abrupt precipices, uninvaded swamps, and in a region where it was a luxury to find a log hut, as a relief from the inconvenience of the surveyor's tent. Yet was this, in the order of Providence, a suitable preparation for the man who was destined, at a future day, to share in the privations and to direct the movements of ill-provided armies, in similar circumstances; and this was the very spot in which he was destined to make his first military movements, in the service of the colony, several years previous to the Revolution. During the three years that he continued thus occupied, he had acquired a habit of business, and established a character for ability and integrity; nor was he estranged from his family, for he was sometimes a welcome inmate at the residence of his eldest brother, who now dwelt on the banks of the Potomac, at a farm to which he gave the name of Mount Vernon, from his affectionate regard to his friend the admiral, and he also visited his mother, whom he occasionally aided in the regulation of the family concerns

When he had attained the age of nineteen, the frontiers of Virginia, which then comprised the present State of Kentucky, were threatened by Indian depredations and the encroachments of France, whose Canadian possessions stretched along on the west towards Louisiana, and were said to include Indiana, Illinois, and even Ohio. The colony of Virginia was laid off into military districts, over each of which was appointed an adjutant-general, with the rank of major, who was to assemble and to exercise the militia, to inspect their arms, and to enforce the disciplinary regulations to which they were subjected. Washington was appointed to this office in one of the districts, and felt that it was now his duty to acquire as perfect a knowledge as possible of the use of weapons, of tactics, and of evolutions. In the society of his brother and others, who had served in the wars, he had sufficient opportunities.

The death of his brother increased his cares; for the confidence and affection of the dying man, and the high esteem in which George was held by the surviving members of the family and their friends, placed him, though the youngest of the executors, in the administration of an estate which was ultimately, by the arrangement of the deceased, to vest in himself. The military organization of the province was changed, but Major Washington's appointment was renewed; so that he found himself, at a period when very few think of commencing the duties of life, already at the head of a large property, in the administration of an extensive estate, loved by his family, confided in by the public for his integrity, and entrusted by the government with a charge of nearly the first rank and of the highest importance. If we stop to inquire how this occurred, we shall have no difficulty in discovering; for unceasing industry, well-regulated ambition of improvement, proper respect for the established rules of society, immovable integrity, patient endurance of toil, and self-denial which arose from the determination to answer the confidence that was reposed in him, all united to a systematic course of conduct laid down and steadily followed, enabled him to perform with facility, order and success duties that would have otherwise perplexed by their confusion, overwhelmed with their weight, and destroyed in their ruin, the individual who would have rashly undertaken them. Washington has scarcely attained to manhood, and yet his character is already formed, and is extensively and advantageously known. He had labored greatly, he had endured much, he had overcome many a temptation, before he could attain the eminence upon which he already stood. Great efforts are, however, still to be made, that he may preserve his position; but, habituated to labor, to combat, and to overcome—his passions are in his keeping; there is more need of vigilance than of effort; but there must be no relaxation on the part of him who guards so wily and so powerful a foe as strong natural propensities, subdued indeed and

restrained, but yet vigorous, powerful, and seductive. One day's negligence may render unavailing all the achievements of years.

What a lesson, my friends, is this for the youth of our country! What an admonition for parents! Why have we not amongst us more men bearing this true stamp of the nobility of virtue? Because the child is too fond of pleasure, too impatient of restraint; because the parent has false notions of glorious independence, and fondly imagines that lost virtue may be easily restored; because a weak and miscalculating fondness persuades itself that the bridle which restrains from licentiousness destroys that strength which it but directs to a useful and a pleasing course. How greatly preferable is the noble animal, that, trained to the hand, patiently submits to its directions, to the untamed beast that menaces ruin to every one who approaches! The one smells the battle at a distance, and proudly lifts his head, whilst he impatiently paws the ground; yet he rests in his place, prepared but steady. He hears the note of preparation in the trumpet's blast, and he now looks for the onset. At the signal, he bears his rider in the midst of his companions, in safety and in victory, over the ruins of the broken host. He holds back when he is checked; he returns, fatigued indeed, but not exhausted; he is nourished and cared for; he is grateful to his attendants, and, before the rising sun, he neighs to prove his desire for the pursuit of the succeeding day. Woe to him who would enter into battle with the other! Should he not be shaken from his seat, or be carried wildly from the face of the array—he is separated from his troop—he is borne powerless into the thick of his enemies, where he soon falls, the bewildered victim of his own rashness, and to the fury of those who surround him. His corpse is found under the carcass of his worst enemy. Even in death, the cause of his ruin is manifest to that friend who would seek, under shade of twilight, to render the last rites to the body of his associate. What a picture of the folly of a parent,

and of the ruin of a child! Call you this glorious independence?

In truth, we have now only to contemplate the character thus formed, developing itself as circumstances permit, and becoming more fixed and better matured by experience.

Washington's first public mission was not only of a highly confidential but of an extremely perilous nature. The French had crossed the Northern Lakes, which had been assumed by Great Britain as the natural boundary between their respective colonies. It was suspected that they sought to establish themselves upon the Ohio. A messenger had been sent from Virginia, in the character of an Indian trader, to visit the friendly tribes in that quarter, and to procure accurate intelligence of their disposition and of the French advances. He had returned without having fully accomplished the object for which he was employed, but bringing sufficient information to prove that the fears expressed by the British cabinet to the Governor of Virginia were well founded, and that France was disposed to establish posts within the territory claimed by England. The governor had been furnished with cannon and ammunition, to repel, if necessary, by force, any effort of this description. Not only was it ascertained that troops had descended from Canada, but it was found that others had ascended from New Orleans, and that it was contemplated to lock up the British within a line of posts extending from the lakes, by the Ohio and Mississippi, so as to secure at least all the territory west of this line for the crown of France. The Governor and Council of Virginia resolved, that it would be proper, as both nations were at peace, to send an officer to the French commander, with a request to know by what authority he had advanced, and also to learn what was his object. Major Washington was selected.

"He was directed to proceed without delay to the Ohio river, convene some of the Indian chiefs at a place called Logstown, make known to them the objects of his visit,

and, after ascertaining where the French were stationed, to request an escort of warriors to be his guides and safeguard the rest of the journey. When arrived at the principal French post, he was to present his credentials and a letter from the Governor of Virginia to the commandant, and in the name of his Brittannic majesty to demand an answer. He was furthermore to inquire diligently, and by cautious means, into the number of the French troops that had crossed the lakes, the reinforcements expected from Canada, how many forts they had erected, and at what places, how they were garrisoned and appointed, and their distances from each other, and, in short, to procure all the intelligence possible respecting the condition and objects of the intruders.

"Fortified with written instructions to this effect, with credentials and a passport, to which the great seal of the colony was affixed, he departed from Williamsburg, the seat of government in Virginia, on November 31, 1753. The distance before him to the extreme point of his destination, by the route he would pursue, was about five hundred and sixty miles, in great part over lofty and rugged mountains, and more than half of the way through the heart of a wilderness, where no traces of civilization as yet appeared."

With a party of seven companions he set forward, and by climbing, scrambling, fording and swimming, as well as by riding, he reached the Monongahela and Alleghany, at the point where their junction forms the Ohio. His eye soon discerned the peculiar advantages consequent upon the erection of a fort at this spot. It was from the erection of this work the colonists were driven in the subsequent year; it was completed by the French, and called after the name of their Canadian governor, Du Quesne; subsequently retaken by Washington, when it was called Fort Pitt, and at this day has risen to the important rank of an industrious city, Pittsburg. About twenty miles below this fork he called together some Indian chiefs, with whom he entered into friendly relations, and formed the acquaintance of

Tanacharison, or the half-king, who was subsequently his ally and companion. He thence proceeded to the French post, and was told by the commander, M. de St. Pierre, in a respectful but firm tone, that his troops could not retire, for he had received orders to occupy the place; that his duty was obedience, and that discussion could be had only with those who commanded him. He treated the British envoy with hospitality, and gave him supplies upon his departure; yet, by some means, Major Washington found many impediments to his return, a considerable part of which he had to make on foot with but one companion, carrying on his back his knapsack, containing some papers and his food, with a gun in hand, amidst falling snow and over thickening ice, and having only by great ingenuity and exertion escaped the treachery of some Indians.

Upon his return he delivered the answer of the French commander, and placed his own journal in the hands of the governor; and it was clearly ascertained that a case had arisen in which force must be repelled by force. This journal was not only printed in Virginia, but also by the directions of the English government it was published in Europe, and was highly commended in each place. Major Washington was appointed to command a force of two hundred men, who were to proceed to the Ohio and erect a fort at the spot which he had indicated. Captain Trent was appointed to command one of the companies. He was directed to go forward and raise his company by enlisting the traders accustomed to the Indians and the woods; to proceed to the fork of the Ohio, and commence the fort. Washington, at Alexandria, waited to assemble the remainder of the troops, to organize them, to collect supplies and to send them forward, together with the cannon to be mounted in the fort.

The Legislature of Virginia, upon its meeting, increased the force to six companies, under the command of Colonel Fry, making Washington lieutenant-colonel. The British government also authorized the governor of Virginia to call

upon New York for two companies of continental troops and upon South Carolina for one. The officers of such companies held their commissions, not from the colonial government, but from the crown, which caused them to claim an exemption from the authority of the colonial officers, and to be regarded more in the light of an allied or auxiliary force, than as men to be commanded. On the 20th of April, 1754, Col. Washington arrived at Will's Creek, which was then the border of civilization, with three companies under his command. Here he learned that Captain Trent's men had been summoned, by an immensely superior French force, to capitulate and retire from the fort which they were erecting. The French having possessed themselves of it, in compliment to their governor called it Fort Du Quesne. Col. Fry had not arrived—Washington's own force was very small—a wilderness was before him, with an opposing army far more numerous, well organized, and already habituated to the country, ready to fall upon him, he knew not at what moment or in what place. He held a council of war and determined to proceed to the erection of a fort upon another spot on the Monongahela. Thus, at all events, would his men be employed, the bane of idleness be removed, and by the constructions necessary for their advance, a road would be opened for those who would follow, whilst they themselves would be at least approaching to the attainment of their object. He sent expresses to the governors of Virginia, Maryland, and Pennsylvania, advising them of his situation, and requesting reinforcements.

As this was his first campaign, I shall dwell upon it; for here we shall perceive his qualities as a commander, as fully developed as will be necessary to exhibit his character in that position. His determination to advance shows none of the rashness or impetuosity of the unthinking brave; it was the result of deliberation and counsel, and for sufficient reasons. To retreat would have been a degrading abandonment of his duty, a betraying of the

trust reposed in him; it would have stricken a panic into his men, from which they could not be recovered; it would have given to the enemy confidence, time, and undisturbed possession; and would have totally bewildered the colonial councils, whilst the Indians would have been gained over by the French. Did he remain where he was, nearly all these effects would have been equally the result; at all events, his troops would have been idle and discontented; they would have lost all confidence in him, and did they not desert him on the first failure of supplies, insubordination and plunder would have left him despised and powerless, the butt of a mob, not the commander of soldiers. As it was, from the neglect of the commissaries, provisions failed upon their march. Besides the perplexity of this misfortune, he had to overcome the difficulties of exploring his way and of constructing his road. He was, on those occasions, himself the pioneer, who, with a few attendants, penetrated the recesses of the forest, to learn how a swamp might be avoided; or he encountered, in a canoe or on a raft, the perils of an unexplored river, to discover its obstructions or its falls, to ascertain where it was fordable, or where a bridge could be placed. What patience, ingenuity, judgment, and perseverance was necessary for such an expedition! This was the school to which Providence led him, that he might be taught for a period of equal difficulties upon a more extended scale and for a nobler purpose. Not to secure for one monarch rather than for another the nominal and useless sovereignty over the wild hunting grounds, which as Tanacharison, speaking of the French and English, told both parties, "the Great Being above allowed to be the residence for him and his people," but to redeem the people of a continent from the dictation of a distant island, and casting off the bands with which it was sought to confine them, leave them to exercise those faculties and those powers with which God had endowed them, with that freedom which is the right of every nation, and

by whose proper use she can better secure her happiness, than she can by any foreign direction.

As he advanced towards the Monongahela, he received notice from Tanacharison that the French had sent a party out from their fort, who had determined "to strike the English" should they be met with. Soon afterwards he received another message that the French was advanced to within fifteen miles of him. Knowing his situation, he thought it better to choose his field, and accordingly drew his little force to a place called the Great Meadows; and having cleared it as well as circumstances would allow, he threw up an entrenchment, nearly protected on three sides by a stream, and sufficiently distant from the wood to require that an assailant should show his men upon the open ground. He sent out scouts mounted on his wagon horses to reconnoitre; but they returned without having made any discovery. His camp was, however, alarmed during the night; his sentinels fired, and his men were kept under arms till morning. A respectable settler then came in with information that a French detachment of fifty men had been at his place on the previous day, and that he had discovered their tracks within five miles of the camp. In the early part of the next night another express arrived from the Indian, who was within about six miles of the Great Meadows with his people, stating that the French were in his vicinity, and that he had seen two tracks. Within an hour after this arrival, Washington, at the head of forty men, left the camp in the midst of torrents of rain, on one of the darkest nights that could be imagined. The soldiers strayed from the path, frequently lost their way, climbed over fallen trees and opposing rocks, and stumbled over each other; and it took them as many hours to reach the Indian station, as they had miles to pass over. It was nearly sunrise when they arrived.

The occurrence of this day was in many ways remarkable. It was a battle between the troops of two nations actually at peace. The force engaged was small, but it

was the commencement of a contest which deprived France of one of her most important colonies, after the vicissitudes of nearly seven years of war. It was the military essay of a young man who was destined to lead the armies of half a continent, struggling for that freedom which it was to achieve, against the efforts of that nation on whose behalf he was now himself engaged; but that freedom was not to be obtained without the aid of that country against which he was then armed. Such are the vicissitudes of human affairs. But this was also, for the character of Washington, an event, the proper understanding of whose circumstances is of peculiar importance. It is the only battle in which he was engaged which even an enemy ventured to point out as unjustifiable carnage.

It was stated in Europe that M. de Jumonville, who commanded, was not an officer sent for a hostile purpose, but an ambassador sent on an errand of a peaceful character; that a rash, impetuous, and inexperienced youth wantonly assailed and cruelly murdered the envoy and his attendants.

Let us examine the case. This statement was made in Europe by the diplomatists of France, at a moment when they were engaged with those of England, apparently seeking to adjust their differences, but really, it is believed, seeking a colorable pretext for war. The French had made their preparations already in America to surround the British colonies, and to confine them, as nearly as they could, from extending to the west. It was, according to the rules of what is called diplomacy, the business of the French agents to create the impression that England had given occasion for their hostile movements, and this occurrence furnished the pretext they sought.[1]

Let us now see Washington's position. Fully aware of the objects of the French, from his previous interview,

[1] No excuses can absolve the British government from the crime of their iniquitous invasion of the rights of France, whose sons had purchased, by their toil and blood, the territory of the Mississippi valley.

when he had gone, unaccompanied by a retinue of soldiers, to deliver a letter and to hold a discussion with the principal officer of the force that was making descents and settlements within what the English regarded as their lands, he not only found his remonstrances useless, but he saw the aggressions extended. Commissioned and sent out by his own government, with an armed force, to repel this invasion and to protect its limits, he finds a portion of his command dispossessed of a fort which they had been erecting, his troops threatened with violence if they did not yield. He finds, by the report of his scouts, that an armed band was advancing still farther into his country—that they were hovering about his camp. He is informed by his Indian allies, that their avowed object is to attack the English. His camp is alarmed. By whom? It is true that a few of his men had deserted, but surely deserters are not found lurking round the spot where capture and punishment would be the probable result. He consults Tanacharison. He discovers that this armed band has withdrawn from the common road, which peaceful envoys travel, and lay in a concealed and well-protected retreat, like invaders, and had sent scouts to observe the British position. This fact was ascertained by the discovery of their tracks. Messengers had also been sent back by them to the main body of their force, clearly to carry information, probably to call for an advance of larger numbers. Is he to await the arrival of an army superior in force, and permit the object which he had been selected to accomplish, to be lost? Is he to permit himself to be trifled with and overreached? His ally, who had means of information, assures him that their intention is hostile. There is but one course open for him. He plans the mode of attack, should it be necessary, yet he leaves an opportunity to the others to see and to explain. He advances against the position of the armed invaders. They are discovered; he is himself at the head of his little detachment; he is seen. The ambassador, of course, will now show his

symbol of friendship—will demand protection, and seek to attain the end of his mission. Washington advances, and he is received, not with the etiquette of an envoy, but with the warning of loaded muskets. He is prepared, and the return is quickly made. The whole effort of the assailants, for such are they to whom he is opposed, is directed against the Virginians; the Indian is left unassailed. If the commander and ten of his soldiers have lost their lives before the surviving twenty-two have called for quarter, they have fallen victims either to their duty, if they were enemies, or to their folly, if they were friends. It is true, that in the pocket of the commander there was found a dictatorial summons to the English commander, leaving him the only option of retiring peaceably east of the Alleghanies, or of being compelled by force to do so. Some of the ambassador's officers asserted, when they were prisoners, that they had never seen the document, and they censured its style. However, they said many other things, which Washington declared not to be facts. The captured men were sent prisoners to Governor Dinwiddie, who approved of Washington's conduct.

He wrote to the Governor that he was certain of being attacked by a superior force, as soon as the French should learn what had occurred; that, in his present situation he would be unable to hold his ground against them. He could only assure him that he would not be taken by surprise; and would not retreat or surrender whilst the slightest prospect existed of being able to make a useful or an honorable resistance. The succors he received were small; the want of supplies, especially of provisions, was very trying. The distinctions in pay and in rank between the officers of the colony and those of the crown were unfortunate and paralyzing, and would have produced worse consequences but for the good sense, the moderation, and kindly feeling that existed between Colonel Washington and Captain Mackay, who commanded, under a royal commission, the only contingent from another State that took the

field. South Carolina, always ready to take her place in the day of peril and at the post of honor, sent her hundred men to share the sufferings and the dangers of this campaign—which terminated by the capitulation of the colonial troops to a superior force of the French, who, during nine hours, had endeavored, on the 3d of July, to get possession of Fort Necessity;—for so was this hastily erected fortification on the Great Meadows called,—and on the next day its defenders marched out, with the honors of war, to return home. The commander and his soldiers, besides the consciousness of having done their duty, had also the thanks of the council, the burgesses and the public. The prudence, the address, the courage, the patience, firmness, and love of discipline of Washington, were universally acknowledged with well-merited eulogy.

The blunders and the difficulties arising from the arrangements of rank, to which I have before alluded, caused Washington to decline accepting a commission which was offered him by Governor Sharpe, of Maryland, who had been lately appointed by the king of England commander-in-chief of the forces against the French. In declining the offer, he added: "I shall have the consolation of knowing that I have opened the way, when the smallness of our numbers exposed us to the attacks of a superior enemy; and that I have had the thanks of my country for the services I have rendered."

The agency of this man, as he advanced in life, upon a more extended field, in more elevated stations, and amongst persons of more importance, necessarily attracts more attention, and surrounds him with a brighter halo of glory; but the individual is himself unchanged. From the first moment to the last, it is George Washington! Hence it is not my intention to trespass upon your patience by a recital of facts, with which you are well acquainted, nor by leading you through those revolutionary fields whose names are as familiar to your mouths and to your ears as household words.

You know that he accepted the invitation of the brave but unfortunate Braddock, to be one of his military family. I need not inform you of its results. How Washington escaped, on that day which witnessed the almost total ruin of a fine army, I think is attributable only to a special Providence. When the two aids of the general were disabled he alone was engaged in the duty of distributing the orders. He is seen everywhere on horseback, in the hour of carnage, an object easily marked, and by no means unimportant. He wrote to his brother: "By the all-powerful dispensation of Providence, I have been protected beyond all human probability or expectation; for I had four bullets through my coat, and two horses shot under me. Yet I escaped unhurt, although death was leveling my companions on every side of me."

It is true, that in this action, though unexpectedly attacked, and his veteran European soldiers thrown into inextricable confusion, General Braddock and his officers behaved with the utmost courage, "and used every effort to rally the men, and bring them to order, but all in vain. In this state they continued nearly three hours, huddling together in confused bodies, firing irregularly, shooting down their own officers and men, and doing no perceptible harm to the enemy. The Virginia provincials were the only troops who seemed to retain their senses, and they behaved with a bravery and resolution worthy of a better fate. They adopted the Indian mode, and fought each man for himself behind a tree. This was prohibited by the general, who endeavored to form his men into platoons and columns, as if they had been manœuvering on the plains of Flanders. Meantime the French and Indians, concealed in the ravines and behind trees, kept up a deadly and unceasing discharge of musketry, singling out their objects, taking deliberate aim, and producing a carnage almost unparalleled in the annals of modern warfare. More than half of the whole army, which had crossed the river in so proud an array only three hours before, were killed or

wounded. The general himself received a mortal wound, and many of his best officers fell by his side."

"A report has been long current in Pennsylvania that Braddock was shot by one of his own men, founded on the declaration of a provincial soldier, who was in the action. There is another tradition, also worthy of notice, which rests on the authority of Dr. Craik, the intimate friend of Washington from his boyhood to his death, and who was with him at the battle of the Monongahela. Fifteen years after that event they traveled together on an expedition to the western country, with a party of woodsmen, for the purpose of exploring wild lands. While near the junction of the Great Kanawha and Ohio rivers a company of Indians came to them with an interpreter, at the head of whom was an aged and venerable chief. This personage made known to them, by the interpreter, that hearing Colonel Washington was in that region, he had come a long way to visit him, adding, that during the battle of the Monongahela, he had singled him out as a conspicuous object, fired his rifle at him many times, and directed his young warriors to do the same, but to his utter astonishment, none of their balls took effect. He was then persuaded that the youthful hero was under the special guardianship of the Great Spirit, and ceased to fire at him any longer. He was now come to pay homage to the man who was the particular favorite of heaven, and who could never die in battle."

It is thought that if Braddock had been attentive to the counsel of his Virginia aid, the result would have been different. Washington's sufferings, his services, and his success, when subsequently called from his retirement by his country, to assume the command of the Virginia forces, and to aid General Forbes, served still further, during three years, to manifest his good qualities, and to prepare him better for the great work which he was destined, at a future day, to achieve. In January, 1759, after having resigned his commission, when he had made his troops

efficient, and had been crowned with success in his enterprise, he prepared to spend the remainder of his days in private life. Upon his marriage he received a great accession to his property, besides being united to a companion whose affection for him and whose domestic virtues exceeded even the meed of reputation which she had obtained for more brilliant though less valuable qualities. Forty years of vicissitudes always showed their mutual regards, not, perhaps, altogether unchanged, but if altered, they were increasing in respect and affection. Whenever his keen sense of public duty allowed him a short respite from his laborious employments, he sought, with renovated eagerness, the cheerful society of his home and the pleasing occupation of superintending his domestic concerns. This proved his unambitious disposition and the excellence of his family circle. Firm and sufficiently forward, when the good of his conntry required it, he was as ready to face her foes in the field as he was to expostulate with her governors when he had to point out their oversight or neglect, as it was frequently necessary, in vindicating what was due to his officers and soldiers, and in requiring what was demanded by his circumstances to insure the attainment of the public safety. He was always ready to sacrifice his own private claims, to forego what were his just recompenses, and to shun public honors. Whilst he was engaged in the field at the close of his services, he was elected by the county of Frederick to a seat in the House of Burgesses of Virginia. Upon his return, whilst attending the session in his place, Mr. Robinson, the speaker, by direction of the assembly, returned thanks to the young hero; but unused to such a position, and confounded at the sound of his eulogy, he stood unable to reply until the speaker relieving him by a still higher compliment, ingeniously added, from the inspiration of truth: "Sit down, Mr. Washington; your modesty equals your valor, and that surpasses the power of any language that I possess."

He was now twenty-seven years of age, and with the

exception of his attendance as a legislator at the sessions of the Assembly, he kept, as far as possible, secluded from public life; occupied at Mount Vernon in the improvement of agriculture, the exercise of a generous hospitality, and finding relaxation in the intercourse with his neighbors and his loved relatives, with respectable and polished strangers whom his early fame had attracted to visit at his mansion. His chief enjoyment was in the domestic circle, and an occasional indulgence in the sports of the field; the excitement, the labor, and the exposure of which had been rendered in a great measure necessary by his previous occupations and habits from his very boyish days. Nor could he refuse the benefit of his judgment and the weight of his integrity to the solicitations of many who preferred in their difficulties being guided by his advice and decisions, to litigating their claims before public tribunals.

I believe we may safely say, that few members of society are more useful than an independent and upright country gentleman, who is thus the protector of his family, the cultivator of the soil, the model of his neighbors for good conduct, the harbinger of peace in contentions, the patriarch, whose feelings of kindly interest are engaged for the welfare of his servants, and who, from a sense of duty, disinterestedly and without any selfish projects or party schemes, devotes a due share of his time and of his attention, in proper place, to the public business of the State. Such was the manner in which twelve or fourteen years of his life now passed away. Such is the way in which he desired it should continue to its termination.

It was, however, not so decreed in the order of Providence. Great Britain undertook to impose taxes without their own consent upon the colonies. The amount was immaterial—the principle was everything. Admit that it may be done to the amount of one cent in the year, what is to restrain the imposition? From the first moment, Washington saw what must be the result if the effort was continued, and he declared it as plainly as he saw it; when

that declaration was necessary it might be useful. He could scarcely persuade himself that Great Britain would persist. He expressed his hopes that she would not; and cherished, as far as he could, that expectation in the bosom of his friends. He knew well that resistance must end in revolution; revolution in civil war. He abhorred the desolation of his country, the havoc of his people, the thousand evils which accompany and succeed the bloody strife. He had seen the pomp and circumstance of war. Never did he behold a more glorious and splendid pageant than when Braddock's men deployed in well-set order, and moved forward in brilliant uniform, with shining arms glittering in a radiant sun, on the banks of the Monongahela. But before that sun was set, their gory limbs, their shattered arms, their mutilated bodies lay in terrible confusion on that fatal plain; the moans of the dying and the wailings of the wounded were mingled with the blasphemy of the raving and the lamentations and the oaths of the despairing. It is the vain braggart who shuns the field where the contest for his country's rights is to try man's prowess, who too frequently makes a vaporing semblance of a virtue which he has not; it is often the coward who wantonly provokes brave men to those lists, of which he continues to be only a spectator. But that man whose soul is ennobled by true heroism, possesses a heart as tender as it is firm; he is equally ready to soothe and protect a child as he is to oppose and smite a giant; he avoids exciting the bloody fray, whilst honor and justice will permit its being declined; but when the battle has become his duty, his arm is indeed nerved and elastic, his eye is keen and discerning, he assails the haughty, but he lifts the suppliant, and he consoles the vanquished. A man who is truly brave is also truly generous; he shudders at the ruin of battle, he endeavors to avoid its necessities; but that necessity once established, he unflinchingly performs his duty.

It is not, however, in the bloody field that the work of desolation is most extensive or most afflicting. It is there,

indeed, that the first blow is struck; it is there the ruin commences. But though he who lies mangled and festering amidst the heap of victims that have been immolated to the Moloch of war, is now insensible to mortal grief or pain, not so the survivors. Separated as the iron soldier appears to be from everything that belongs to the affections of life and the ties of relationship, still he is a man, and bound to others with the most tender ligaments that twine around the heart. There lies one upon the field—his blood still flows; his wound indeed is mortal, but as yet all his soul is in him. Half elevated, he reclines upon the corpse of a comrade who shared in his toils, who partook of his confidence, who was charged, should he survive him, to bear the token of his affection to one far distant from that scene of carnage. With an effort, he has succeeded in drawing that pledge from the bosom of his friend; and, whilst his arm rests upon his broken musket, what he meant to be a memorial for the wife of his youth, the partner of his affections, the mother of his children, is now for himself inseparably united with her image; it is grasped with a hold which even death will not relax, whilst his swollen and distended eye rests upon it. He heeds not the joyous shout, though it proclaims victory for his companions; the wild tumult of flight is around him, but of this and of every other object on the field, save that one token, he is now regardless. His mind is far away, his recollection is of other years. His wife, his mother, his children, his cottage—these are all present to his excited fancy. He seems for the moment to have some new, though melancholy, existence amongst them. The ebb becomes slow from his side; that gasp is convulsive; he awakes to a consciousness of his state; a petition to his God; an expression of contrition, of resignation, and of hope. His lips quiver as he prays for a blessing on those whom he leaves to the cold charity of a selfish world, as he dies upon what is called the field of glory. A grateful country decks the spot, indeed, with barren laurels, and the cold,

cold shafts of affliction penetrate the hearts of those who lived in the expectation of his return. Who will protect his orphans? Who will soothe the mother? Who will sustain the widow?

Washington had witnessed with aching heart many a scene of this description. Generously did he minister to many a family thus stripped in desolation; and therefore he was not a man to rush thoughtlessly upon a course that he knew must entail such miseries upon his country. He felt deeply the wrongs which the British government was perpetrating; he was one of the first to determine that they must not be endured; but he sought, by petition, by remonstrance, by expostulation, by non-importation, to try whether it was possible to avoid recourse to arms. Yet, whilst he sought to restrain the violence of his friends, he had calmly and deliberately resolved to act and to suffer, and, if necessary, to die in organized resistance, upon clearly ascertained principle, rather than submit to a tyranny whose oppressions would far exceed even the disasters of battle and of death. It is a melancholy choice when one is obliged to take one or the other, in this exhibition of alternatives. It is a great relief when any other mode leaves a probability or even a faint hope, that by patience, by exertion, by time, by moral influence, an amelioration may be obtained, and the horrors of war may be averted. This hope was cherished—this principle was the guiding star of the patriots of the Revolution; and it was not until every ray of parliamentary sympathy was extinguished, and that the royal eye no longer beamed upon the petitions that were laid even at the footstool of the throne, that Washington found himself in the gloom of hopelessness, and that he yielded to the dire necessity of inflicting upon his country the evils of military contest. Still his soul recoiled from it; and fully six years before the Declaration of Independence, his sentiments were expressed to a friend with whom he consulted in the following terms:

"At a time when our lordly masters in Great Britain

will be satisfied with nothing less than the deprivation of American freedom, it seems highly necessary that something should be done to avert the stroke, and maintain the liberty which we have derived from our ancestors. But the manner of doing it, to answer the purpose effectually, is the point in question.

"That no man should scruple or hesitate a moment to use arms in defence of so valuable a blessing, is clearly my opinion. Yet arms, I would beg leave to add, should be the last resource, the *dernier ressort*. We have already, it is said, proved the inefficacy of addresses to the throne and remonstrances to Parliament. How far, then, their attention to our rights and privileges may be awakened or alarmed, by starving their trade and manufactures, remains to be tried."

Two other extracts from his correspondence, nearly five years later, will show the convictions of a mind that had long and maturely deliberated upon the subject. Writing to a friend who hesitated upon acceding to resolutions of a meeting in Fairfax county, at which Washington presided, he says:

"That I differ very widely from you in respect to the mode of obtaining a repeal of the acts so much and so justly complained of, I shall not hesitate to acknowledge; and that this difference in opinion probably proceeds from the different constructions we put upon the conduct and intention of the ministry, may also be true; but, as I see nothing, on the one hand, to induce a belief that the Parliament would embrace a favorable opportunity of repealing acts, which they go on with great rapidity to pass, in order to enforce their tyrannical system; and, on the other, I observe, or think I observe, that government is pursuing a regular plan at the expense of law and justice to overthrow our constitutional rights and liberties, how can I expect any redress from a measure which has been ineffectually tried already? For, sir, what is it we are contending against? Is it against

paying the duty of three pence per pound on tea because burdensome? No, it is the right only we have all along disputed; and to this end we have already petitioned his majesty in as humble and dutiful a manner as subjects could do. Nay, more, we applied to the House of Lords and House of Commons in their different legislative capacities, setting forth, that, as Englishmen, we could not be deprived of this essential and valuable part of our Constitution. If, then, as the fact really is, it is against the right of taxation that we now do and, as I said before, all along have contended, why should they suppose an exertion of this power would be less obnoxious now than formerly? And what reason have we to believe that they would make a second attempt, whilst the same sentiments fill the breast of every American, if they did not intend to enforce it if possible?

"In short, what further proofs are wanting to satisfy any one of the designs of the ministry, than their own acts, which are uniform and plainly tending to the same point, nay, if I mistake not, avowedly to fix the right of taxation? What hope have we, then, from petitioning when they tell us that now or never is the time to fix the matter? Shall we, after this, whine and cry for relief, when we have already tried it in vain? Or shall we supinely sit and see one province after another fall a sacrifice to despotism?

"If I were in any doubt as to the right which the Parliament of Great Britain had to tax us without our consent, I should most heartily coincide with you in opinion, that to petition, and to petition only, is the proper method to apply for relief; because we should then be asking a favor, and not claiming a right, which, by the law of nature and our Constitution, we are, in my opinion, indubitably entitled to. I should even think it criminal to go further than this, under such an idea; but I have none such. I think the Parliament of Great Britain has no more right to put its hands into my pocket, without my consent, than I have to put my hands into yours; and this being already urged

to it in a firm but decent manner, by all the colonies, what reason is there to expect anything from its justice?

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"Satisfied, then, that the acts of the British Parliament are no longer governed by the principles of justice, that they are trampling upon the valuable rights of Americans, confirmed to them by charter and by the Constitution they themselves boast of, and convinced, beyond the smallest doubt, that these measures are the result of deliberation, and attempted to be carried into execution by the hand of power, is it a time to trifle, or to risk our cause upon petitions, which with difficulty obtain access, and afterwards are thrown by with the utmost contempt? Or should we, because heretofore unsuspicious of design, and then unwilling to enter into disputes with the mother country, go on to bear more, and forbear to enumerate our just causes of complaint? For my own part, I shall not undertake to say where the line between Great Britain and the colonies should be drawn; but I am clearly of opinion that one ought to be drawn, and our rights clearly ascertained. I could wish, I own, that the dispute had been left to posterity to determine; but the crisis is arrived when we must assert our rights, or submit to every imposition that can be heaped upon us, till custom and use shall make us tame and abject slaves."

This, in fact, embodies the whole principle of the Revolution.

Whilst attending a meeting of the first Congress, of which he was a member, he received a letter from a former companion-in-arms, who held a commission in an English regiment then stationed at Boston. The following is an extract from the answer which he sent:

"These, sir, being certain consequences, which must naturally result from the late acts of Parliament relative to America in general, and the government of Massachusetts Bay in particular, is it to be wondered at, I repeat, that men, who wish to avert the impending blow, should attempt

to oppose it in its progress, or prepare for their defence if it cannot be averted? Surely I may be allowed to answer in the negative; and again give me leave to add as my opinion, that more blood will be spilled on this occasion, if the ministers are determined to push matters to extremity, than history has ever yet furnished instances of in the annals of North America, and such a vital wound will be given to the peace of this great country as time itself cannot cure or eradicate the remembrance of."

He was also a member of the second Congress, which assembled on the 10th of May, 1775. Blood had been then shed at Lexington and at Concord; the Rubicon was passed, and though no formal declaration had yet been made, still the sword which smote the freemen of New England had severed the tie which bound that colony to the older land of freemen. An expression of John Adams indicated in a way too plain to be misunderstood, that, though her own sons were in the field, and had confidence in their commander, still she would sacrifice sectional pride to general advantage, and that in selecting the commander-in-chief of the continental forces, the name of a Southron, in whose prowess and prudence universal confidence was reposed, would be presented to the Congress. Washington, who had foreseen what he desired to avoid, rose from his place and retired from the house, to leave their proceedings unembarrassed by his presence. A day was fixed for entering into the selection; and on opening the ballot-box, into which that band of devoted patriots had cast their suffrages, not another name was found but that of George Washington. Next day he was found in his place in Congress, as a member from Virginia. When the president officially informed him of his appointment, he rose in his place and signified his acceptance. His words were few and appropriate, but the following expressions show the unchanged features of his character:

"Lest some unlucky event should happen, unfavorable to my reputation, I beg it may be remembered by every gentle-

man in the room, that I this day declare, with the utmost sincerity, I do not think myself equal to the command I am honored with."

Nor were these mere words of course. His confidential and affectionate letter to his wife shows that he only yielded to a sense of duty, and looked upon the trust as too great for his capacity. How providential that it was to him it was confided!

You know the history of that war which followed. You have appreciated, as you ought, his prudence, his valor, his courage, his privations and his endurance. You know what materials he had to mould into an army: men, who, in general, bore devoted hearts, but who were unused to discipline, and not always patient of restraint; men whose unshod feet often marked their track with their blood upon the frozen road, and whose tattered garments in the cold of winter showed that they needed all the fervor of their zeal for freedom to keep them warm in its defence. And amongst the ranks of those born in the country many a brave foreigner shared in the toil of the battle and endured the privations of the camp. Washington could see no difference between them in the field, and he made no distinction between them in his heart. Lafayette, Montgomery, Hamilton, Steuben, De Kalb, Pulaski, Manning and Jasper, are no inglorious names upon the roll of heroes of the Revolutionary war. Brightly do they shine amidst that galaxy of sons of the soil from every State of the old thirteen, that clustered in so mighty a multitude around that calm, steady and glowing light that outshone them all, and yet seemed to add to their effulgence. Well did they redeem that noble pledge which was made by men of every religious denomination. It was released, indeed, with the loss of many a life, and with the ruin of many a noble fortune, but by the preservation of their sacred honor. With that honor they also preserved and improved their liberties, and unshackled industry from the bonds of colonial restriction. To the lovers of enterprise and of im-

provement, and to those hardy children of labor who prize liberty, and are ready as they are able to defend it, they opened inviting passages to those western lands that have already received millions, and are capable of receiving millions more, to make them teem with wealth and be alive with population. But it is not my theme to enlarge upon what was endured in securiug to us those advantages.

The character of strategy pursued by Washington, as far as one so little skilled as I am can form an opinion on such a subject, appears to have been one of the most difficult to execute, yet the best adapted to his circumstances, and, as it proved to be, most successful in the result. At the head of what may be called an unorganized mass rather than an army, and the parts of which this collection was composed in a perpetual state of change, by reason of the short periods of enlistment—without any well-regulated department of subsistence or of supply—under a general administration which had, over thirteen confederated and scarcely formed republics, only that moral control which arises from common principles and common danger;—with many concealed enemies and hostile partisans in open and avowed connection with the enemy scattered through the land,—the country itself but thinly settled; its settled portions open and badly provided for defence, intersected by large navigable bays and rivers, without any naval means of protection;—but on the other hand, his enemy, though in possession of the sea, at a distance from his resources, and though highly disciplined and well provided, yet unpracticed in partisan warfare and dreading an intricate country,—Washington found it to be his duty to turn his whole attention towards the establishment and the maintenance of discipline. For this purpose he had not only to exert his authority with great discretion and forbearance towards those under his command, but to use all his influence with the several governments, to induce them to correct their sytsem, to supply their deficiencies, to make pecuniary sacrifices, and to sustain his efforts. This was the more diffi-

cult, as, even at such a moment, they indulged to a mischievous extent a jealousy, whose theory was just, but whose application at such a moment was unreasonable. They wished to give to the commander as little power as possible, because they dreaded a military despotism; and thus they sent him, as Sheridan expressed himself upon another occasion, with half a shield and a broken sword, to protect them from their well-armed enemies, lest if the buckler were entire and the sword perfect, he might be tempted in the heyday of victory to smite his employers.

It was not only in establishing discipline that his exertions were required. No man loved his soldiers better than he did, and his letters show the manner in which his soul was wounded at the sufferings they had to undergo for the want of the most ordinary necessaries. Yet, with this bitter feeling, was he obliged, as he calls it himself, to play the hypocrite with them; to impress on their minds the obligation of cheerfully enduring everything for the great cause in which they were engaged. But whilst he thus encouraged them to unite with himself in suffering, he earnestly, though not always successfully, appealed to those who ought to provide for those men who were the only bulwark between them and vassalage.

His was not an ambition of glory. He sacrificed no masses of human beings in brilliant charges, that he might gather laurels from the spot enriched by their gore; or that he might indite despatches filled with periods rounded by the swollen phrases of destruction. He weighed the value of every life entrusted to his discretion, and would shudder at the useless exposure of even one. This course was dictated by prudence as well as by humanity and justice. By a Fabian policy his enemy would be harrassed and worn out, and his supplies would be more rapidly consumed than they could be increased; whilst the American forces would be improving in discipline, accustomed to action, confident in themselves, and preserved for those occasions when they could be usefully brought into battle.

But when an opportunity presented itself, he made no calculation of what it was necessary to sacrifice, whether of repose or of life, to achieve what it would be ruinous or impolitic to forego; though even on such occasions every precaution was taken, not only to insure success, but to obtain it with as little sacrifice of life as possible. Stony Point, Trenton, and Yorktown are striking instances of this policy.

His affection for his men caused him to feel keenly for those whom the enemy held as prisoners. At first the British officers undertook to treat them as rebels; indignity, harshness, and severe confinement were inflicted, and it was said that these endurances would be followed by an ignominious death. In one instance, the British prisoners were marked out by him as victims for retaliation; they were on their march under an escort to the place of confinement, when they were overtaken by an express, who announced that General Washington could not permit himself to do what even the usages of war had sanctioned; that he could not punish the innocent for the guilty, and that he had revoked his order. He appealed to the nobler principles of the British commander, and frequently succeeded; but his anxiety and his exertions on this score were unceasing and laborious. Never was his kindly feeling better manifested than when, in order to procure a mitigation of the suffering of General Lee, who had fallen into the hands of the British, and whom they chose to regard and to treat as a deserter, the Congress decreed that Col. Campbell, who was a prisoner in Massachusetts, and five Hessian field officers at Trenton, should be subjected to precisely the same treatment as General Lee; he wrote to the president of Congress:

"In point of policy, under the present situation of our affairs, this doctrine cannot be supported. The balance of prisoners is greatly against us, and a general regard to the happiness of the whole should mark our conduct. Can we imagine that our enemies will not mete the same punish-

ments, the same indignities, the same cruelties to those belonging to us, in their possession, that we impose on theirs in our power? Why should we suppose them to possess more humanity than we have ourselves? Or why should an ineffectual attempt to relieve the distresses of one brave, unfortunate man involve many more in the same calamities? However disagreeable the fact may be, the enemy at this time have in their power and subject to their call near three hundred officers belonging to the army of the United States. In this number there are some of high rank, and most of them are men of bravery and merit. The quota of theirs in our hands bears no proportion, being not more than fifty at most. Under these circumstances, we should certainly do no act to draw upon the gentlemen belonging to us, and who have already suffered a long captivity, greater punishments than they have experienced and now experience. If we should, what will their feelings be, and those of their numerous and extensive connections? Suppose the treatment prescribed for the Hessians should be pursued, will it not establish what the enemy have been aiming to effect by every artifice and the grossest misrepresentations? I mean an opinion of our enmity towards them, and of the cruel conduct they experience when they fall into our hands, a prejudice which we on our parts have heretofore thought it politic to suppress and to root out by every act of lenity and kindness? It certainly will. The Hessians would hear of the punishment with all the circumstances of heightened exaggeration, would feel the injury, without investigating the cause, or reasoning upon the justice or necessity of it. The mischiefs which may and must inevitably flow from the execution of the resolves appear to be endless and innumerable."

What, then, must have been his feelings when a stern sense of duty compelled him to permit the full execution of the sentence of an ignominious death upon the unfortunate Andrè? This is one of those melancholy instances where a man deserving of a better fate is, by the inscru-

table laws of Providence, so involved in the meshes of difficulty, that it becomes impossible to extricate him; and it is not only the eye of pity which weeps, but every noble and manly heart bleeds whilst the blow is struck, which, it is acknowedged, the sternness of justice cannot here be prevented from inflicting. Still, after the lapse of more than half a century, the feeling exits, which will, perhaps, always continue strong;—regret that it was not Arnold who met a well-deserved fate from the hand of the executioner.

Deeply as Washington felt for the privations and wants of his soldiers, he was, however, careful to repress insubordination. Witness the disbanding a large portion of the Pennsylvania line in the spring of 1781, which, though having cause of complaint, yet took an irregular and most pernicious mode of seeking for redress. Still these men, in the midst of their misery, could not be made traitors by the allurements of the British general. They gave up to trial and to execution the emissaries who had the hardihood to enter upon their seduction; and though worn down by toil and privation, they declared that they scorned to be Arnolds. The contagion of insubordination, however, had spread from them to the troops of New Jersey; but Washington was prepared. The mutineers were taken by surprise, compelled to parade without arms, two of their ring-leaders were tried by a field court-martial, condemned, and shot; and the spirit of sedition having been thus laid, the remainder made an unconditional submission and promise of obedience.

The exquisite tact which he possessed was exhibited, together with his spirit of moderation and respect for the feelings of his brothers-in-arms, at the surrender of Yorktown. He had with him General Lincoln, who, in delivering up this our city to the British after a brave resistance, had the mortification of being denied the full honors of war at its evacuation. In place, then, of appearing at the head of the united forces of America and France, with the air of a conqueror, to wear the trophies well won by his valor, Washington sacrificed this feeling to one more

noble and more exquisite, but to attain whose gratification is the privilege of few indeed. Lincoln had faithfully discharged his duty, and well merited the recompense which he on this occasion received. The British general, Lord Cornwallis, desired to stipulate for his garrison, that it should march out with all the honors of war and the customary privileges for its officers. Washington would grant only the same that had been allowed by the British general to the garrison of Charleston; and stationed Lincoln in an open space between the respective staffs of the French and the American armies to receive, in their view, the surrender of the British leader with exactly the same formalities that had been observed when he made his own capitulation.

Need I undertake to show that his ambition was his country's happiness, and not his own personal elevation? Advert to the proposal which was made to him at Newburg, where an army appeared but to wait his beck, to protect him in assuming a sceptre and a crown. His reproof contained none of that language of affectation which shows that a refusal is made only because the object appears to be unattainable, or for the purpose of having additional entreaty used to overcome the seeming reluctance of ardent desire

He dearly loved and greatly esteemed the valuable men who shared in his toils and dangers. His big heart distended with unusual emotions, when, on the 4th of December, 1783, he entered the room in New York to bid a final adieu to the principal officers, his companions-in-arms. The tear flowed on each manly cheek; he grasped firmly in succession those hands that had sustained, together with him, their country's cause. The embrace was that of generous soldiers and firm friends; not a word was spoken. They followed him in mute procession to his barge. Being seated in it for an instant, he rose; and lifting his hat, he waved it; every head on shore was uncovered; the splashing of the oar and its measured stroke alone broke

the silence of the tender, the respectful, the memorable separation of those men, who, in the face of death, had united to secure the independence of our country.

It was on the 23d of that month he presented himself before the Congress of Annapolis; and at the close of an appropriate address, said: "Having now finished the work assigned me, I retire from the great theatre of action; and bidding an affectionate farewell to this august body, under whose orders I have so long acted, I here offer my commission and take my leave of all the employments of public life." He placed that document in the hands of the president and withdrew, as he fondly hoped, to repair the ravages which his property must have suffered, and to repose in the bosom of his family after the toils of such a tempestuous absence. It is unnecessary to inform you that he would receive no pecuniary recompense; and here is a copy of the settlement of his public accounts. How he enjoyed and sought for the solace of private life is expressed in his own language to Lafayette:

"I am become a private citizen on the banks of the Potomac; under the shadow of my own vine and fig-tree, free from the bustle of a camp and the busy scenes of public life, I am solacing myself with those tranquil enjoyments, of which the soldier, who is ever in pursuit of fame —the statesman, whose watchful days and sleepless nights are spent in devising schemes to promote the welfare of his own, perhaps the ruin of other countries, as if this globe was insufficient for us all—and the courtier, who is always watching the countenance of his prince, in hopes of catching a gracious smile, can have very little conception. I have not only retired from all public employments, but I am retiring within myself, and shall be able to view the solitary walk and tread the paths of private life with a heartfelt satisfaction. Envious of none, I am determined to be pleased with all; and this, my dear friend, being the order of my march, I will move gently down the stream of life, until I sleep with my fathers."

To General Knox he wrote:

"I am just beginning to experience that ease and freedom from public cares which, however desirable, takes some time to realize; for, strange as it may seem, it is nevertheless true, that it was not till lately I could get the better of my usual custom of ruminating, as soon as I waked in the morning, on the business of the ensuing day; and of my surprise at finding, after revolving many things in my mind, that I was no longer a public man, nor had anything to do with public transactions. I feel now, however, as I conceive a wearied traveler must do, who, after treading many a painful step with a heavy burden on his shoulders, is eased of the latter, having reached the haven to which all the former were directed; and from his housetop is looking back and tracing with an eager eye the meanders by which he escaped the quicksands and mires which lay in his way, and into which none but the all-powerful Guide and Dispenser of human events could have prevented his falling."

A few years were sufficient to exhibit the imperfection of the bond which held the confederation together in the period of their struggle. It became inevitable that one of two alternatives should be embraced. Either the Union should be dissolved, or a new bond must be devised by which the States would be in truth and in fact united.

The convention was named; against his wishes, George Washington was at the head of the Virginia list. Yet was he by no means unprepared; because foreseeing the possibility of being obliged to sacrifice his inclinations to his duty, he had seriously studied and analyzed the principles of the Lycian, the Amphyctionic, the Achæan, the Helvetic, the Belgic, and the Germanic confederacies; he had also deeply imbued his mind with sound political information, and closely observed the forms of governmental administration. It is not matter of surprise that, by a unanimous vote, he was called upon to fill the chair in that assembly; for surely none was more worthy to occupy it. Neither

could there be any hesitation when the States ratified the Constitution, and it became the expressed will of the people that it should be their form of government, as to who should undertake the task and have the glory of reducing its principles to practice. They had in the whole Union but one man who was, by universal acknowledgment, "first in war, first in peace, first in the hearts of his countrymen." And much as we complain of the injustice of the world, and rationally as we look for the recompense of virtue in a better state, still sometimes a mighty instance is exhibited of the good feelings and the sense of equity of a nation, where we may well use the words of the Trojan exile—

"En Priamus! sunt hic etiam sua præmia laudi!"

He who would not stoop to be a king upon the suggestion of the soldiers, is raised by the acclamation of the people to be the first President of a free confederation, whose destinies are interwoven with the ruin or the resurrection of a hemisphere.

Assiduous in the discharge of duty, he encourages industry, he extends commerce, he regulates finance, he establishes credit, he organizes the departments, he selects and appoints the officers and superintends their conduct, he establishes the judiciary, he allays jealousies, he commences fortifications, he arranges the army, he perfects treaties, he vindicates the national honor, he gives the example of a high morality, and thus occupied during eight years he sees his country eminent among the nations, and putting forth the germs of a rich prosperity. His work is now, indeed, accomplished; but ere he retires from that station which raised him far above the thrones of emperors, he admonishes his children, for he is, indeed, the father of his country, of the difficulties by which they are surrounded; and with the light of wisdom, the sagacity of experience, and the affection of patriotism, he teaches how these may be overcome or avoided. And, now, covered with the bene-

dictions of his country and the admiration of the world, he retired again to private life. There, after a comparatively brief respite from the toils of office, he bowed down his head in resignation to the summons which called him from this transitory state, and passed to another world, leaving after him, not the empty sound of what is called an immortal name, but the mighty monument of that freedom which we enjoy, and the glorious bulwark of that Constitution by which it is protected.

Fellow-citizens, I can speak no eulogy of Washington. Though separated from this world, he lives in the centre of our hearts; his name is a talisman of power, the watch-word of freedom, the emblem of patriotism, the shout of victory. It casts around us a halo of glory, for it continues to receive the homage of mankind. There have been many sages, there have been many heroes, there have been many legislators—there is but one Washington.

Gentlemen of the Washington Light Infantry, you may be justly proud of the name under which you are enrolled. But let it be to you, also, a solemn admonition to fulfill your obligations. Our volunteer companies are not formed for the mere purpose of idle show, of vain parade, nor for empty pageantry. The natural and safest bulwark of our country's freedom is a well-organized militia; the chivalry of that militia should be found in the volunteer companies. Yours bears the most glorious name for an American citizen soldier. You should emulate the bravest, the best disciplined, the most patriotic of those marshaled in your country's service. You should endeavor, with the noble rivalship of a soldier's honor, but with a soldier's affection, to permit no other company to outstrip you in the accomplishments of the armed citizen. For your country and its freedom; for your country and its institutions; for your own sunny South and for the whole Union; for its peace and for its rights; for your morals, for your discipline; and, in that discipline the first and the last point, obedience to your officers! Never has your company exhibited

any deficiency in this respect, and, therefore, it has always been efficient and respectable. You glory in the name of American, but you receive as Americans every one whom the laws of your country recognize as such. You have not deserted your posts, because the fellow-conntrymen of him who led your armies to the walls of Quebec placed themselves by your side, to make common cause with you for that land which their acceptance of your conditions made your common country. France, Germany, Ireland, and Scotland muster by your side, and with them you form a band of brothers; uniting, as your Washington has done, your whole force for an irresistible protection. Do not those flags wave over men who love to gather round your stars, to be guided by your eagle? When you volunteered to protect our brethren in Florida, were not the Germans your companions? Did not the Irish penetrate into its swamps? But why do I thus address you? Our generous South has fully imbibed the spirit of our hero; and we know not these mischievous distinctions. A man loves not less the home of his choice, because he recollects the spot where he first breathed. The soldier's contest of emulation is then noble, for it is equally free from the meanness of jealousy, as it is from the folly of miserable and mischievous distinctions. Nor did I need the proof which you have given, by affording me this day's opportunity of addressing you, to be convinced that the Washington Light Infantry possess largely that liberal sentiment which pervades all our companies and most of our citizens.

Thank God, no prospect of war now dims our horizon; but the best security for peace is the power of protection. Upon this principle you should not relax. The best regulated State is liable to unforeseen derangements, and no one can say when an emergency may arise. It is not when action is necessary that training should commence. The knowledge that you are ready will be the security for your repose. It was upon those principles that upwards of thirty years ago this company was formed by one of whom Car-

olina had cause to be proud; one whose talents were made useful by his wisdom; one to whom senates looked for counsel, and in whose integrity a continent confided. William Lowndes, your first captain, your founder, perhaps partook of the moral qualities of Washington in a larger degree than many who have appeared in the councils of the republic since the establishment of our Constitution; and how efficiently the officers who have since its formation been selected have fulfilled the trust which has been reposed in them is sufficiently proclaimed by the comparative smallness of their number. Your memory will easily pass them in review before you.

To you has been confided, by the honored widow of a brave officer, one of the most precious relics of the Revolutionary war. There is the banner that was borne in the gallant charge at Cowpens, on the 17th of January, 1781, when the surge of confusion was arrested and the tide of war turned by William Washington at the head of his dragoons. It then seemed a fiery meteor to the astonished Tarleton, when for the first time the spell of his success was broken, and he saw his veterans lay down their arms at the summons of the intrepid Howard. The glory with which it that day was radiant began to dissipate the gloom under which Carolina sat dejected; animated with hope, she roused herself to new exertion, and her Sumters and her Marions were again more active, more bold and more successful. Again, upon the field of Eutaw, it floated in triumph to the joyous notes of the trumpet which proclaimed the retreat of the enemy from the last struggle by which they sought to keep Carolina in thraldom. "Never has it been disgraced in my husband's possession," was the short speech of Mrs. Washington, when she gave it to your company. The commander of the host that bore it through peril and in victory preserved it as a loved memorial at the termination of the war. General William Washington, at his death, left it in the possession of his widow; and in the decline of her days that venerable matron knew of

no more valiant and honorable hands to which she could confide its preservation than those of the Washington Light Infantry. Ten years have elapsed since it was presented to you through the hands of that Lieutenant Cross, who held one of the first commissions in your company with Captain Lowndes at the period of your formation, but who had command of the brigade on the day that he attended with Mrs. Washington to present it to your guardianship. When you are marshaled under that banner, with the love of your country in your hearts and her arms in your hands, you will be faithful to the confidence reposed in you—your cry will be "Cowpens," "Eutaw," and "Washington"—your path will be the track of honor and of glory—your history will be found upon the record of fame.

DISCOURSE BEFORE CONGRESS.[1]

My Brethren:—The peculiar circumstances in which I find myself placed in this respectable assemblage are to me the cause of some embarrassment; for I look upon the situation in which I stand to be one of extreme delicacy. I am the minister of a religion professed by a minority of our citizens; standing, by the permission of the pastor of a different communion, in accordance with the wish of some of my friends and their associates, members of the legislature of this nation, to address you upon the subject of religion. Whilst I know that I ought to speak freely, I also feel that I should avoid any unpleasant reference to those differences which exist between persons professing Christianity, except where the necessity of the case would demand such reference. And I am fully aware that as I am the first clergyman of the Church to which I belong who has had the honor of addressing you from this chair, it must be generally expected that I would rather speak upon some of the peculiarities of my own faith than content myself with giving a discourse upon any general topic, that, as being common to all, would be to you matter of no special interest.

But in order to arrive at the particular ground of this description, it will be necessary at first to examine the general principles of our religion; through these the avenue lies, and through that we must proceed. Upon those general principles, I presume, I shall be found to accord with the great bulk of my auditors, though I cannot hope that

[1] Preached in the hall of the House of Representatives of the Congress of the United States, on Sunday, January 8, 1826.

they will all agree with me in my details, or rather in my conclusions. I shall then commence by examining what religion is, that from this examination we may arrive at the proper place for making our further inquiry.

Religion is the homage which man owes to God. This, and this only, is religion; everything is embraced in this principle; no detail is excluded from this definition. Man's duty to God is, then, religion. Thus, to know what man's duty is, we are brought to examine his nature. That nature is two-fold—spiritual and corporeal—the spirit superior to the body, more perfect than the body; the first duty of a religious man is to worship God, who is a spirit, in spirit and in truth. But to know how this spiritual worship is to be paid by man to his Creator, we must learn of what man's spirit consists, or rather we must see what faculties it embraces. The first faculty of the soul is the understanding, by which we discern truth from error. Man is bound to worship God by his faculties; his leading duty is, then, to worship God with his understanding; and the great province of the understanding being to discriminate between truth and error, man's primary religious obligation is to labor for the discovery of truth, and to adhere to what he shall have thus discovered. Truth and falsehood are not, therefore, matters of indifference; man's obligation is to adhere to truth and to reject falsehood. The exertion of the understanding for this purpose is then our first, our highest duty; to neglect this is criminal. This investigation for the discovery of religious truth is the duty of every human being; each person is bound to inquire to the best of his power; and he who neglects or overlooks his obligation is inexcusable.

But it is not enough that the understanding is enlightened. It is not for the mere object of being acquainted with speculative truth that he should inquire. The second faculty of the soul is the will; its determinations are formed with perfect freedom; generally upon the knowledge which has been acquired; hence the discovery of truth

should be pursued for the purpose of regulating the determinations of the will; and the homage of this faculty is paid to the Creator by continually determining to act according to the law of reason, as it has been discovered after sufficient inquiry.

Moreover, we feel within ourselves, and all mankind testifies to a similar experience, that after such a result we do not always act as we have determined. The allurements of the world in which we live, mutual example, and a variety of affections, desires and passions, interfere between the determinations of the will and the carrying of those resolutions into effect. But it is our duty to withstand those allurements, not to be misled by example; to regulate our affections and desires, to keep our passions in subjection to our reasonable determinations, and thus to do in all things the perfect will of God, which must accord with the great rule of reason.

Man is not wholly a spirit; he is also a material being, having a body and living in a visible world, where his fellow-creatures are also in bodily existence. He owes to his Creator external homage with that body, as well as to pay to the Author of his whole being the worship of all its parts, as to give evidence to others that will at the same time satisfy them of his acting with due respect to the Great Father of all, as also to excite his brethren to religion by his own good example. Pure, unbodied intelligences who worship before the throne of the Most High, in spirit and in truth, pay the homage of their whole being in mere spiritual adoration, because they are altogether and exclusively spiritual in their nature. Man, made less than the angels, bears about him a body which he has received from the Creator of his soul—the dissimilarity of their natures destroys the analogy by which it might be sought to establish, that his worship should be in all things similar to that paid by a spirit having no material parts joined in his nature.

The plain result of these considerations must be that it

is our duty to exert our understanding for the discovery of truth, to frame the determination of our will according to ascertained truth, and to carry those determinations into effect, to bring our affections into accordance with reason, to keep our passions under proper restraint, and to pay to God external homage. This is what we call natural religion: for it is what nature and reason exhibit as our duty.

If God never revealed His will to man, we should have those great principles only for our guidance to the fulfillment of our obligations to our Creator. But two questions naturally present themselves to us: Did God ever make special communications to any of our race? And if he did, could such revelation destroy or weaken the force of the principles of natural religion?

To the last question an immediate answer may be unhesitatingly given. No revelation made by God can destroy or weaken the force of those principles. On the contrary, such revelation must not only be in accordance with them, but would tend rather to strengthen them, and to give more precision to their application. God, the eternal truth, cannot be inconsistent with Himself. Truth cannot be contradictory to truth. Human reason is a spark emanating from the great fire of eternal truth; though extremely limited, yet it has proceeded from the infinite Deity; its slender ray may too often imperfectly exhibit what lies around us in the dark labyrinth through which we journey to the grave; and the same objects would be more fully exposed to view, and more distinctly understood, if the effulgence of the Godhead poured its brilliant flood around. The objects then, by either light, would still continue unchanged, though their appearance would in each case be materially altered. What human reason clearly and fully discovers cannot be known otherwise by the intelligence of God, and His testimony by revelation would still accord with His testimony by human reason; but too frequently we are disposed to conclude, that we are well acquainted with what we very imperfectly know, and we assert that reason tes-

tifies where it does not. Hence there is created an apparent conflict between what we say our reason testifies, and what we state that God reveals. But the great duties of natural religion are equally enforced by both. If we should find that God did make a revelation, there will not be anything found in that revelation to weaken the principles of natural religion. The first principle of each is, that man is obliged to exert himself for the discovery of truth. In a state of mere nature we would have only the testimony of our own reason; in a state of revelation we have the additional aid of the testimony of God. Although the one is more extensive and more perfect than the other, still there can be no conflict between them. Daily experience ought to convince us how limited is our knowledge. Yet our pride urges us to think that we can be acquainted with even the secrets of the Godhead. We certainly are not, and cannot be bound to believe without such evidence as will be sufficient to satisfy his mind. That evidence must be the exhibition of truth to our own reason, or our perfect satisfaction that we receive the testimony of God. Without this evidence no man is bound to believe. The humblest individual who walks the earth has not been subjected by his Creator to any dominion which can enthral his intellect; he stands before his Maker as independent in his mind as does the brightest intelligence which scans the perfections of the Deity, and glows in the raptures of his vision. It is true that we are made lower than the ministering spirits who surround the throne of heaven. Yet we are not made subject to them. Nor is any man's mind made subject to his fellow man. But we all are upon this ground made originally equal; all bound to believe God when He speaks, all bound to admit His infinite knowledge, to testify to His unerring truth, and to pay the homage of our submission to His declaration. Every creature must bow every faculty before the Creator, but to the Creator alone. Thus we find the fundamental principles of revealed religion to be, that man is bound to pay to God

the homage of his understanding by believing Him when He makes a revelation. This belief is faith; that is, the belief, upon the testimony of God, of truths or facts which unaided human reason could not discover. And since we should exert ourselves to discover truth, we cannot be excused from making the inquiry as to whether God made a revelation, and if He did what were His communications? Nor can it be to us a matter of indifference whether we take up truth or error for regulating the determinations of our will. If it was not beneath the dignity of God to stoop for the instruction of man, it cannot be a degradation for man to raise himself to learn from his Creator. It is his duty to learn and to obey. The view then given by us of revealed religion is that it consists in believing God when He teaches us, and in obeying Him when He commands us, and of course adhering to His institutions. Whatever is the necessary consequence of this great principle we say is religion. Anything which is not embraced in this, is not religion. It may be superstition, it may be fanaticism, it may be infidelity, it may be folly; but it is not religion. Faith, then, is not folly, it is not abject slavery of the mind, it is not visionary fanaticism, it is not irrational assent to unintelligible propositions; but it is believing upon the testimony of God what human reason could not discover, but what a provident and wise Deity communicates for the information of our minds and the direction of our will.

And surely there are a multitude of truths which are known to God, and whose discovery is yet beyond the reach of our limited faculties. We are surrounded by mysteries of nature; we observe innumerable facts, not one of which has yet been explained, and many of which would be almost pronounced contradictions, although known to be in co-existence. Man is himself a mystery to man—yet the God who formed his body, and created his soul, plainly sees and distinctly understands all the minute details of the wonderful machine of his body, and is well acquainted

with his vital principle; the nature and essence of the soul are within His view. He is lifted above the heavens; His days are from eternity to eternity; He pervades all space; His eye beholds the worlds which roll in the firmament, and embraces the infinite void; all things which exist are exposed to His vision; whilst man, the diminutive speck upon a spot of creation, scarcely distinguishes the objects which dimly show within his confined horizon; shall he presume to say that nothing exists beyond the narrow precincts of his temporary prison? Or, if the God of heaven declares some of the riches which lie scattered through His works; if He vouchsafes to inform us of His own nature or of ours, that our relations may be more specifically understood; our hopes more clearly founded; our zeal better excited; our determinations better regulated, and our acts more suitably, and simply, and satisfactorily directed; shall stunted little man presume to say that perhaps he is deceived, because he has only the testimony of God, but not the testimony of his own reason? Does not his own reason tell him that God neither can be deceived, nor can He deceive His creatures? Thus his own reason informs man, that the testimony of God making a revelation, is the very highest evidence of truth—the surest ground of certainty.

It might sometimes happen, that what is found to have been testified by the Deity contradicts what would appear, to some individuals, to have been ascertained by the process of their own reasoning. Our principle is plain; God cannot err, man frequently has erred, and is perpetually liable to mistake. If, then, we have certain proof of the declaration of the Creator, there can be no difficulty in arriving at the reasonable, the practical, the correct result; that result is again our great principle—it is the duty of man to believe God when He testifies; and the simple inquiry will be regarding the question of fact, "Has God testified?" If He has, our doubts must cease; our belief is demanded by reason and by religion. Indeed, they are

never opposed to each other; upon patient inquiry they will always be found mutually to aid each other. The history of the world presents to us the exhibition of the weakness of the human mind—perpetually changing its theories; perpetually adding to its stock of information; frequently detecting its own mistakes; correcting its aberrations, and proving its imbecility, whilst it asserts its strength. The eternal God, infinite in His perfections, is always the same; in Him there is no vicissitude; alone, changeless amidst a changing universe; His vesture and decoration He may change, but He is eternally the same, in His knowledge as in His truth; the heavens and the earth may pass away; but His word cannot fail.

We are thus brought to the simple inquiry concerning the fact of a revelation. The truth of a fact must be always ascertained by testimony: that testimony must be such as ought to be sufficient to produce conviction of truth, before belief can be reasonably required. When that sufficient testimony has been adduced, to withhold belief would be unreasonable—unreasonable rejection of evidence, where there is no question as to the revelation of God, cannot be innocent. The refusal to examine is plainly against the first principle of religion; contrary to the plainest maxims of reason. A mistake honestly made is pardonable, but the rejection of evidence must be irreligious.

In examining whether revelation has been actually made, we are met by a variety of preliminary difficulties, before we are permitted to enter upon the evidence of the fact; but I should hope that a few plain observations would easily remove them. As I give but a very imperfect outline of the ground of proof respecting this head, my object being rather to hasten forward to some specialties regarding that particular Church in which I have the honor of being a minister, than to dwell upon the general ground which is common to us all, they must be few. But there is a philosophy, which endeavors to stop our progress at this pass. Philosophy did I call it! No—I was wrong to

dignify it with that appellation. It is a species of perplexing sophistry, which, clothing itself in the garb of rational inquiry, asks a thousand questions, to which neither itself nor philosophy can answer with satisfaction. They are questions which bewilder the mind, but cannot assist the understanding; they are fully sufficient to show the weakness of our reason, and to teach us to distrust ourselves because of the imperfection of our faculties. But urged too far, they might force us to conclude that we should make no exertion, because we are not omnipotent; that we should make no inquiry, because we cannot elucidate all that is dark; that we can have no certainty, because there are some cases of doubt; and that we have no information, because there is some knowledge beyond our reach. That certainly does not deserve the name of philosophy which would only fill the world with doubts, and conjectures, and probabilities, instead of knowledge of fact founded upon evidence of testimony. Sophistry, having led you from your plain path and bewildered you in a labyrinth, by turns smiles at your folly, sheds the tear of mocking condolence for your degradation, and sneers at your baffled efforts to extricate yourself. Calm and dignified philosophy unfolds to you the plain evidence of facts; and having fully established the truth of the fact, draws thence the irresistible conclusion; thus leading in a way in which even fools cannot err. This is the path of religion.

I may be asked, when will man know that he has evidence of fact; and how shall he know it? There are some questions which are more plainly answered by our conviction than by any induction. The feeling of the evidence is so strong that we can, by the very expression of the feeling, testify to others what they know, because they too feel as we do, and they know that we should, by any attempt at inductive proof, make perfectly obscure that which, without this effort, would be fully and confessedly evident. Ask me how I know that I have evidence of light being now diffused around me; how you have evi-

dence that I now address you; how we all have evidence of our existence; who will undertake, by any process of reasoning, to produce a stronger feeling of conviction than exists by the very feeling of the evidence? Nor have we any form of expression which would carry more conviction to the mind than that which announces the feeling itself; each individual will know when that feeling exists within him. No speculation will aid him to the knowledge of the fact; and where the general testimony of mankind is given to the existence of this feeling, it cannot but have an intimate connection with truth. If it had not, the God who formed our nature, such as it is, would have placed us under a delusion from which we could not be extricated; and the assertion of this not only would destroy every criterion by which truth could be distingushed from error, but would be blasphemy against the Creator of the universe.

Let us come to view how we ascertain the fact of revelation. If there is any special work which is so peculiarly and exclusively that of an individual, as that it can be performed by no other, the fact of the existence of that work establishes the fact of his presence; and if his presence is a testimony by him of his concurrence in declarations then made, he is reponsible for the truth of those declarations. We believe miracles to be works above the power of created beings, and requiring the immediate presence and agency of the Divinity, and given by Him as the proof of His commission to the individuals or societies whom He makes witnesses to men of truth revealed by Him. The feeling of the miracle being evidence of His presence for this purpose, is so general, and its testimony so fully given by the human race, as well by their spontaneous declaration as by their whole course of conduct, that it would argue in our Creator Himself a total disregard for man's information, if He permitted its existence during so many centuries, and with such inevitable results, unless it were a criterion of truth. The same consequences would necessarily follow from a permission, on

the part of God, of a general delusion of mankind as to the species of works that were miraculous. When the feeling generally existed, and was acted upon most extensively during a long series of ages, that works of a peculiar description were emphatically miracles, and that the performance of those miracles was an undoubted proof of God's presence to uphold the truth of the declarations made in His name by the agents or the instruments used in these works: the Author of our nature would be chargeable with aiding in our delusion, if He did not, as He could, and as His perfections would demand, interfere to correct the error.

Our next observation must regard the quantity of testimony which would be required to prove one of those miraculous facts. The assertion has sometimes been made, that more than usually would suffice for establishing an ordinary fact, would be necessary to prove the existence of a miracle. We altogether dissent from this position. The facts, in the one case, are precisely as obvious to examination as in the other. Strange as the assertion which I am about to make will probably appear to many who have honored me with their attention, I plainly say that it will be found, upon reflection, that there is far less danger of deceit or mistake in the examination of a miraculous fact, than there is in one of ordinary occurrence. The reason is simple, and I believe natural and evidently sufficient. The mind is less liable to be imposed upon, when its curiosity is greatly excited, and when its jealousy and suspicions are awakened, than when it is prepared to expect and to admit what it is daily, perhaps hourly, in the habit of expecting and admitting. Ordinary events excite no curiosity, create no surprise, and there is no difficulty in admitting, that what has frequently occurred occurs again; the statement of such an occurrence will easily pass; but the state of the mind is widely different, when we eagerly seek to ascertain whether what has never been witnessed by us before, has now come under our observation, or whether

we have not been under some delusion; whether an attempt has not been made to deceive us. We, in such a case, become extremely jealous; we examine with more than ordinary care, and we run less risk of being deceived or mistaken.

No person doubts the power of the Creator, the supreme Legislator and Preserver of the universe, to suspend any law of nature in the course of its operation, or to select some individual case which He will except from the operation of that law, and during His own pleasure. The question can never be as to this power, as to the possibility of a miraculous interference; but it always must regard the fact, and that fact must be established by testimony, and without the evidence of testimony, no person who was not present can be required to believe. There does not and cannot exist any individual or tribunal, with power to require or command the humblest mortal to believe without evidence.

There is no place in which the rules of evidence are better understood or more accurately observed than in our respectable courts of law. Permit me, for the moment, to bring your attention to one of those cases which frequently presents itself to the view of our citizens. There stands a citizen charged with the murder of his fellow-man. Long experience, deep study, unsullied purity, calm impartiality, and patience for investigati n, form the judicial character; they are found upon the bench. Steady integrity, the power of discrimination, the love of justice, a deep interest in the welfare of the community, and the sanction of a solemn pledge to heaven, are all found in the jury. The public eye is upon them, and the supreme tribunal of public opinion, after an open hearing of the case, is to pronounce upon the judges and the jurors themselves. The life or death, the fame or infamy of the accused lies with them, and is in their keeping, at the peril of their feelings, their character, their conscience, and their souls. The decision must be made by the evidence arising from testimony, and

that the testimony of men, and those men liable to all the weakness and all the bad passions of humanity; yet here, in this important case, a solemn decision must be made. That jury must be satisfied that the person now said to be dead was living, that he is now dead, that the change from life to death was produced by the act of their fellow-citizen now arraigned before them; that this act was done with sufficient deliberation to proceed from malicious intent; that for this act he had no authority; he who was deprived of life being a peaceable person, under the protection of the State. In this there is frequently much perplexity, and little testimony, and that testimony frequently regarding not the substantial ingredients of the crime, but establishing facts, from which those that form the ingredients are only derived by inference. Still we find convictions and have executions, and the jury, with the approbation of the bench, and the assent of the community, unhesitatingly put on solemn record their conviction of the truth of facts which they never saw, and of which they have only the testimony of their fellow-men; and upon this testimony society agrees that property, liberty, life and fame, shall all be disposed of with perfect assurance of truth and justice.

I will now suppose that court constituted as I have described, and for the purpose of ascertaining the fact of murder. A number of respectable witnesses depose to the fact of the person stated to be slain having been alive. They were in habits of intimacy with him, were his companions during years, some of them have seen his dead body, in presence of others who also testify to their having seen and examined that body; those last were present when the prisoner, with perfect deliberation, inflicted a wound upon the deceased. There can be no doubt as to the identity of the deceased, and there is none as to the identity of the prisoner. A number of physicians testify their opinion as to the wound so given, and which they examined, being a sufficient cause of death. The accused produces no author-

ity for his act; there has been no process of law against the deceased, who was a peaceable and well-conducted citizen. How could that jury hesitate? They must, painful as is the task, they must consign the unfortunate culprit to the just vengeance of the law; the judge must deliver him to the executioner, and the public record of the State must exhibit his infamy. Life and character must both disappear; they are swept away by the irresistible force of evidence, founded upon human testimony. The widow must hang her head in shame; in the recess of her dwelling she must sit in lonely, disconsolate, unsupported grief; the orphans blush to bear their father's name; the brothers would forget their kindred; and perhaps even gray hairs would gladly bow still lower, compelled by grief and years to court the concealment of the grave.

Still, when a fact becomes evident from the examination of testimony, we must yield our assent to that fact, without regarding its consequences.

Let me continue my supposition. Before the dissolution of that court, whilst it is yet in session, the jury still occupying their seats—a rush is made into the hall—the same identical witnesses appear again; but they are accompanied by the deceased, now raised to life. They testify that, as they were departing from the court, a man, whom they produce, proclaimed that he was commissioned by the Most High to deliver His great behests to his fellow-men; and that to prove the validity of his commission, he summoned them to accompany him to the tomb of the man whose death they had so fully proved, and that by an appeal to heaven for the authenticity of his commission, the man should revive. They went—they saw the body in the grave—the claimant upon heaven called upon the eternal God to show that He had sent him to teach his fellow-men. He calls the deceased—the body rises—the dead has come to life. He accompanies them to the court; he is recognized by his acquaintances—confessed by his friends—felt by the people; he speaks, he breathes—he moves, he eats, he drinks, he

lives amongst them. Can that court refuse to say that it is satisfied of the fact of the resuscitation? What would any honest man think of the members of that jury should they swear that this man had not been resuscitated by the interference of that individual who thus proves his commission? If that jury could, upon the testimony of those witnesses, find the first fact, why shall they not, upon the same testimony, find the second?

But, we may be asked, how we know that this man was dead? Probably it was only a mistake. He could not have been totally bereft of life. Ask the jury, who, upon the certainty of the fact of death, consigned their fellow-citizen to infamy and to the gallows. Shall we admit the certainty for the purposes of human justice, and quibble with our convictions to exclude the testimony of heaven? This, indeed, would be a miserable sophistry. Would any court upon such a plea, so unsupported, issue a respite from execution? An isolated *perhaps*, with nothing to rest upon, set up against positive testimony, resting upon the uncontradicted evidence derived from the senses, from experience, and from analogy; a speculative possibility against a substantive fact, by which the very possibility is destroyed!

Where is the cause of doubt? Where the difference between the two cases? In both suppositions the essential facts are the same — life, death — identity; the difference consists in the accidental circumstances of the priority of one to the other. The one is the ordinary transition from life to death, an occurrence which is to us most mysterious and inexplicable, but with the existence of which we are long familiar; the other a transition from death to life, not more mysterious but which rarely occurs, and when it does occur, is most closely examined, viewed with jealous scrutiny, and which excites deep interest, and to admit the truth of which there is no predisposition in the mind. The facts are precisely the same in the case of the murder and of the miracle; the accident of the priority of one to the other constitutes the whole difference. And surely if

witnesses can tell me that a man who has never died shows all the symptoms of life, the same witnesses can tell me the same fact, though that man had passed from death to life. The symptoms of life are always the same, and the testimony which will establish the fact of life at one time, by proving the existence of those symptoms, will be at any time sufficient for the same purpose. The same is to be said of the symptoms of death and of the testimony which will establish the fact by proving their existence. It may be objected that no adequate cause is assigned for this extraordinary occurrence. The answer is twofold. To be convinced of the truth of a fact, it is not necessary that I should know the cause of its existence; it suffices for me to know the existence of the fact itself, and its existence will not be the less certain though I should never be able to discover the cause. How many facts do we every day witness, whose causes are still to us inaccessible and undiscovered! Next: An adequate cause is here distinctly pointed out and referred to. He who first breathed into the nostrils of man, whom He fashioned from the dust, a living soul, is now equally powerful to call back the departed spirit to its mouldering tenement of clay.

In the Mosaic—in the Christian dispensation, what multitudes of miraculous facts attest the presence of the Deity—the revelations of heaven! During what a length of time were not those facts open to every species of examination! How favorable were the circumstances for the detection of imposition, for the exposure of fanaticism, for the ridicule of folly, if the impostor, the fanatic, or the fool had claimed to be the messenger of heaven! Thus we believe that our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ instructed man in the doctrines of truth, had authority to prescribe laws of morality, and founded institutions to which we are religiously bound unalterably to adhere. If the miraculous facts, which establish this conclusion, are not in full evidence, I, for one, must profess that I must blot from my mind all that I have been ever led to believe were facts of history.

A peculiarity of our religion is, that we may at any moment risk its truth or falsehood upon the truth or falsehood of the statement of any one or the whole of a vast variety of facts. We know nothing of speculation, we know nothing of opinion. Opinions form no part of our religion. It is all a statement of facts, and the truth of those facts can at any moment be brought to the test. With this we stand or fall. Allow me to adduce one fact as an instance and an illustration.

The Founder of our Church, the Saviour of the world, foretold the destruction of Jerusalem, and that not a stone should be left upon another of the mighty mass of the splendid temple. One of our prophets foretold that upon the establishment of the new law which we profess, the sacrifice should cease, and never be restored, in that temple. The sacrifice did cease — the city was sacked — the temple was destroyed: — the Christians proclaimed that the temple would never be rebuilt, the sacrifice would never be restored. The Roman emperor Julian, having apostatized from the faith, was determined to humble the Church which he had deserted, and by establishing one fact to defeat their prophecy, to prove the delusion of the Nazarenes or Galileans, as he termed the Christians. With the wealth of the Roman empire, the power of his sceptre, the influence of his place, and the devotion of the most zealous people under heaven, he made the attempt. The whole Jewish people, animated with love of country and of religion, cheered by their neighbors, urged on by their emperor, flattered by his court, undertook the work. They rooted up the old foundations of the temple, until indeed there was not left a stone upon a stone; they prepared to rebuild. History testifies their disappointment. Cyril of Jerusalem, a bishop of our Church, and Ammianus Marcellinus, the emperor's historian, a Christian and a pagan, together with a cloud of other witnesses, inform us of their discomfiture. Centuries have elapsed. The prophecy and the attempt are both on record. To-day we say, as our predecessors said then: "Build that temple,

offer one sacrifice according to the Mosaic rites within its walls, and we acknowledge our delusion." But we cannot, for any speculative opinions of philosophers, abandon the evidence of miracles, of prophecy, and of history united.

My brethren, I come now to a new part of my subject. We have seen that our blessed Saviour Jesus Christ made a revelation to the human race; our next and very natural inquiry must be to discover how we shall ascertain what that revelation is. This is the place where we arrive at the essential distinction between the Roman Catholic Church and every other; it is, indeed, upon this question the whole difference turns; and to this it must be always brought back. The doctrine which, as a prelate of that Church, and from my own conscientious conviction, I preach, differs very widely indeed from what is generally professed and acted upon by the great majority of our citizens, and by a vast portion of the respectable and enlightened assemblage which surrounds me. I shall state our doctrine fully upon this head; but I do not feel that it would be correct or delicate on my part to enter at present upon the field of polemics for its vindication. Still it will be permitted that I give an outline, imperfect and defective it must be, for the cause which I have assigned, of the reasons for that faith which is in us.

And here let me assure you that if, in the course of my observations, any expression should escape from me that may appear calculated to wound the feelings of those from whom I differ, it is not my intention to assail, to insult, or to give pain; and that I may be pardoned for what will be in truth an inconsiderate expression, not intended to offend. Neither my own feelings, nor my judgment, nor my faith would dictate to me anything calculated to embitter the feelings of those who differ from me—merely for that difference. My kindest friends, my most intimate acquaintance, they whom I do and ought to esteem and respect, are at variance with my creed; yet it does not and shall not destroy our affection. In me it would be ingratitude; for I must avow, and I do

it most willingly, that in my journeys through our States I have been frequently humbled and abashed at the kindness with which I have been treated. I came amongst you a stranger, and I went through your land with many and most serious and unfortunate mistakes, for which you were not blamable, operating to my disadvantage. If a Roman Catholic bishop were in truth what he is even now generally supposed to be, in various parts of this Union, he should not be permitted to reside amongst you; yet was I received into your houses, enrolled in your families, and profited by your kindness. I have frequently put the question to myself whether, if I had similar impressions regarding you, I could have acted with the like kindness; and I must own, I frequently doubted that I would. It is true, you labored under serious mistakes as to what was my religion, and what were my duties and my obligations. But you were not yourselves the authors of those mistakes; nor had you within your reach the means of correcting them. I feel grateful to my friends who have afforded me this opportunity of perhaps aiding to do away with those impressions; for our affections will be more strong as those mistakes will be corrected; and it must gratify those who, loving the country, behold us spread through it, to be assured, that we are not those vile beings that have been painted to their imaginations, and which ought not to be allowed existence in any civilized community.

Upon our principles, my brethren, we must not speculate; we must always keep our eye steadily upon facts. The wisest man might be misled in speculation; might make great mistakes in forming opinions; but if he has evidence of a fact he has ground upon which he can rest with certainty; and the inevitable consequence of that fact produces certainty also. Let us then look for facts instead of hazarding conjectures or maintaining opinions.

It is a fact that our blessed Redeemer did not write His communications; it is equally certain that He neither gave a command nor a commission to have them written. It is a

fact, that His religion was fully and extensively established before any part of the Scriptures of our new law was committed to writing. We therefore believe it to be evident that our religion was not established by the dissemination of writings.

We have abundant testimony to show that our blessed Redeemer, besides having publicly taught the people, selected a few persons whom he more fully instructed and duly authorized to teach also. They were His companions during life, and after His death they were the promulgators of His doctrine. Their commission from Him was not to become philosophers, discussing what was probably the nature of God and the obligation of man, and examining what means they would esteem to be most likely to lead mankind to eternal happiness. They were constituted witnesses to others, to testify what the Saviour revealed to them, and to speak of positive facts with undoubting certainty; to state what He actually told, what He precisely commanded, what He positively instituted, and for what purpose, and what were to be the consequences. All this was matter-of-fact testified by witnesses, not discovered by disquisitions of philosophy. The teachers were not to add, they were not to diminish, they were not to change; the perfection of the revelation consisted in preserving the account purely unchanged. We find it is a fact that others were added to the commission of teachers. The very nature of the case exhibited the necessity of such addition, because the original commissioners would not suffice for the multitude to be taught. Natural reason pointed out the course which testimony shows us was followed. They who were originally constituted by the Redeemer to form the teaching tribunal, selected those whom they found best instructed, and being satisfied of their integrity by the testimony of those who had long known them, they were themselves judges of their full acquaintance with the truths which were to be taught and of their ability. They ordained them as fellow-witnesses, extended to them the power of the commission, and thus in every city were

chosen faithful men, who might be fit to teach others that form of sound words which had been committed to themselves before many witnesses. The people who heard the testimony of the first teachers were also capable of observing if any deviation had been made by their successors. Those first teachers and their associates were scattered abroad widely through the world, but in all places they taught the same things, for truth could not be contradictory. Some persons sought after novelties, and separated from the great body, which itself remained united in government and in doctrine, though widely scattered through the world. Those isolated and independent divisions followed each some theory of its own, having some peculiarity by which each was distinguished from the other, each judging and deciding for itself, and each claiming to have preserved the true doctrine. This state of things existed almost at the very origin of the Christian Church, and has since continued more or less extensively. It was not until the eighth year after the ascension of our Lord, or the year 41 of our era, that the first part of the New Testament was written by St. Matthew, who was one of the earliest companions of the Saviour and an Apostle. Many of the Christians had committed to writing several facts and discourses which they had learned. Many of their accounts contained much that has never reached us. Some years afterwards, St. Mark, who was not an Apostle, but who was a companion of St. Peter, the president of the apostolic body, first in honor and first in jurisdiction, abridged much of what St. Matthew had written, and added much of his own, which he had probably learned from St. Peter. Those books had a limited circulation amongst the Christians in some places, but highly as they were valued, they were not looked upon as the exclusive evidence of the doctrines of the Redeemer, and the very fact, which is of course incontestable, that a vast quantity of what we all now receive as His doctrine is not contained in them, but was subsequently written, renders it impossible for any of us to assume this principle. In the year 53 of our era, St. Luke, who was a physician in Antioch, and

who had been occasionally a companion of St. Paul, and had conversed with many of the other disciples and Apostles, began to write his Gospel from the accounts collected through others, and chiefly to counteract the circulation of many erroneous accounts which were written. He probably had not seen either of the two Gospels written by Matthew or Mark. About ten years after this, he wrote the Acts of the Apostles as a continuation of his history, and in it he principally confines himself to the account of the labors of St. Paul, as he was his companion, and had the opportunity of observing his proceedings. Upwards of thirty years more elapsed before St. John wrote his Gospel at the request of the Churches of Asia Minor, in order to testify against the errors of several persons who then troubled those Churches with their speculations and imaginations. He had previously written his book of Revelations, being an obscure prophecy of some future events blended with history and vision. He had written some epistles to Churches and to individuals on particular occasions. St. Paul, in the discharge of his duties, had been sometimes consulted upon particular questions by Churches which he had founded or visited; and some of his epistles are extant, in which he answers their difficulties, gives them instruction suitable to their circumstances, and makes several regulations. He also wrote on other occasions to Churches and to individuals, as did three or four of the other Apostles; some of those letters remain; we are informed, and think it not unlikely, that many more have been lost.

Thus, during the first century, it is a fact, that no such book as we now receive, called the New Testament, was used or adopted in the Church as the mode for each individual or each Church to ascertain what was the doctrine of Christ. The several portions of which it is composed had indeed been written and were used, but they were not collected together, and very probably no individual had a copy of the whole. But those were not the only books of the same description which circulated, for there were very many

others purporting to be Gospels and epistles; and it would indeed be very difficult for any individual who desired to know the doctrine of the Redeemer, to discover it from books, in such a state of things.

Another fact is also obvious: That in this century the Apostles and most of those whom they had associated with them in their commission died. During their lives, they were the teachers of the doctrine; they testified what Christ had taught, and it was by reference to their tribunal it was ascertained. But a question here naturally presents itself to us. Should a difference of testimony be found amongst those teachers, it is very evident that one of them must have, to say the least, made a mistake; how was an honest inquirer after truth to know what God has revealed? It is plain, we say, that truth and error must exist in such a case, however innocent the erring party might be. And unless there were a very plain and simple mode of detecting that error, He who gave the revelation would not have provided for its preservation. And as this difference not only might exist, but did actually occur at a very early period within this same century, the evidence of truth would have been lost in the difference of testimony, and revelation would have been made useless almost as soon as it had been given. We say that the common rule of evidence arising from testimony would have been sufficient, when properly applied, to have detected the error. That rule is: Examine the witnesses fully as to the fact, and if the vast majority, under proper circumstances, will agree in the testimony, it is the evidence of truth. Our history exhibits to us, in the lifetime of the Apostles, the facts of the difference, the examination, and the decision by this rule; and also the further fact, that they who would not abide by the decision were no longer considered as holding the doctrine which had been revealed, but as making new opinions, and substituting what they thought ought to be, instead of preserving what had always been. We then find those who continued to testify the doctrine of the Apostles holding

communion with them, recognized as joined in their commission, and authorized also to extend and to perpetuate the same. Thus, although the Apostles and their associates died within this century, still that tribunal of which they were the first members survived, and at the end of this period was far more numerous and much more widely extended through the world; and it was to this tribunal recourse was had to ascertain what was the doctrine of our blessed Redeemer. Originally this tribunal consisted of Peter and his associates, the other Apostles; now it consisted of the successor of Peter, and the successors of the other Apostles, and of their associates through the world.

No king could say that he would regulate the doctrines for his people; no nation had authority to modify those doctrines for themselves. The perfection of religion consists in preserving the doctrines such as they have been given by God in revelation. The difference of temporal government cannot alter what He has said. Thus, there was formed but one Church through many nations—one tribunal to testify in every place the same doctrine—all the individuals who taught were witnesses for or against each other—the whole body, with the successor of Peter at its head, watchful to see that each taught that which was originally delivered.

In the second century the same system continues; similar facts present themselves to our view; the mode of ascertaining what Christ had taught was, by the declarations of this permanent body, thus continued. The books of the New Testament were, perhaps, better known and more generally read, but their circulation was comparatively limited, their authority not sufficiently developed, and they were by no means considered as the only source from which individuals, or even congregations, could draw a full knowledge of the revelations of the Saviour. It was not until after the lapse of three centuries that the members of that living tribunal, which had always been the witness of doctrine, selected the books that form the New Testament from the

various other works of a similar description, which had been very freely disseminated. We have full evidence of the plain fact, that this tribunal had been the authoritative witness of the revealed truths from the beginning, and that it was only after a long lapse of time that body separated the writings known as the Scriptures of the New Law from several spurious works of little or no value, some of them even false and pernicious. And our belief is, that the mode of ascertaining the doctrine of truth originally was, and continued to be, from the testimony of that tribunal, rather than by the mere testimony of those books.

What would be the authority of those books, without the authority of that tribunal? Bring any written document into any court of justice; lay it on the table; what will it prove? Will you not first produce evidence to show what it is? You must prove by the testimony of some competent witness the nature and authenticity of a written document before that written document can be used. Without having been thus established, it lies useless before the court. It may be what it purports to be, but it is plain that a written or printed book may not be what it assumes in its title; a document flung upon the table of a court lies there without any use, until it is made useful by testimony besides itself. The record of a court must be proved by the officer of that court; fictions and forgeries are as easily printed or produced as are the genuine statements of truth; and it does not derogate from the value of a genuine document, to say that it needs first to be proved, for no document can prove itself.

Our doctrine then is, that in all cases of difference as to faith, between the commissioned teachers of the Church, or in any such differences between others, the mode originally used will procure for us evidence of truth. The question never can be respecting opinion; it must always be concerning fact; that fact is what God did reveal. The original witnesses spread through the world testified this fact to their associates and to their successors; this testimony

was thus continued. In the second or third century, the bishop in Greece could testify what had been transmitted to him; the Parthian bishop gave his testimony; the Egyptian added his; the Italian told what he had been taught; their agreement could not have been the effect of accident. The prejudices, the national habits, and the thousand accidental differences of each made them sufficiently watchful of each other: their joint and concurrent testimony must have been full proof of the sameness of the testimony of their predecessors, until all met in the Apostles who heard it from Jesus Christ. We say, that when the great majority of the bishops united with their head, the Bishop of Rome, who succeeds to Peter, thus concur in their testimony, it is evidence of truth; we will infallibly come to a certain knowledge of what God has revealed. This is our doctrine of the infallibility of the Church; and thus we believe that we will ascertain what Christ taught, by the testimony of the majority of bishops united to their head, whether assembled or dispersed through their sees all over the world.[1]

Others may be of opinion that this is an irrational—that this is an incorrect, that this is an insufficient mode. We do not view it in that light; and I may be permitted to say for myself, perhaps it might be deemed prejudice; perhaps a weakness of intellect, or a slavery of mind; to me it appears a much better mode of attaining its great object than to take up the Scriptures and decide solely for myself; better than to depend upon the authority of any individual, however learned, or pious, or inspired with heavenly knowledge, he might be deemed. I am not infallible; but in virtue of my place I give my testimony; I may err, but the majority of my brethren will correct that error. A few others may err; still the testimony of the majority prevails—thus individuals may separate from us,

[1] Consult here, for a clear definition and full explanation of the infallibility of the Church and the Pope, Newman's answer to Gladstone, in the second volume of "Difficulties of Anglicans."

but our unity and our testimony remains. We do not profess to believe our Pope infallible.[1] We believe, that by virtue of the divine appointment, he presides amongst us, but we are fellow-witnesses with him.

But this power of decision is by its own nature extremely limited. We are witnesses to our brethren, not despots over men's minds. Our testimony must be confined to what has been revealed; we cannot add, we cannot diminish. Such is the duty of a witness, such is ours. All the Popes and bishops, all the councils which have ever existed, or which may exist, have not and cannot have the power of commanding the humblest individual to believe one particle more on the subject of revelation than what they testify God to have taught. When they exhibit what has been taught by heaven, man is bound to believe. Let them say: "Besides this which God has revealed, we are of opinion that you would do well to believe this, which He has not taught, but which we think a very good doctrine." He is free to act as he may think proper, his belief would not be faith, it would be receiving the opinions of men, not the teaching of heaven; this mode of teaching is never used in our Church. The decisions of our councils are the exhibition of the original revelation, not the expression of adopted opinions. So, too, the whole body of our Church cannot omit to teach any revealed truth; she must teach all; she must be a faithful witness; neither adding, omitting, nor changing.

In our mode of examining, although we believe the Founder of our Church made a promise of His divine guidance to protect our body from erring, we take all the natural means which will aid in the discovery of the original fact. We not only have known the testimony of those from whom we learned, and that of those with whom we associate; but we have the records of our Churches, we have the

[1] It is now, though it was not then, a dogma of the Church that the Pope, when speaking *ex cathedra*, or as the *Pastor Æternus*, is infallible. *Vide* "Difficulties of Anglicans," Vol. II.

documents of antiquity. We have the writings of our ancient, and venerable, and eminent bishops and doctors, coming from every age and from every nation. We have the decisions of former councils, we have the monuments which have been erected, the usages which have prevailed, the customs which continue, and when we take up the sacred volume of the Scriptures, we collate its passages with the results which we gather from those sources. The prelates of our several nations make this examination in every quarter of the globe, each testifies what he has found in conjunction with those of his vicinity who could aid him in his research, and thus we obtain testimony of the whole world respecting facts in which the world is deeply interested. Can it be slavery in me to bow to the decision of this tribunal? Frequently, questions which have been long since decided in this manner are revived. Our answer in those cases is very short: "This has been already determined." We are told this is limiting the operations and chaining down the freedom of the human mind. Perhaps it is. But if the proper use of the faculties be the discovery of truth, and that truth has been already discovered, what more is necessary? When investigations have been made, and results arrived at, why investigate still? You go into court to defend your property, you have your titles fully investigated, judgment is given in your favor, it is put upon record; a new litigant calls upon you to go over the same ground; will not the record of the judgment against his father protect you? Or must you, because he choose to trouble you, burn that record, and join issue again? We quote the decisions of former times as proofs that investigation has been already made, and that a decision has long since been had. And what has once been found to have been revealed by God, cannot by any lapse of time cease to be revelation. If the fact shall have been once fully proved, that proof must be good always; if a record thereof be made, that record is always evidence.

A political difficulty has been sometimes raised here. If

this infallible tribunal, which you profess yourselves bound to obey, should command you to overturn our government, and tell you that it is the will of God to have it new modelled, will you be bound to obey it? And how then can we consider those men to be good citizens who profess to owe obedience to a foreign authority—to an authority not recognized in our Constitution—to an authority which has excommunicated and deposed sovereigns, and which has absolved subjects and citizens from their bond of allegiance?

Our answer to this is extremely simple and very plain: it is, that we would not be bound to obey it—that we recognize no such authority. I would not allow to the Pope, or to any bishop of our Church, outside this Union, the smallest interference with the humblest vote at our most insignificant ballot-box. He has no right to such interference. You must, from the view which I have taken, see the plain distinction between spiritual authority and a right to interfere in the regulation of human government or civil concerns. You have in your Constitution wisely kept them distinct and separate. It will be wisdom, and prudence, and safety to continue the separation. Your Constitution says that Congress shall have no power to restrict the free exercise of religion. Suppose your dignified body to-morrow attempted to restrict me in the exercise of that right; though the law, as it would be called, should pass your two houses and obtain the signature of the President, I would not obey it, because it would be no law, it would be an usurpation; for you cannot make a law in violation of your Constitution—you have no power in such a case. So, if that tribunal which is established by the Creator to testify to me what He has revealed, and to make the necessary regulations of discipline for the government of the Church, shall presume to go beyond that boundary which circumscribes its power, its acts are invalid; my rights are not to be destroyed by its usurpation; and there is no principle of my creed which prevents my using my natural right of proper resistance to any tyrannical usurpation. You

have no power to interfere with my religious rights; the tribunal of the Church has no power to interfere with my civil rights. It is a duty which every good man ought to discharge for his own and for the public benefit, to resist any encroachment upon either. We do not believe that God gave to the Church any power to interfere with our civil rights or our civil concerns. Christ our Lord refused to interfere in the division of the inheritance between two brothers, one of whom requested that interference. The civil tribunals of Judea were vested with sufficient authority for that purpose, and He did not transfer it to His Apostles. It must hence be apparent, that any idea of the Roman Catholics of these republics being in any way under the influence of any foreign ecclesiastical power, or indeed of any Church authority, in the exercise of their civil rights, is a serious mistake. There is no class of our fellow-citizens more free to think and to act for themselves on the subject of our rights than we are; and I believe there is not any portion of the American family more jealous of foreign influence, or more ready to resist it. We have brethren of our Church in every part of the globe, under every form of government; this is a subject upon which each of us is free to act as he thinks proper. We know of no tribunal in our Church which can interfere in our proceedings as citizens. Our ecclesiastical authority existed before our Constitution, is not affected by it; there is not in the world a constitution which it does not precede, with which it could not co-exist; it has seen nations perish, dynasties decay, empires prostrate; it has co-existed with all, it has survived them all, it is not dependent upon any one of them; they may still change, and it will still continue.

It is again urged, that at least our Church is aristocratic, if not despotic, in its principles, and is not calculated for a republic—that its spirit is opposed to that of republicanism. This objection cannot be seriously urged by any person who has studied history, nor by any person who

is acquainted with our tenets. Look over the history of the world since the establishment of Christianity, and where have there been republics? Have the objectors read the history of Italy? A soil fertile in republics, and most devoted to our religion! What was the religion of William Tell? He was a Roman Catholic. Look not only to the Swiss republics, but take San Marino—this little State, during centuries, the most splendid specimen of the purest democracy, and this democracy protected by our Popes during these centuries. Men who make the assertions to which I have alluded cannot have read history. Amongst ourselves, what is the religion of the venerable Charles Carroll of Carrollton? Men who make these assertions cannot have read our Declaration of Independence. What was the religion of the good, the estimable, the beloved Doctor Carroll, our first Catholic Archbishop of Baltimore, the founder of our hierarchy, the friend of Washington, the associate of Franklin? Have those men been degraded in our Church because they aided in your struggle for the assertion of your rights, for the establishment of our glorious and our happy republic? No—they are the jewels which we prize, the ornaments of our Church, the patriots of our country. They and others, whom we count as our members, and esteem for their virtues, have been the intimate and faithful associates of many of our best patriots who have passed from our transitory scene, and of some who yet view in consolation our prosperity. What is the religion of Simon Bolivar? What the religion of the whole population of our republican sisters upon the southern continent? We are always assailed by speculation. We always answer by facts. Have we been found traitors in your councils, unfaithful to your trust, cowards in your fields, or in correspondence with your enemies? Yet we have been consulted for our prudence, confided in for our fidelity, enriched your soil with our blood, filled your decks with our energy; and though some of us might have wept at leaving the land of our ancestors because of the injus-

tice of its rulers, we told our brothers who assailed you in the day of battle that we knew them not, and we adhered to those who gave to us a place of refuge and impartial protection. Shall we then be told that our religion is not the religion calculated for republics, though it will be found that the vast majority of republican States and of republican patriots have been, and even now are, Roman Catholic? It is true, ours is also the religion of a large portion of empires, and of kingdoms, and of principalities. The fact is so far an obvious reason, because it is the religion of the great bulk of the civilized world. Our tenets do not prescribe any form of government which the people may properly and regularly establish. No revelation upon which my eye has fallen, or which ever reached my ear, has taught me that the Almighty God commanded us to be governed by kings, or by emperors, or by princes, or to associate in republics. Upon this God has left us free to make our own selection. The decision upon the question of expediency as to the form of government for temporal or civil concerns, is one to be settled by society, and not by the Church. We therefore bind no nation or people to any special form; the form which they may adopt lies not with us, but with themselves. What suits the genius and circumstances of one people might be totally unfit for another; hence, no special form of human government for civil concerns has been generally established by divine authority. But the God of order who commands men to dwell together in peace, has armed the government which has been properly established by the principles of society, with power for the execution of the functions which are given by society to its administration. Whilst it continues, within its due bounds, to discharge properly its constitutional obligations, it is the duty of each good member of society to concur in its support. He who would resist its proper authority, would in this case resist the ordinance of the God of peace and of order, and, as the Apostle says, would purchase damnation for himself. This

principle applies alike to all forms of government properly established and properly administered—to republics and to kingdoms alike. It is then a mistake to imagine that our Church has more congeniality to one species of civil government than to another; it has been fitted by its Author, who saw the fluctuating state of civil rule, to exist independently of any, and to be suited to all. Its own peculiar forms for its internal regulation may and do continue to be adhered to under every form of temporal rule.

But is it not a tenet of our Church, that we must persecute all those who differ from us? Has not our religion been propagated by the firebrand and by the sword? Is not the Inquisition one of its component parts? Are not our boasted South American republics persecutors still? And in the code of our infallible Church have we not canons of persecution which we are conscientiously bound to obey and to enforce? Did not the great Lateran Council, in 1215, command all princes to exterminate all heretics? If, then, we are not persecutors in fact, it is because we want the power, for it is plain that we do not want the disposition.

I would humbly submit, that not one of these questions could be truly answered in the affirmative. The spirit of religion is that of peace and of mercy, not that of persecution; yet men of every creed have persecuted their brethren under the pretext of religion. The great Founder of our Church, at a very early period, checked this spirit in His Apostles. When some cities would not receive His doctrine, they asked why He did not call down fire from heaven to destroy them; but His calm and dignified rebuke was, that they knew not by what spirit they were led; it was the spirit of human passion assuming the garb of heavenly zeal. I know of no power given by God to any man, or to any body of men, in the Christian dispensation, to inflict any penalty of a temporal description upon their fellow-men for mere religious error. If such error shall cause the violation of peace, or shall interfere with the well-being of society, temporal governments, being estab-

lished to prevent such disorders, have their own inherent right, but not a religious commission, to interfere merely for that prevention. Each individual is responsible to God for his conduct in this regard; to Him, and to Him only, we stand or fall. He commissioned the Church to teach His doctrine—but He did not commission her to persecute those who would not receive it. He who beholds the evidence of truth and will not follow it, is inexcusable; he who will not use his best exertions to obtain that evidence, is inexcusable; he who having used his best exertions for that purpose, and having with the best intentions made a mistake in coming to his conclusion, is not a criminal because of that mistake. God alone, the searcher of our hearts, can clearly see the full accountability of each individual upon this head—because each person must be accountable according to his opportunities. I feel that many and serious mistakes are made by my friends in this country. I know who are mistaken, but far be it from me to say that all who err are criminal. I have frequently asked myself whether, if I had had only the same opportunities of knowing the doctrine of my Church and its evidences that many of them have had, I would be what I now am. Indeed, it would be very extraordinary if I was. They labor under those mistakes, not through their own fault in several instances; and if the Roman Catholic Church were, in her doctrines and her practices, what they have been taught she is, I would not be a Roman Catholic. They imagine her to be what she is not; and when they oppose what they believe her to be, it is not to her their opposition is really given. To God, and to Him alone, belongs it ultimately to discriminate between those who are criminal and those who are innocent in their error; and I look in vain through every record, in vain I listen to every testimony of my doctrine to discover any command to persecute, any power to inflict fine, or disqualification, or bodily chastisement upon those who are in mere religious error. It is no doctrine of the Roman

Catholic Church; I do not know that it is the doctrine of any Church calling itself Christian; but, unfortunately, I know it has been practiced by some Roman Catholics, and it has been practiced in every Church which accused her of having had recourse thereto. I would then say it was taught by no Church; it has been practiced in all. One great temptation to its exercise is the union of any Church with the State; and religion has more frequently been but a pretext with statesmen for a political purpose, than the cause of persecution for zeal on its own behalf.

Christ gave to His Apostles no commission to use the sword or the brand, and they went forth in the simplicity of their testimony, and the evidence of their miracles, and the power of their evidence, to convert the world. They gave freely their own blood to be shed for the sake of religion, but they shed not the blood of their opponents. Their associates and their successors followed their example, and were successful by that imitation. And the historian who represents the chastisements of infidel barbarians, by Christian princes, for the protection of their own people, and the security of their own property, misleads the reader whom he would fain persuade, that it was done for the purposes of religion at the instigation of those who laid down their own lives in the conversion of those barbarians. It is true, indeed, that we cannot call error truth, nor style truth error; it is true that we say there must continue to be an essential distinction between them; it is true that we cannot belie our consciences, nor bear false witness to our neighbors, by telling them that we believe they adhere to the doctrines of Christ, when they contradict what we receive as those doctrines; we cannot believe two contradictory propositions to be at the same time true. But such a declaration on our part does not involve as its consequence that we believe they ought to be persecuted. The Inquisition is a civil tribunal of some States, not a portion of our religion.

We now come to examine what are called the persecuting

laws of our Church. In the year 1215, at the Council of Lateran, certain heresies were condemned by the first canon; and amongst other things this canon recites as Catholic faith, in opposition to the errors of those whom it condemned, that there is but one God, the Creator of all things, of spirits as well as bodies; the Author of the Old Testament and of the Mosaic dispensation, equally as of the New Testament and of the Christian dispensation; that He created not only the good angels, but also the devil and the bad angels, originally coming good from His hand, and becoming wicked by their own malice, etc. In its third canon it excommunicates those heretics, and declares them to be separated from the body of the Church. Then follows a direction, that the heretics so condemned are to be given up to the secular powers, or to their bailiffs, to be duly punished. This direction continues to require of all bishops and others having authority, to make due search within their several districts for those heretics, and if they will not be induced to retract their errors, desires that they should be delivered over to be punished. There is an injunction then to all temporal lords to cleanse their dominions by exterminating those heretics; and if they will not, within a year from having been so admonished by the Church, cleanse their lands of this heretical filth, they shall be deprived if they have superior lords, and if they be superior lords and be negligent, it shall be the duty of the metropolitan and his provincial bishops to excommunicate them, and if any one of those lords paramount so excommunicated for this negligence shall continue during twelve months under the excommunication, the metropolitan shall certify the same to the Pope, who finding admonition useless, shall depose this prince, and absolve his subjects from their oaths of fealty, and deliver the territory over to Catholics who, having exterminated the heretics, shall remain in peaceable possession.

This is the most formidable evidence adduced against the position which I have laid down, that it is not a doctrine

of our Church, that we are bound to persecute those who differ from us in belief. I trust that I shall not occupy very much of your time in showing that this enactment does not in any way weaken that assertion. I shall do so, by satisfying you that this is a special law for a particular case; and also by convincing you that it is not a canon of the Church respecting any of those points in which we admit her infallibility; nor indeed a canon of the Church.

The doctrines condemned in this first canon originated in Syria, touched lightly at the islands of the Archipelago, settled down in Bulgaria, and spread into the south of Europe, but were principally received in the vicinity of Albi, in France. The persons condemned held the Manichæan principle of there being two creators of the universe; one a good being, the author of the New Testament, the creator of good angels, and generally of spiritual essences; the other an evil being, the creator of bodies, the author of the Mosaic dispensation, and generally of the Old Testament. They stated that marriage was unlawful, and co-operation with the principle of evil was criminal. The consequences to society were of the very worst description, immoral, dismal, and desolating. The Church examined the doctrine, condemned it as heretical, and cut off those who held or abetted it from her communion. Here, according to the principles which I have maintained before you, her power ended. Beyond this we claim no authority; the Church, by divine right, we say, infallibly testifies what doctrines Christ has revealed, and by the same right, in the same manner, decides that what contradicts this revelation is erroneous; but she has no divine authority to make a law which shall strip of their property, or consign to the executioner, those whom she convicts of error. The doctrine of our obligation to submit does not extend to force us to submit to a usurpation; and if the Church made a law upon a subject beyond her commission for legislation, it would be invalid; there would be no proper claim for our obedience;

usurpation does not create a right. The council could by right make the doctrinal decision; but it had no right to make the temporal enactment; and where there exists no right to legislate on one side, there is no obligation of obedience on the other. If this was then a canon of the Church, it was not one in making which she was acting within her constitutional jurisdiction, it was a usurpation of temporal government, and the doctrine of infallibility does not bear upon it

Every document respecting this council, the entire of the evidence respecting it, as well as the very mode of framing the enactments, prove that it was a special law regarding a particular case. The only persons whose errors were condemned at that council were those whom I have described. The general principle of legal exposition restraining the application of penal enactments must here have full weight, and will restrain the application of the penalty to the only criminals brought within its view. But the evidence is still more confirmed by the particular words of definite meaning, *this* and *filth*, which were specially descriptive of only those persons; the first by its very nature, the second by the nature of their crime; and the continued exposition of the enactment restrained its application to the special case, though frequently attempts have been made by individuals to extend its application, not in virtue of the statute, but in virtue of analogy. It would then be improperly forcing its construction to say that its operation was to be general, as it evidently was made only for a particular case.

In viewing the preamble to this council, as well as from our knowledge of history, we discover that this was not merely a council of the Church, but it was also a congress of the civilized world. The state of the times rendered such assemblages not only usual but necessary; and each legislative body did its own business by its own authority; and very generally the subjects which were decided upon by one body in one point of view, came under the consideration of the other assembly in a different point of view, and their

separate decisions were engrossed upon a joint record. Sometimes they were preserved distinct and separate; but copyists, for their own convenience, brought together all the articles regarding the same subject, from what source soever they were obtained. Such was precisely the case in the instance before us. There were present on this occasion, by themselves or by their legates, the King of Sicily, Emperor-elect of the Romans, the Emperor of the East, the King of France, the King of England, the King of Arragon, the King of Jerusalem, the King of Cyprus, many other kings, lords paramount, sovereign States, and princes. Several of the bishops were princes or barons. In the ecclesiastical council, the third canon terminated exactly in one sentence, which was that of the excommunication or separation from the Church of those whom the first canon had condemned, whatever name or names they might assume; because they had in several places several appellations, and were continually dividing off and changing names as they separated. The duty and the jurisdiction of the council came to this, and the ancient records give no more as the portion of its enactments. But the congress of the temporal powers then made the subsequent part as their enactment; and thus this penal and civil regulation was not an act of the council, but an act of the congress. It is not a canon concerning the doctrine of the Church, nor indeed is it by any means a canon, though the copyists have added it to the canon as regarding the very same subject; and as confessedly the excommunication in the third canon regarded only the special case of those particular heretics, the addition of the penal enactment to this particular canon is confirmatory evidence that those who added it knew that the penalty in the one case was only co-extensive with the excommunication in the other.

Having thus seen that this canon of the Council of Lateran was not a doctrinal decision of our Church establishing the doctrine of persecution and commanding to persecute, but that it was a civil enactment by the temporal

power against persons whom they looked upon as criminals, it is more the province of the politician or of the jurist than of the divine to decide upon its propriety. I may, however, be permitted to say that in my opinion the existence of civilized society required its enactment, though no good man can approve of several abuses which were committed under the pretext of its execution, nor can any rational man pretend that because of the existence of a special law for a particular purpose every case which may be thought analagous to that for which provision was made is to be illegally subjected to those provisions.

We are now arrived at the place where we may easily find the origin and the extent of the papal power of deposing sovereigns and of absolving subjects from their oaths of allegiance. To judge properly of facts, we must know their special circumstances, not their mere outline. The circumstances of Christendom were then widely different from those in which we now are placed. Europe was then under the feudal system. I have seldom found a writer, not a Catholic, who, in treating of that age and that system, has been accurate, and who has not done us very serious injustice. But a friend of mine, who is a respectable member of your honorable body, has led me to read Hallam's account of it; and I must say that I have seldom met with so much candor and, what I call, so much truth. From reading his statement of that system it will be plainly seen that there existed amongst the Christian potentates a sort of federation, in which they bound themselves by certain regulations, and to the observance of those they were held not merely by their oaths, but by various penalties. Sometimes they consented that the penalty should be the loss of their station. It was of course necessary to ascertain that the fact existed before its consequences should be declared to follow; it was also necessary to establish some tribunal to examine and to decide as to the existence of the fact itself, and to proclaim that existence. Amongst independent sovereigns there was no superior, and

it was natural to fear that mutual jealousy would create great difficulty in selecting a chief; and that what originated in concession might afterwards be claimed as a right. They were, however, all members of one Church, of which the Pope was the head, and in this respect, their common father; and by universal consent it was regulated that he should examine, ascertain the fact, proclaim it, and declare its consequences. Thus he did in reality possess the power of deposing monarchs, and of absolving their subjects from oaths of fealty, but only those monarchs who were members of that federation, and in the cases legally provided for, and by their concession, not by divine right, and during the term of that federation and the existence of his commission. He governed the Church by divine right, he deposed kings and absolved subjects from their allegiance by human concession. I preach the doctrines of my Church by divine right, but I preach from this spot not by that right but by the permission of others.

It is not then a doctrine of our Church that the Pope has been divinely commissioned either to depose kings or to interfere with republics, or to absolve the subjects of the former from their allegiance, or interfere with the civil concerns of the latter. When the persecuted English Catholics, under Elizabeth, found the Pope making an unfounded claim to this right, and upon the shadow of that unfounded right making inroads upon their national independence, by declaring who should or who should not be their temporal ruler, they well showed how little they regarded his absolving them from their allegiance, for they volunteered their services to protect their liberties, which their Catholic ancestors had labored to establish. And she well found that a Catholic might safely be entrusted with the admiralty of her fleet, and that her person was secure amongst her disgraced Catholic nobility and gentry and their persecuted adherents; although the Court of Rome had issued its bull of absolution, and some divines were found who endeavored to prove that what originated in voluntary

concession of States and monarchs was derived from divine institution. If then Elizabeth, of whose character I would not wish in this place to express my opinion, was safe amidst those whom she persecuted for their faith, even when the head of their Church absolved them from allegiance, and if at such a moment they flocked round her standard to repel Catholic invaders who came with consecrated banners, and that it is admitted on all hands that in so doing they violated no principle of doctrine or of discipline of their Church, as we all avow; surely America need not fear for the fidelity of her Catholic citizens, whom she cherishes and whom she receives to her bosom with affection and shelters from the persecution of others. Neither will any person attempt to establish an analogy between our federation and that of feudalism, to argue that the Pope can do amongst us what he did amongst European potentates under circumstances widely different.

It has been frequently objected to us, that our Church has been more extensively persecuting than any other. This is not the place to enter into a comparison of atrocities; but I will assert, that when weighed against each other our scale will be found light indeed. Did any person think proper to conjure up the victims from the grave, I would engage to produce evidence of the inflictions upon us in abundance, until the hairs of our hearers should stand on end, and humanity interpose to prevent the recital. But the crimes of individuals or of assemblies are not the doctrines of a Church.

I had other subjects which I desired to treat of in your presence, but I feel I have trespassed too long upon your patience. Let us go back to our view of religion. We may now say that all the law and the prophets can be reduced to the two great commandments as our blessed Saviour gave them: Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with thy whole heart, and thy whole soul, and thy whole mind, and with all thy strength; this is the first and the greatest. Love is affectionate attachment founded upon

esteem. We seek to know the will of those whom we love that we may bring ours to be in conformity therewith. The will of God is, that we should seek to know what He teaches, because, indeed, He would not have taught without desiring that we should learn. Our Saviour Himself tells His disciples, if they love Him they will keep His Word. The proof, then, of our love is not to be exhibited in our mere declaration, it is to be found in the manifestation of our assiduity to know what our Creator has taught, that it may be the rule of our practice — that we may believe His declarations, obey His injunctions, and adhere to His institutions. As His knowledge surpasses ours, so His declarations may regard facts beyond our comprehension, and our faith be thus built upon the evidence of His Word for things which we have not seen, and His promises exhibit to us the substance of what we hope to enjoy, because He has pledged His veracity, not because our reason makes it manifest. It is our duty to love Him so as to be zealous for discovering what He has taught, that we may pay to Him the homage of our understanding, as well by its exertion as by its submission. Let me then exhort you to this love. Investigate for the purpose of obtaining the knowledge of truth, and then pay the homage of your will by determining to act in conformity with what you shall have discovered. Submit your affections to His law, bring your passions in subjection thereto. Of ourselves we are weak, in His grace we can become strong. His institutions have been established, that through them we might be strengthened in that grace. It is therefore our duty, as it is our interest, to have recourse to them. Reason, religion, wisdom, which is the perfection of both, lead us to this conclusion. It necessarily, then, is incumbent on us to search for where those instutitions are to be found.

The second commandment is like the first: Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself for the sake of God. The Apostle asks us, How can a man say that he loves God

whom he hath not seen, and hate his neighbor whom he seeth? and that neighbor is made in the likeness of God. The Saviour commands us even to love our enemies, to do good to those who hate us, and to pray for those who calumniate and persecute us. Nothing can excuse us from the discharge of this duty, the observance of this great commandment. No difference of religion can form a pretext for non-compliance. Religion, that holy name, has too often been abused for this end, that man might flatter himself with having the sanction of heaven for the indulgence of a bad passion. In these happy and free States we stand upon the equal ground of religious right; we may freely love and bear with each other, and exhibit to Europe a contrast to her jealousies in our affection. By inquiry we shall correct many mistakes, by which our feelings have been embittered; we shall be more bound together in amity, as we become more intimate; and may our harmony and union here below produce that peace and good will emblematic of our enjoyment of more lasting happiness in a better world.

RELIGION OF AMERICAN INDIANS.[1]

In tracing the history of nations, the philosopher discovers the basis upon which he must raise his general observations, because those observations are usually but results drawn from a multitude of facts. For this purpose, the history of the savage is in some degree as necessary as the history of civilized man; because in the one we see the development of our principles and passions unrestrained by the rules of civilization, and in the other we find the consequences of those rules. Thus, the proper aim of philosophy being the discovery of that wisdom which will procure human happiness, the history of the human race is amongst the best studies of the philosopher.

But as man is an immortal being, whose existence continues beyond the span of his sojourn upon this earth, and who will remain in his new state during eternity, the philosopher ought to inquire in the history of the human race for those events which will tend proximately or remotely to elucidate the important concerns of his perpetual happiness; and several of those are to be found in the religion of nations. Leaving for a time the region of revelation, let us examine some of the facts that history presents to our view in those times and places wherein no claim is made, upon sufficient grounds, to supernatural instruction.

A writer who, by his pleasing style and bold manner, drew after him for a time, not only the light and thoughtless body of English readers, but even many of those who were distinguished for intellect, has by a fallacious theory diverted the attention of several men of genius and ability from fact

[1] An Essay read at a public meeting of the Literary and Philosophical Society of Charleston, S. C., at the City Hall, on Wednesday, January 10, 1827.

to speculation; leaving the beaten paths of earth, he rose on the wing of imagination and caused his followers to soar above the plain way of events into the clouds of conjecture; and, substituting probability for evidence, he next assumed possibility for fact, and thus created amusing visions for established history. From what had thus been given in place of the proceedings of our predecessors he drew conclusions which were perfectly logical, and nothing was requisite to uphold their truth, save that which was the original deficiency, namely, the correctness of the statement upon which they rested. But a more discriminating age is detecting the aberrations of Mr. Hume, and we, too, may add our little examination to the general fund of evidence from which more useful materials may be procured by those who build their systems upon observation and not upon imagination.

One of this gentleman's theories was, that polytheism was the original religion of men, and that this original religion was created by an affrighted fancy. Yet even for this he deserves not the credit of originality, as a pagan poet had been amongst his leaders in the assertion; and with as little support from former fact, as might be easily seen. Mr. Hume proceeds from this assumption to state, that as man became enlightened, his reason corrected the superstition of his terror, and brought him to acknowledge the unity and supremacy of the Deity; hence, he would conclude, that man has no knowledge of religion except from the progress of his reason, and that the notion of revealed religion is a delusion. If the facts were as the essayist assumed, his conclusions would be good. But if history will destroy the assumed correctness of his statements, his argument has no foundation. Hence, the investigation becomes to all men a matter of importance, and it would appear to be the duty of each nation to bear testimony to the facts which come under its own view.

If man had been originally a savage, who reasoned himself into civilization, and as he became civilized cast

away his superstitions and religious errors, of which polytheism was the most absurd; the savage who chases the deer through our wilderness and who is by the opponents of revelation said to invoke the Great Spirit, who is one and impervious to the senses, must surpass in his civilization the philosophers of Greece, the merchants of Egypt and of Tyre, and the senate and the people of Rome. "Red-Jacket" is superior to Solon or to Cicero, "The Mad Tiger" is preferable to Socrates or to Virgil. Horace and Pliny must bow to the superior wisdom of "The Sleeping Wolf" and of "The Cat that Watches." Besides the absurdity of such consequences, which flow legitimately from the assumed principle and supposed fact, we have in safe history undoubted evidence that theism was man's first religion, from which he degenerated, and that the savage was not his original state. Sir William Jones in his essay on the gods of Greece, Italy, and India, very rationally elucidates the first of these positions, but I have seen it far better treated and upon a more extensive scale by a French writer of the last century. The proof of the latter position cannot be mistaken or overlooked by any attentive reader of ancient history, and the writer to whom I have alluded finely shows the progress of tribes to barbarism in the early ages of the world. When we cast our eyes upon Egypt, Persia, Greece, and the northwestern coast of Africa, we need scarcely recollect the shade which passed over Europe to confirm in our minds the truth that a civilized people may degenerate, and that the human mind is not steadily and uniformly progressive. There is a delusive semblance of philosophy which constructs theories by the force of imagination, and then regulates the nature of occurences to harmonize with these preconcerted systems. There is also a duty which even to the philosopher is not always easy: that of reconciling minor facts to a principal occurrence of whose truth he has convincing evidence. In this case, candor, patience, and industry will generally insure success in our attempt to remove the apparent incompatibil-

ities, which at first sight startle the inexperienced, prevent the progress of the idle, and give occasion to the false conclusions of the thoughtless.

Of this description is the difficulty which presents itself when we view the varieties of the human race, in conjunction with the fact that all those beings are the descendants of Noe. The difference of color, the difference of structure, the difference of religion, the difference of customs, and the separation of continents, have been obstacles to the admission of the common origin at a period so comparatively recent. I shall not touch upon the first two topics, but I shall advert a little to the others; though the facts upon which my observations will rest shall not be all adduced in the present essay.

I wish to make a passing remark upon the theory of Mr. Hume, before I enter more deeply upon my subject. We know that our red brethren are far from being civilized. We know that the inhabitants of Greece were much polished; that the Romans excelled us in many of the accomplishments of the social state. Yet those Greeks and Romans were polytheists, and our Indian is said to be a theist. If the Indian, by the exercise of his reason, rose from polytheism, he must have risen from the barbarous state of the Greek and Roman, to his own state of superior civilization, or he has in his rude state preserved the original religion of his fathers, and thus their original religion was theism. No person will venture to make the first assertion. Mr. Hume would not permit us to make the second. But is the name of any man to impede our progress from the premises to a conclusion? In truth, they who declaim against the vassalage of the human mind to religion, will be found upon inquiry to be its worst tyrants. But, although the discovery might not be made upon our continent, to the antiquarian this exhibition is not new. Nations have been found when the Roman eagle soared in his loftiest flight and the Roman people bowed in their most degrading idolatry, who would have been called barbarian, and these

people, if not theists, had very limited polytheism. The Irish druid is said by many antiquarians to have been a theist. Evidence of his religion remains, but no evidence has been exhibited to show that his religion regarded more than one God; though that God was Baal. The Persian worshiped fire, yet it is not so clearly established that his adoration was always paid to the element and not to the Deity of whom earthly and celestial fire were only emblems.

If our opponent argues that the diversity of religion creates suspicion of a diversity of origin, he must allow the force of the principle that similarity of religious belief and worship seems to indicate a common origin. Indeed, though neither is fully evident, the latter is much the more probable. Few centuries have elapsed since European Christians were members of a common Church, and had almost universal singleness of faith; into how many sects are they now divided, and how many families are so opposed in belief as that they who are united by the closest ties of nature are at perfect variance upon the score of religion? But if we discover a similarity between the religious observances of the American, and the Persian, and the Hindoo, we may more naturally conclude that they have sprung from a common stock, whence they brought those observances, or had a common teacher, or some intercourse by means of which one learned from the other; because it would contradict our experience to assert that this agreement is the result of accident.

The French writer, to whom I have before alluded, traces the human family from its renewal after the deluge through its subsequent migrations, and finds in climate, in soil, in customs produced by special necessities and by occurrences of which we have in several instances good historical evidence, sufficient cause for the variance of worship and the origin of polytheism. The mythology of several portions of mankind is in admirable accordance with what he lays down. Thus, the Egyptian found in the very leek

of his garden a portion of that great spirit which animated the universe, and which poured fertility upon the land, when from the hidden recess of his dwelling he communicated himself through the medium of water. The Persian beheld his glories in the sun, and the heat of fire was the sacred mode through which his blessings were bestowed. In Scandinavia he spoke in the whirlwind, and passed along creating the solemnity of terror, and acknowledged by the howlings of the invisible spirits of the forest; his abode was on the summit of the rocks, or in the recesses of caverns, and his rage urged on the desolating flood; far from exhibiting his beneficence by water, he gave it in his wrath. Thus, the Scandinavian abhorred what the Egyptian worshiped.

I believe, then, that to the calm and unbiased investigator of ancient history and of the customs and religious observances of those nations which have not been blessed with the light of revelation, it will appear that the original religion of mankind was theism, and that the several systems of polytheism and idolatry will appear to have arisen from various circumstances in different places, joined to the corruption of man's heart and the feebleness of his intellect; and that many kinds of superstition having thus arisen amongst a people whose ancestors had a common religion prescribing the worship of one God, the characters of those several superstitions were originally unlike, but having once been established in the primitive nations, the observances would continue with some alterations in those nations and in their colonies, and hence, that a striking similitude of religious observances between two tribes would lead to the conclusion that they had a common origin.

Of course the resemblance must be striking, and the coincidence, however exact, can form but one link of the chain which would bind them in a common origin. Upon this subject I shall close my observations with an extract from a dissertation by Sir William Jones, in whose sentiments, as here given, I fully concur:

"We cannot justly conclude, by arguments preceding the proof of facts, that one idolatrous people must have borrowed their deities, rites, and tenets from another; since gods of all shapes and dimensions may be framed by the boundless powers of imagination, or by the fraud and follies of men, in countries never connected. But when features of resemblance, too strong to have been accidental, are observable in different systems of polytheism, without fancy or prejudice to color them and improve the likeness, we can scarcely help believing that some connection has immemorially subsisted between the several nations who have adopted them. It is my design in this essay to point out such a resemblance between the popular worship of the old Greeks and Italians, and that of the Hindoos; nor can there be any room to doubt of a great similarity between their strange religions and those of Egypt, China, Persia, Phœnice, Syria; to which perhaps we may safely add some of the southern kingdoms, and even islands of America; while the Gothic system, which prevailed in the northern regions of Europe, was not merely similar to that of Greece and Italy, but almost the same in another dress, with an embroidery of images apparently Asiatic. From all these, if it can be satisfactorily proved, we may infer a union or affinity between the most distinguished inhabitants of the primitive world at the time when they deviated, as they did too early deviate, from the rational adoration of the only true God."

The learned and philosophical author compiled the essay in which this is found in the year 1784. In his discourse "On the Origin of Families and Nations," delivered before the Asiatic Society in Calcutta, on the 23d of February, 1792, he states as a corollary from testimonies adduced in six previous annual discourses, the great likelihood "that the tribes of Mish, Cush and Rama settled in Africa and India; while some of them, having improved the art of sailing, passed from Egypt, Phœnice, Phrygia, into Italy and Greece, which they found thinly peopled by former emigrants, of whom they supplanted some tribes, and united

themselves with others; whilst a swarm from the same hive moved by a northerly course into Scandinavia, and another by the head of the Oxus, and through the passes of the Imaus into Cashgher and Eighur, Khata and Khoten, as far as the territories of Chin and Tancut, where letters have been used and arts immemorially cultivated; nor is it unreasonable to believe that some of them found their way from the eastern isles into Mexico and Peru, where traces were discovered of rude literature and mythology, analogous to those of Egypt and India."

As my aim is to excite my associates and fellow-citizens to investigate the history of the aboriginal inhabitants of our rising and prosperous country, I may be again permitted to make an interesting extract from the work of the great President of the Asiatic Society, as it will exhibit in that elder continent the attainment of a result which I am convinced must always be found the consequence of impartial, and judicious, and truly philosophical investigation. I would desire to urge forward on this continent those who have more leisure, more opportunity, and better qualifications than I can pretend to. I would entreat of them fully to investigate the history of a race too quickly, I fear, about to disappear from the land of their fathers, and to place on record those facts whose truth could be established, in the hope, and indeed with the confidence, that in America the result would be the same as it has been found in Asia, as is testified and proved by Sir William Jones.

"In the first place, we cannot surely deem it an inconsiderable advantage, that all our historical researches have confirmed the Mosaic accounts of the primitive world; and our testimony on that subject ought to have the greater weight, because, if the result of our observations had been totally different, we should nevertheless have published them, not indeed with equal pleasure, but with equal confidence, for truth is mighty, and whatever be its consequence, must always prevail. But independently of our interest in corroborating the multiplied evidences of revealed religion, we

could scarcely gratify our minds with a more useful and rational entertainment than the contemplation of those wonderful revolutions in kingdoms and States, which have happened within little more than four thousand years; revolutions almost as fully demonstrative of an all-ruling Providence, as the structure of the universe and the final causes, which are discernible in its whole extent and even in its minutest parts. Figure to your imagination a moving picture of that eventful period, or rather a succession of crowded scenes rapidly changed. Three families migrate in different courses from one region, and in about four centuries establish very distant governments and various modes of society. Egyptians, Indians, Goths, Phenicians, Celts, Greeks, Latins, Chinese, Peruvians, Mexicans, all, sprung from the same immediate stem, appear to start nearly at one time, and occupy at length those countries, to which they have given or from which they have derived their names. In twelve or thirteen hundred years more, the Greeks overrun the land of their forefathers, invade India, conquer Egypt, and aim at universal dominion. But the Romans appropriate to themselves the whole empire of Greece, and carry their arms into Britain, of which they speak with haughty contempt. The Goths, in the fullness of time, break to pieces the unwieldy colossus of Roman power, and seize on the whole of Britain, except its wild mountains; but even those wilds become subject to other invaders of the same Gothic lineage. During all these transactions, the Arabs possess both coasts of the Red Sea, subdue the old seat of their first progenitors, and extend their conquests on one side, through Africa into Europe itself and on another beyond the borders of India, part of which they annex to their flourishing empire. In the same interval, the Tartars, widely diffused over the rest of the globe, swarm into the northeast, whence they rush to complete the reduction of Constantine's beautiful domains, to subjugate China, to raise in these Indian realms a dynasty splendid and powerful, and to ravage, like the two other

families, the devoted regions of Iran. By this time the Mexicans and the Peruvians, with many races of adventurers variously intermixed, have peopled the continent and isles of America, which the Spaniards, having restored their old government in Europe, discover, and in part overcome. But a colony from Britain, of which Cicero ignorantly declared that it contained nothing valuable, obtain the possession, and finally the sovereign dominion of extensive American districts, whilst other British subjects acquire a subordinate empire in the finest provinces in India, which the victorious troops of Alexander were unwilling to attack. This outline of human transactions, as far as it includes the limits of Asia, we can only hope to fill up, to strengthen and to color by the help of Asiatic literature; for in history as in law, we must not follow streams, when we may investigate fountains, nor admit any secondary proof, where primary evidence is attainable."

The discourse from which this is extracted was delivered on the 28th of February, 1793. Little more than thirty years have elapsed since that period, and how many astonishing revolutions have occurred! Take the map of Europe as it then was and compare it with what is now placed before the world. Events which might be spread over the pages which history allots to centuries are crowded within a portion of the tablet which is given to individual recollection. Crowns are immersed in the blood of those whom they were given to decorate. Wild anarchy celebrates her orgies amid the mangled corpses of a devoted nation, and dares to pollute the sacred name of freedom with her blaspheming lips. The very divisions of time are changed to attempt the obliteration of that first institution of the Creator, which gives rest to the weary and hope to the desponding. The vilest outcasts of the more virtuous sex are placed upon the altars of the living God for homage of those men who boasted that they were to illuminate a benighted world. Congregated potentates of Europe are resisted successfully by a stripling to whom this nation

entrusts her destinies; almost each of her capitals sees him seated above her throne, and almost every one of her monarchs is the creature of his will, until the blasphemy has ceased and the impiety is removed. Then he who was in himself a dynasty becomes a captive and perishes in prison as singular in its construction as was the career of him whose ashes it contains.

How rapid also has been the progress of this western hemisphere within that little time! Here too the work of centuries has been accomplished in less than half a century. Britain, it is true, possesses one million of subjects on our northern frontier; can these be the American districts of which the president of the Asiatic Society boasted that Britain had the sovereignty? At the time of the delivery of his discourse, perhaps some lurking hope remained that the old colonies would request the protection of their former stepmother. But that hope has long since been extinguished, and forever; where three millions of subjects had been in a state of political dependence, and several of them under religious disqualification, now over ten millions of freemen enjoy all the advantages of civil and religious liberty: their flag is seen on every ocean, and their consuls reside in every port. The Spaniard too has lost his dominion, and on the south as in the west, the progress of freedom and of improvement is indeed astonishing. And may I be permitted to add the expression of my hope that "the beautiful domains of Constantine" may receive, from heaven and from earth, sufficient aid to be at length successful in their effort to expel the drones of the northeastern hive?

But what has been my object in this apparent digression? To show that when we calculate upon the progress of events by the progress of time, we are frequently led to erroneous conclusions. Frequently indeed appearing to accelerate his pace, he seems to outstrip events, and a century would, by some whose system of analogy is too perfect for an imperfect state of being, be charged as erroneously inserted. At other times the philosophist, though the evidence of facts was

perfect, would by speculation prove to his own satisfaction, and to the amusement of others, that it was impossible for these occurrences to have taken place within the period assigned in the record. He would thus treat history with as little mercy as Procrustes treated his guests.

I would propose that such speculations should be altogether laid aside, that we should endeavor to follow that plan upon which the Asiatic Society proceeded, that we should in America endeavor to discover, and to discuss, and to preserve those facts connected with the aborigines of our country, which might tend not only to exhibit much curious and interesting information to gratify the public, but which would greatly tend to elucidate subjects which are of great importance to the whole human race.

My present object is to lay before you some general observations which I think arise from the view of facts respecting the religion of the aboriginal possessors of this vast continent. Those which I shall exhibit are few and deficient of interest in themselves, but they may prove in their result very useful to lead us to rational conclusions as to the origin of this people. I am aware that my information is extremely limited upon this subject, but probably some of the facts upon which my observations rest are not very generally known, and my effort will at all events, I trust, produce the one good effect of eliciting for the public benefit much more extensive and interesting details than I have had the leisure or the opportunity to collect. The facts to which I refer are testified by the missionaries of the Roman Catholic Church, and are such as have fallen under their own observation during their residence in the midst of the tribes whose language they learned and whose customs they carefully observed, that they might be able to discharge the solemn duty in which they were engaged. The relators are persons who had received the most liberal education, and who voluntarily relinquished all the advantages of civilized society, and buried themselves in the depths of the wilderness, exposed

to every privation and affliction, for the sake of bearing the testimony of truth to a neglected portion of their brethren; they foresaw the probability of martyrdom, and it was not unfrequently the recompense of their laborious devotion to the Gospel of truth. Their letters were not intended generally for publication, but were the official communications of what was their observation of the progress which they made, transmitted to their superiors. Thus we may safely look upon them as good witnesses, being competent and faithful.

In a former part of this essay, I used the assertion of those who, whilst they denied the truth of revelation, asserted that our Indian tribes were pure theists, who worshiped only one God. In order to refute their assumed principle, and to destroy that theory which they have substituted for history, I now come to the examination of the questions: Is the religion of the Indian tribes of America pure theism, or are they idolaters? Have they any religious system? And if they have, what is its leading characteristic?

Father Sebastian Rasles, a Jesuit, who was slain at Narantsonak, an Indian settlement, in what is now the State of Maine, on the 23d of August, 1724, left France in July, 1689, for the missions of Canada, and arrived on the 13th of October, in the same year, at Quebec, when he immediately commenced the study of the Indian languages. Father de la Chasse, of the same society, and superior of the missions of New France, writes of him in the month of October, subsequent to his death: "We were surprised at the facility with which he could acquire languages, and the application with which he sought the knowledge of the dialects of the different tribes. There is not a dialect on this continent of which he had not some tincture. Besides the language of the Abnakis, which he spoke during a long period, he knew also the Huron tongue, that of the Ottaways and that of the Illinois; he had served with great fruit in the several missions where they are used."

In the month of October, preceding his death, Father

Rasles wrote to his brother a very long letter, giving an outline of his labors and observations, during upwards of thirty years' continual residence in one or other of the tribes which occupied the range of country from Kaskaskia to Lake Superior, and skirting the then British settlements round on the north to the mouth of the Kennebec. In this he remarks, that he found the general principle of their superstition was the same as that which he discovered amongst the Ottowas. This people, he states, worship Manitous, and the description which he gives of this worship bears a strong similitude to that which we find amongst pagan nations, save that their worship was not generally public and social, but private and paid by them individually. Though they speak of spirits, yet being acquainted only with sensible objects, especially the animals found in their country, they imagine that in these animals, or rather in their skins or plumage, there exist Manitous, or Genii, or spirits who govern the universe, and are the masters of life and death. They call the great spirit of all beasts and birds Oussakita, or, as we would pronounce it, Wassakita. There are Manitous who preside over nations, and each individual has his own. When they went to hunt they made offerings of tobacco, powder, and lead, and of the skins of beasts, well dressed, to Wassakita. The offering was fastened to the end of a pole and raised on high, accompanied by a prayer to the following effect:—"Wassakita, we present to thee the herb for smoke, and the means of slaying beasts: vouchsafe to receive these presents, and do not permit the game to escape our track; allow us to kill them in great numbers, and of the very fattest, that our children may not want either clothing or food."

Michibichi was the Manitou of the waters and of fish, and sacrifice was offered to him in nearly the same manner when they were going to fish or make a voyage. This sacrifice was made by casting into the waters tobacco, food, kettles, etc., beseeching him that the waters of the river might flow gently, that no rock should break the canoe, and that he would grant them abundance of fish.

I am greatly inclined to believe that the mode in which individuals selected their Manitous is the foundation of those names of Indians which are so peculiar to our aborigines. The subject might, perhaps, be worth an inquiry, unless more be known concerning it than I am as yet aware of. The account given by Father Rasles of the selection is as follows:

"When an Indian wishes to adopt a Manitou, the first animal which presents itself to his imagination during sleep is generally that which he selects. He kills one of this description, and places the skin or plumage in the most respectable part of his hut; then he prepares a feast in its honor, during which he makes his harangue in terms the most respectful. Thenceforward it is recognized as his Manitou."

He also gives an account of the manner in which the Indian uses this consecrated spoil: "Besides the common Manitou, each has his own individually, which is either a bear, or a beaver, or a bustard, or some such animal. He carries the skin of this animal with him to war, on hunting expeditions, and on his journeys; he is persuaded that it will preserve him from every danger, and make him successful in his enterprises."

Amongst the different tribes through which he passed, from leaving the Hurons and Ottowas and arriving in the country of Illinois, he reckons, of different tongues, the following tribes: Maskoutings, Jakis, Omikoues, Iripegouans, Outagamis. Most of those names probably differ in the mode of spelling from that by which we should better recognize them. However, in 1768, Carver informs us that the Ottegamias were met by him, but farther west; and in 1780 Hutchins mentions them as a considerable tribe in Illinois. Between those five nations and the Ottowas he states the only difference is in language, consequently, they were worshipers of the Manitous.

The next piece of evidence which I adduce is founded upon the testimony of Father Gabriel Marest, of the same

society, in a letter written by him to Father German, also a Jesuit. It is dated from Kaskaskia, November 9, 1732. Father Rasles was still living, but had been fourteen or fifteen years withdrawn from the mission of Illinois and stationed amongst the Abnakis. In stating the situation of the place from which he writes, he informs the person to whom his letter is addressed, that the Illinois discharges itself into the Mississippi in little less than the 39th degree of latitude. I believe it is but about eight minutes south of the 39th degree, upon our best modern maps. Seven leagues below this he fixes the mouth of the Missouri, which, he writes, was better known then by the name of Pekitanoui, or the muddy river. After describing the country as far as the Wabash, and fixing the latitude of Kaskaskia in the 38th degree, where it appears on our modern maps, he proceeds to give the account of the people who occupied the country.

It would be hard, he writes, to say what was their religion, for it consisted only in some superstitious practices by which their credulity was imposed upon; and giving similar reasons as those which we have before seen for the worship of the Manitous in the manner described, he proceeds to a more particular detail.

"The warriors," he writes, "carry their Manitous in a mat, and unceasingly invoke them to be victorious over their enemies; the charlatans likewise have recourse to their Manitous, when they compose their medicine or heal their sick; they accompany those invocations with songs and dances, and frightful contortions, to create the belief that they are agitated by their Manitous." "Who, they say, can resist the power of the Manitou? Is he not the master of life and of death? If the patient dies, the death is attributed to some occurrence which took place after the departure of the charlatan." I have seen in one of the letters an account of an attack made upon an Iroquois Christian, as the death of a woman who had been under the influence of the Manitous, was attributed by the char-

latan to the repetition of the beads. Father Marest relates a similar occurrence within a month previous to the date of this letter in Illinois, and also gives an account of many narrow escapes of his own on similar occasions. This Father places upon record the account of a very curious public conference, which took place some time previous to the date of his letter, between Father Marmet and one of the conjurers of the tribe of Mascoutens, who dwelt upon the Wabash. The conjuror adored a buffalo as his Manitou. The Father gradually brought him to declare that it was not the buffalo, but the Manitou of the buffalo, which was under the earth, was the object of his adoration, and that it was this Manitou which did benefit to his patients; he farther brought him to acknowledge that the bear, the wolf, and the other animals whose Manitous his countrymen adored were also powerless. He then asked if man, who was the master of beasts, had not a special Manitou, to which the other answered, that doubtless he had, whence the Father drew the inference from him, that as man had dominion over the beasts, the Manitou of man was superior to all others, and that it was folly to invoke those who were subordinate, to the utter neglect of him who was superior. Whatever the force of the reasoning might have been, it was lost upon the conjurer and his followers.

The fact of sacrifice being offered to the Manitou is very clearly established in this letter of Father Marest. He states that a great mortality occurred amongst the Indians on the Wabash, near the station of Father Marmet. During the prevalence of the sickness, the conjurers, finding the deaths increase, held a solemn assembly, at which nearly forty dogs were slain, and the victims, thus immolated, were lifted on poles and offered to the Manitou, in order to implore the removal of the plague. When the mortality increased they attributed it to their Manitou having been overcome by the Deity of the French, and the chief conjurer made a procession round the fort, acknowledging that life and death were in the hands of the Manitou of the French,

and that the Indians were almost exterminated, and entreating the good Manitou to keep death back and to send forth life from his coffer, that they might be healed. An instance of an opposite description is also testified in this letter. Father Bergier, the missionary in the village of the Tamarouas, having died, the conjurers came into the village after the departure of Father Marest, who had interred him, and danced with great joy round the cross which had been planted in the centre of the village, each boasting as he sung that it was his Manitou that caused the missionary's death; they concluded by pulling up the cross and breaking it to pieces.

Coming down farther on the Mississippi, we shall make, for the present, but a transitory visit to the Natchez. In the month of July, 1730, Father Petit, of New Orleans, gave an account of the massacre committed upon the French at Natchez, on the 28th of the preceding November, to Father Avaugour, the procurator of the North American missions.

In this letter he states that the Natchez is the only nation on this continent that appears to have a system of religion regularly established, and he finds much similarity between some of their practices and religious customs and those of the ancient Romans. Probably we shall draw different conclusions at another time, than that the aborigines of this continent either were a Roman colony, or derived their religion from Italy. I shall at present confine myself to a mere recital of facts, of whose truth I am convinced by the testimony. At Natchez they had a temple filled with idols; those idols were figures of men and beasts, and were held in the highest veneration. The architecture was indeed rude; the place had the appearance of a large oven of earth, about one hundred feet in circumference, and the entrance to its interior was through a door of only four feet in height, by three wide; it had no window, and the roof was protected by a triple covering of mats. On the outside were the wooden figures of three eagles, one white, one red,

and one yellow; in front of the door was a porch, with an outer door; the guardian of the temple held his station in this porch; a palisade enclosed the whole; and on this were placed the skulls of those whom their warriors had slain.

Within the temple were shelves upon which the bones of their chieftains were kept in baskets, and those of their attendants, who were immolated to accompany them in death, were placed near the remains of the chief. But one shelf, which stood alone, had several painted boxes, in which the idols were kept; they were stone and brick figures of men and women, the heads and tails of extraordinary serpents, the skins of owls stuffed with grass, pieces of crystal, and the jaws of large fishes. In the year 1699, they had a bottle and the bottom of a glass which they preserved with great care. The sisters of the great chief were the only women who had permission to enter the temple, and only some of the men had the privilege; the common people were not allowed even to carry in the food which was to be placed near the relics of their friends, to satisfy their spirits, but it was carried by the guardian. About a century since the nation had six villages only, but each possessed its temple; however, their statement was that at one period they had sixty towns, in each of which there was an edifice of this kind.

I suspected, at first, that the idols might have been only kept as in a museum, more as objects of curiosity than for the purposes of worship; but a little examination soon convinced me that this conjecture was unfounded, as I perceived distinct evidence to the contrary. Two great festivals were annually celebrated at the temple, at the termination of each of which, in the exhortation to the discharge of duty given by the chief, the principal and concluding admonition regarded the worship of the spirits which resided in the temple, and the instruction of the children in their religious duties to them. In the year 1702, the temple of Natchez was destroyed by lightning, and seven or eight women,

who cast their children into the flames for the purpose of appeasing the gods by the sacrifice of what they held most dear, were publicly applauded for this act of religion by the chief, who also exhorted the other women, on similar occasions, to imitate so excellent an example. The first fruits of the harvest were also brought to be offered at this temple, and all gifts made to the nation were first presented within, by the guardian, to the deities, before they were taken to the chief, who subsequently distributed them. A perpetual fire was kept burning herein, but great care was taken to prevent its blazing; the guardian, who during his quarter of duty staid in the porch, had care of this fire; the old men brought the fuel, which was either oak or walnut tree, and the logs were never laid over each other lest a blaze should be produced.

The chief appoints the guardians of the temple. But the sun was their principal object of adoration, and the chief was therefore styled the brother of the sun, and his hut was always built upon an elevated mound of earth, and of a similar appearance with the temple itself. At sunrise he came out to salute his elder brother with three cries, for which purpose his door was open to the east. After this salutation he called for his calumet, and offered the three first whiffs of smoke from his tobacco, then he pointed out the course which his brother was to travel to the west, and thus concluded his morning service.

Father Petit also informs us that when the Natchez went to war, the head warriors carried their idols, which they called their spirits, securely wrapped up in skins, and in the evening when they were about to encamp they hung those idols upon a red pole, fixed in a slanting way, so that the idols should hang at the side where their enemies lay. Before lying down the warriors danced singly before them, each with his tomahawk bravely menacing the distant foe. The doctors, also, when they attended their patients carried their spirits, as they called them, in their baskets; and made frequent invocations to them for aid during their

stay or their operations. Other conjurers regulated the weather, and some undertook to procure drought, whilst the powers of others extended only to rain, it being acknowledged that the same spirit or idol could not procure both. Father Petit, who has given this account during his priority at New Orleans, had previously spent a considerable time amongst the Choctaws.

One consideration forces itself upon the mind. If the Indians of this continent had been theists, they would have been almost an exception to those other hordes of whom we have any history, and must have appeared so to those missionaries who would not have failed to notice the difference and to mention the fact; but they, on the contrary, call them idolaters, and place them on a level with the uncivilized tribes of whom the Church had in all ages numerous accounts, and who were almost universally polytheists. The history of their Manitous, and of the gradations, and of the opposition of those Manitous, and of the opposition supposed to exist between the Indian and the French Manitous, is plainly exhibited. The worship of the sun and of idols in the temple of Natchez and in the other temples of that nation, all tend clearly to the conclusion that the aboriginal Indians of what is now the middle range of our States, were polytheists, and as we have reason to believe that their religion was a correct general exhibition of that of their brethren, I think it may be fairly deduced that the religion of North America was polytheism. Such also was that of most nations when, following their own devices, they swerved from the ancient religion of their progenitors, which was the worship of one God, as we have good proof, from history and from other monuments, to establish.

PEN PICTURES OF ROME.[1]

I.

On Thursday, June 26, a public consistory was held in the ducal chamber at the Vatican for the purpose of giving their hats to the new cardinals, viz., Tiberi, Bishop of Jeoci, in the Papal States, and late Nuncio in Spain, who was created cardinal September 30, 1831, and reserved *in petto;* his resignation published July 2, 1832, but who had arrived in Rome only within the previous week; Canali, Bottiglia, and Polidori. The four new cardinals went to the Sistine Chapel, at the altar of which they were successively sworn in presence of the Cardinal-dean, Pacca, first of the order of bishops,—Cardinal Galleffi, Camerlengo of the holy Roman Church, Cardinal Odescalchi, vice-chancellor, Doria-Pamphilia, first cardinal-priest present, Rivarola, first cardinal-deacon present, Mattei, Cardinal Camerlengo of the sacred college, and the Most Rev. Lui Frezza, Archbishop of Chalcedon, secretary of the congregation of consistory and of the sacred college.

The sala regia, or royal hall, of the Vatican palace is a splendid room of vast extent, to which you ascend by the scala regia, or royal staircase, which is a magnificent flight of steps between the Church of St. Peter and the Vatican palace. As you enter you have on your right, at one extremity of the hall, the gate which leads into the Pauline Chapel; on turning towards the left and advancing about fifty or sixty feet into the room, you have on your left the gate of the Sistine Chapel, and on your

[1] These sketches were written during Bishop England's second visit to Rome to attend to the affairs of the Haytian Legation, and appeared in 1834.

right that of the sala ducale or ducal hall. On entering this hall, which is about fifty feet wide, it was found that the consistory was assembled. At the farther extremity, about one hundred feet distant, an elevated platform, to which there was an ascent of three steps, extended across the room; at either extremity was a large and massy door, tastefully decorated; raised on the platform midway between them, under a canopy of crimson and gold, the Papal throne was elevated three steps more, having on each side the flabelli displayed. The Pope was clothed in a rich cope, wearing a plain mitre of cloth of gold, with his domestic prelates, principal officers, civil and military, and the guard of nobles occupying the platform on each side. In front, at a moderate distance, the bench for cardinals ranged at each side, and crossed nearly towards the third part of the hall, forming three sides of a parallelogram. The cardinal-dean sat at the inner extremity towards the Pope's right hand, wearing his purple cappa, with his train-bearers seated at his feet; five other cardinal-bishops sat on his right in their successive order, then the cardinal-priests according to their seniority; opposite the cardinal-dean the third senior cardinal-deacon sat, at the inner extremity of the bench, towards the left of His Holiness and his junior brethren, extending outwards on his left, until the junior deacon was found near the junior priest; the two senior deacons stood on either side of the Pope. All the cardinals were similarly habited and attended. The Prince Orsini, the head of the ancient Guelph family and present senator of Rome, stood as prince-assistant at the throne on the right of the first cardinal-deacon. On your right, as you entered the room, a beautiful and convenient gallery, with open lattice-work in front, had been erected for ladies, of whom there were several; the number that might be thus accommodated would be at least one hundred and fifty. Under these galleries, behind the cardinal-deacons and junior priests, there were accommodations for prelates and distinguished strangers. I observed in this

place Captain Read, of the *Constellation* frigate, and some of his officers. The space immediately next the cardinals' bench was occupied by the Swiss guard, drawn up in line across the hall, in their ancient costume, and having their spears. The rest of the room was filled with monks, friars, officers, civil and military, priests and laymen, of all nations and tongues.

Silence was proclaimed. Some of the consistorial advocates addressed the Holy Father upon various subjects in the way of motions for consistorial decisions. Amongst them was one who made the preliminary motion for proceeding to the beatification of the venerable servant of God, Maria Clotilda Xavier, of Bourbon, a queen of Sardinia. Eight cardinals then left the hall—they were the deacons and junior priests—to introduce from the Sistine Chapel the four cardinals who had just previously taken the oaths. These four arrived in the hall, going successively to the throne and kissing the Pope's right foot and right hand, after which the Holy Father embraced him. They next went to their brethren of the sacred college, commencing with the cardinal-dean, and were embraced by each of them successively in like manner. After this each went on his knees before the Holy Father, who, with the proper prayer and suitable admonition, placed the red hats on their heads successively, gave his blessing and retired. The cardinals then went to the Sistine Chapel with their newly admitted brethren; here the *Te Deum* was chanted in superior style, at the conclusion of which the proper prayer was said for the new cardinals, who were again embraced by their brethren, of whom only thirty-one were present. In the evening each new cardinal visited St. Peter's Church, then the cardinal-dean, and returning home had a party of his friends, and appeared in full dress. During the assembly the keeper of the Pope's wardrobe brought the hat in state, and delivered it with a suitable address, to which the cardinal made an appropriate answer. The palaces of the city were illuminated.

As a sort of supplement, I might add that on the same afternoon the Pope received in the kindest manner, in his gardens, the visit of Captain Read, his lady, the chaplain (a Presbyterian clergyman), and eight or ten officers of the *Constellation* frigate, amongst whom there was only one Catholic, Lieutenant Francis Rall, of the marines; they were presented by Mr. Cicognani, the Consul of the United States.

II.

The great festival of the Apostles St. Peter and St. Paul, was celebrated on Sunday, June 29, with the usual solemnity. Of course, you are aware that the celebration commences at first vespers; the Church in her celebration of public offices following the ancient Judaic mode of observing the ecclesiastical day, from evening until evening. At this point, therefore, all the great festivals commence.

The weather, at this time of the year, is nearly as warm as in Charleston, S. C.; the thermometer generally being, at midday, about 27° of Reaumur or 92° of Fahrenheit, without any sea breeze. There are, therefore, very few strangers in the city; hence, although I should suppose there were upwards of fifteen thousand persons at St. Peter's, it appeared almost deserted.

The procession left that hall of the Vatican which is called the robing-room at about half past five o'clock. It was not very large. The number of extraordinary chamberlains and chaplains, together with the other ecclesiastical officers who preceded the cross, in red sutanes and surplices, did not appear to be over one hundred; probably an equal number of civil officers. The sub-deacon, accompanied by his seven acolytes, followed them; behind him were the porters of the red staff. The Swiss guards, in their ordinary dress, now dotted the remainder of the procession on either side; then followed the greater prelates under the episcopal order, probably about forty, and the twelve penitentiaries

of St. Peter's in red chasubles. The number of assistant bishops in red copes and plain white mitres was ten, the two junior of whom were the Right Rev. Dr. Baine, Bishop of Siga and Vicar Apostolic of the western district of England, and the Bishop of Charleston. They were followed by the cardinal-deacons, about six in number, clothed in their dalmatics and mitred, having their train-bearers and other attendants. After them came about thrice as many cardinal-priests, mitred, wearing chasubles, and similarly attended; they were followed by five of the cardinal-bishops, mitred, wearing copes, and similarly attended. The governor of Rome, the Prince Orsini, who is senator of Rome and assistant at the throne, together with the deputation from the Roman magistracy, surrounded by the general staff of the military, the guard of nobles and the mace-bearers, and a special detachment of the Swiss, carrying large two-handed swords, followed. In the midst of this division came the Pope, in a cope and mitre of plain cloth of gold, having on either side the two senior cardinal-deacons then in the city, and followed by the major-domo, the treasurer, the chamberlain, the rest of the household, and a number of others.

As soon as His Holiness arrived in the ducal hall, he was conducted to his chair, which was immediately raised upon their shoulders by the grooms in attendance, and was thus borne to the altar. The procession continued to advance through the royal hall, down the scala regia, until it arrived at the equestrian statue of Constantine, which is on your left as you descend, and about three-fourths of the space down to the ground-floor; then, turning to the right, it descended by a few steps into the vestibule of the great Church of St. Peter. Here, the chapter of this basilica and its clerks, with the archpriest, Cardinal Galeffi, at the head, about sixty or seventy in number, received the array, allowing it to pass through two lines formed facing inward, in which the chapter and clergy stood arranged, in the centre of the vestibule itself; behind these lines, on each

side, a range of military was formed in single file, and the people crowded the rear; across the middle of the vestibule, from the great centre gate of the church, towards that which opens in the porch to the front of the basilica, the respectable body of the Capitoline guards, in their fine uniform, were drawn up facing the archway which opened from the statue of Constantine. In the rear of the battalion, the military bands were stationed in front of the civic guards or militia, who were formed in line of two deep along the other wing of the vestibule leading towards the equestrian statue of Charlemagne, which, on the south side of the vestibule, corresponds with that of Constantine on the north.

As soon as the head of the procession entered this vestibule the bands commenced occasional gratulations. Arrived at the great middle gate of bronze, the procession, leaving the Capitoline guards on its left, turned to the right into the church. Here the regular troops were drawn up in single file, facing inwards, leaving in the centre a space of from sixty to eighty feet wide, for the procession which now began to move slowly up the centre towards the great altar under the dome. This mighty mass appeared to be of solid gold, blazing also with lights under its massive twisted columns and great canopy of Corinthian brass. The numerous lamps that burned round the balustrade of the confession, which shows the tomb of the Apostle several feet below, seemed, in the distance, like the flowing of a stream of liquid fire lambent about the base of the majestic altar.

As soon as the Holy Father turned into the vestibule, the bands gave their full salute, the bells redoubled their enlivening peal, and the voices of the capitular choir repeated, in solemn chant, the declaration of the Saviour, made eighteen centuries ago, to the predecessor of Gregory XVI. "Tu es Petrus et super hanc petram ædificabo ecclesiam meam, et portæ inferi non prævalebunt adversus eam—Thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build My Church, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it." The

Holy Father, in meek, dignified humility, imparted the blessing as he was borne along. A rich canopy was sustained by prelates over his chair, and the flabelli waved majestically on either side. Over the vestibule, from a window that opened into the church, immediately above the great door, six trumpets announceed the entrance of the Holy Father. The troops presented arms as the greater prelates who followed the cross advanced; but when the Father of the faithful approached, with their arms still presented, they bent a knee. The masters of ceremony were stationed from place to place along the line, and as the procession approached the Chapel of the Holy Sacrament on the right, about four hundred feet after it had entered the church, it was arranged line within line on either side towards the gate of this chapel. The chair was let down, the Holy Father descended and knelt in adoration for a few moments; all knelt with him. He rose, resumed his seat, the lines began to extend forward, the procession advanced towards the choir that was enclosed beyond this great altar. Your readers ought to know that the platform and steps of this altar are not, as is usual in modern churches, towards the entrance, but have the back of the altar itself towards the principal gate, as was more usual in the ancient edifices. A partition covered with crimson damask and broad gold lace, was drawn across the centre aisle about one hundred and fifty feet beyond the altar to its front, and, consequently, having the altar between it and the gate. Against this partition a large platform was raised, to which there was an ascent of six or eight steps, and upon this platform was the papal throne, opposite the steps which ascended to the corresponding platform of the altar. On the right the Prince Orsini stood by the throne itself; in front of him, considerably towards the verge, the first cardinal-bishop sat; a cardinal-deacon sat on either side of the throne, and on the upper steps at either side the assistant-bishops stood or sat; below them, on one side, was the Roman magistracy; on the other the judges and officers of the chief civil, criminal, and ecclesiastical tribu-

nals. Below, on either side, the cardinals were ranged on elevated benches, and on lower ones at their feet their train-bearers sat. Nearer to the altar the other members of the papal chapel were variously disposed, and from the lamps of the confession, on either side of the altar, back to the cardinals' benches, the guards of nobles in close single files filled up the space to prevent any intrusion. On benches behind the cardinals were archbishops and bishops not assistant, civil and military officers, the heads of religious orders, foreign ambassadors, etc.

After the Pope was seated, the cardinals, archbishops, bishops, and penitentiaries of St. Peter's went successively to pay the usual homage, the first by kissing his right hand, the second by kissing his right knee, and the third by kissing his right foot. After this, the solemn intonation of the Vespers was given by the Holy Father and continued by the choir. The scene was sublime. The sensations were deep, solemn, and highly impressive.

After Vespers the pallia were brought up from the tomb of the Apostles, upon a salver covered with rich silk, and presented to the Pope to be blessed. Perhaps your readers do not know, and would wish to be informed, that a pallium is a sort of woolen collar with five purple crosses on it, which is worn on solemn occasions by patriarchs, archbishops, and a few privileged bishops, and is emblematic of their right of presidency in their districts. The wool is shorn from lambs blessed on the Festival of St. Agnes at her church outside the city; they are shorn at a particular time, and the wool is spun and woven by the nuns of a particular convent under her invocation; the collars are then laid upon the tomb in the confession of St. Peter, to signify the connection of the bearer with his apostolical authority. They are brought and blessed at first Vespers on June 28, and replaced upon the tomb until demanded for a new prelate, who, upon receiving it, renews his oath of fealty to the Holy See, has it placed on his neck, wears it on solemn occasions, and has it buried with him.

III.

Preparations had been made for illuminating the exterior of the Church of St. Peter, as soon as night should fall. No description can convey an adequate idea of the spectacle which this presents. The dome is somewhat larger than the Church of St. Mary of the Martyrs, which is the old Pantheon; and this is not only surmounting the roof, but raised considerably above it. This Pantheon is much larger than the circular church in Meeting street.[1] Imagine this as only one of three domes, of which it is, indeed, far the largest, elevated considerably above the roof of a church, the façade of which is a grand pile of architecture; this dome is half surrounded by columns, and the one by which the entablature over them is crowned, closely ribbed to its summit. Over this is a ball, in which I was one of eight persons standing erect, and we had room for at least four others, and this ball is surmounted by a cross. From the sides of the front two wings of splendid architecture project forward upwards of eighty feet; at their extremities are lofty columns, over which run the proper entablatures crowned by pediments; from these enormous colonnades recede almost semi-circularly from each wing, sweeping, with their hundreds of pillars, round the immense piazza, capable of containing probably one hundred thousand human beings upon the area within their embrace. In the centre of this is a rich Egyptian obelisk, resting upon the backs of four lions, *couchants* upon the angles of a fine pedestal. Half way from this obelisk, at each side towards the colonnade, are two magnificent fountains, probably the most superb in the world. Each appears to be a capacious marble vase elevated upon a sufficiently strong but gracefully delicate stem; the summit of this vase is at the elevation of about twelve feet. From its centre rises, to nearly the same height, another still more slender and delicately shaped

[1] A peculiar church building in Charleston, S. C.

stem, from whose summit is projected, to a considerable height, a water-spout which, gracefully bending near its summit and yielding to the direction of the wind, as it forms its curve and descent, is separated into a sort of sparkling spray of pearls and silver intermixed. About twelve other spouts shoot round this central liquid column, diverging from it on every side as they rise, and falling, with a similar appearance, at somewhat of a less elevation. They seem, in the distance, to be like rich plumes of some gigantic ostrich waving gracefully in the breeze, whilst the descending shower is received in the capacious vase, from whose interior it is conducted to various fountains in the city. Hundreds of statues lift their various forms, appearing larger than life, over the frieze and cornice of the colonnade; whilst at the foot of the majestic flight of steps by which you ascend to the portico of the church, two ancient statues of St. Peter and St. Paul have for centuries rested upon their pedestals. The façade of the church itself is surmounted by the colossal statues of the twelve Apostles.

The illumination consisted of two parts. The lamps for the first part were disposed closely, in colored paper, along the architectural lines of this mighty mass, about the ribs of the domes, around the ball, and on the cross.

To me, as I looked from the bridge of St. Angelo, the scene appeared like a vision of enchantment. It seemed as if a mighty pile of some rich, black, soft material was reared in the likeness of a stupendous temple, and the decorations were broad lines of burning liquid gold. The ball and the cross were seen as if detached and resting in the air above its summit. It was indeed a becoming emblem of the triumph of a crucified Redeemer over this terrestrial ball. After I had passed the bridge and as I approached the piazza, the front of the church and the expanse of the colonnade exhibited their lines of light. The specks which formed those lines glowed now more distinct and separate, and though their continuity was lost, their symmetry was perfect and magnificent. The immense piazza was thronged

with carriages and persons on foot, whilst a division of the Papal dragoons, one of the finest and best disciplined bodies of cavalry in existence, moved in sections and single files through the multitude, calmly, but steadily and firmly, preserving order. Scarcely a word is heard above a whisper; an accident is of so rare an occurrence as not to be calculated upon. The Cardinal Secretary of State has a gallery in front of the church, to which foreign ambassadors and a few other strangers of distinction are invited. I observed Captain Read and his wife in this gallery, and many of our officers were promenading below.

About an hour elapsed from the commencement, when the motion of a brighter light was observed towards the summit of the cupola, a large star seemed to shoot upwards to the cross, and, as if by a sudden flash from heaven, the whole edifice appeared to blaze in the glare of day. A thousand lights, kindled by some inconceivably rapid communication, shed their beams upon every part of the building. Pillars and pilasters, with their vases, shafts, and capitals; mouldings, friezes, cornices, pediments, architraves, pannels, doors, windows, niches, images, decorations, enrichments, domes—all, with their faint lines of golden light, now softened to a milder lustre, were revealed in brilliant relief to the enraptured eye. The fountains were magnificently grand, and richly pure, and softened into a refreshing white. The multitude was silent. The horses were still. The glowing cross, elevated above the Vatican hill, beamed to the wide plains and distant mountains its augury of future glory because of past humiliation. The crowd began to move, a low buzz of conversation began, and then the horses' tramp, followed by the rattling of wheels. And whilst tens of thousands remained yet longer, other thousands moved in various directions to their homes, or to distant elevated points for the sake of a variety of views.

I went to the magnificent Piazza del Popolo. It was literally a desert; but in its stillness, and the dereliction of its obelisk, its fountains, and its statues, by the very

contrast to the scene that I had left, there arose a feeling of new sublimity. It was more deep—it was more solemn, but it was less elevated; not so overpowering, nor so impressive as to that which it succeeded. My object was to ascend from this place to the Monte Pincio; the commanding view from which would enable me to look over the city at the great object which attracted every eye. But the gates of the avenue at this side were closed, and I had to go to the Piazza di Spagna, and there to ascend by the immense and beautiful flight of steps to the Trinità deì Monti. Standing here in front of the Convent of the Ladies of the Sacred Heart, the view of St. Peter's was indeed superb. I proceeded up towards the public gardens lately formed on the summit of this ancient residence of so many of the remarkable men of five-and-twenty ages. At various intervals I stopped and turned to view the altered appearance presented by the mass of light as seen from those different positions. As I contemplated it I reflected that it must soon be extinguished like the transient glories of the philosophers, the heroes, the statesmen, the orators who successively passed over the spot on which I stood. A humble fisherman from Galilee, and an obscure tent-maker from Tarsus, were confined in the dungeons of this city. Seventeen hundred and sixty-eight years had passed away since one of them was crucified with his head downwards, on the Vatican Hill, and the other was beheaded near the Ostian Way. They had been zealously faithful in discharging the duties of their apostleship. In the eyes of men their death was without honor, but it was precious in the sight of God. Grateful and admiring millions from year to year proclaim their praises, whilst the Church exhibits their virtues as proofs of the power of the Saviour's grace, as models for the imitation of her sons. Oh! let my soul die the death of the just, and let my last end be like to theirs! Translated from this earth—they live in heaven. Tried for a time and found faithful, they enjoy a glorious recompense. The God that we serve is merciful

in bestowing His grace, and is exceedingly bountiful in crowning His own gifts, by giving to us through the merits of His Son a recompense for those acts of virtue which He enables us to perform.

I found myself again near the summit of the steps—I descended and retired to my home reflecting upon the wonders wrought by the Most High through the instrumentality of those two great saints, the celebration of whose festival had thus commenced. The ardent Peter and the active Paul! The name changed to signify the office to which he should be raised. The Vicegerent of heaven's King—bearing the mystic keys with powers of legislation and of administration,—Whatever thou shall bind on earth shall be bound in heaven, whatsoever thou shall loose on earth shall be loosed also in heaven. Yes!—upon this rock was the Church of the Saviour built. Its principal weight of administration rested upon him, who of himself was weak, but who, converted and sustained by Christ, was strong. "Before the cock shall crow twice this night, thou shall thrice deny Me. Yes! Satan hath desired to have thee that he might sift thee as wheat; but I have prayed for thee that thy faith fail not. And thou once converted, confirm thy brethren!" The strongest power that hell can muster in its gates, to make a furious assault upon that Church, the weighty administration of which shall rest upon you, and upon those that shall succeed you, shall from time to time be marshaled and sent forth for the destruction of that body which the Saviour organized like a well-ordered kingdom upon earth for the attainment of heaven; but the gates of hell shall not prevail against it! The dynasties of nations have perished—the palaces of the Cæsars are in ruins—their tombs have mouldered with the bodies they contained, but the successors of Peter continue. Under the orders of Nero, the two Apostles were consigned to what was imagined to be destruction. The vaults of the tyrant's golden palace are covered with vegetation. Standing on the unseemly ruins of the remnant of this monster's monument,

by the side of the Flaminian way, through the obscurity of the night, the Christian peasant looks towards that blaze of light, which, from the resting-place where the relics of the head of the Church and of the doctor of the Gentiles are found, breaks forth and irradiates the eternal city and its monumental environs.

If Peter is elevated in station, Paul is not less glorious in merit. He, too, looked back with sorrow on that day when he held the clothes of those who slew Stephen. But how nobly did he redeem his error. A vessel of election to bear the good odor of Christ into the palaces of kings —a torrent of eloquence flowing into the barren fields of a vain philosophy to fertilize and adorn—a rich exhibition of virtue, winning by its beauty, attracting by its symmetry, and exciting to activity by emulation—a glowing meteor of benediction, dissipating the clouds of error, shedding the lustre of truth around, and warming the hearts of the beholders to charity on earth, that they might be fitted for glory in heaven.

IV.

On June 30 a chapel of the bishops assistant at the throne was held at the Church of St. Paul, on the Ostian road. This is the great basilica which was consumed by fire about eleven years ago. In this conflagration the grand altar and the place where the relics of the Apostles repose escaped. Hundreds of workmen continue to be employed in the restoration of this fine church, and considerable progress has been made. The transept is covered in, the columns of the aisles are erected, and most of them have their capitals mounted. The shafts are a beautiful iron gray granite, each shaft one piece of upwards of twenty feet in height, and the cap a fine white marble, Corinthian or composite, each in two blocks; very few are Ionic. The aisles of this church are new as far as the transept. The floor is to be raised three feet above its old level, as on

some former occasions the Tiber rose to such a height as to overflow it. Probably twenty years more, at least, must pass away before this church can be used, though probably five hundred men are continually employed upon it. The offices are at present performed in three chapels—the old sacristies, each of which would make a moderate sized American church.

On this day also two of the cardinal-bishops consecrated each two of the newly-appointed bishops just nominated. But on the subsequent Sunday I was present at a ceremony which to me was quite new—the consecration of a Catholic Bishop according to the Greek rite. It took place in the Greek Church, on the Via del Babuino, and was rather thinly attended, as it was not generally known. I do not believe that there were five hundred persons in the church. The prelate consecrated was Gabriel Smicsitilaszbi Crisio; the consecrating prelate was the Most Reverend Basil Tomaggiani, a native of Pera, Constantinople, born in the year 1762, a minor conventual friar and Archbishop of Durazzo—who for a number of years has resided in this city for the purpose of performing the episcopal functions of the Greek rite. He was assisted by two Latin doctors, Lewis Cardelli, a minor reformed friar, Archbishop of Acrida *in partibus*, and Lewis Grati, a Servite (formerly Archbishop of Smyrna, which he resigned) friar, Bishop of Gallimicio *in partibus*. The deacon was the same that sung the Gospel in Greek, at St. Peter's, at the Papal High Mass on the Festival of SS. Peter and Paul, and the sub-deacon was from the Propaganda. Several other students from this college also attended to sing the other parts of the service according to their rite. An American bishop and an American priest in plain official dress, not vestments, and a few other clergymen of various orders were permitted to go within the partition which separates the Greek altars from the congregation. Small as the number present was, the persons composing it were collected from many nations, and though all of one faith, yet followed several rites.

The ceremony as regards vesture, instruments, and form, was far more simple than the Latin rite. The consecrating prelate only laid one hand on the head of the person consecrated, the assisting prelate holding the book of the Gospels on his shoulders during the imposition. The crosier is altogether of a different form from that used by the Latins. It is shorter, more slender, and in place of a crook has a double curve, as if two serpents had their tails inserted in the top of the shaft and their bodies stretched horizontally in opposite directions for about six inches each, after which they turn upwards bending their heads towards each other so as to approach within about a couple of inches. This is given to the person to be consecrated, when he is made a doctor, immediately after his profession of faith and oath of fealty previous to the Mass. No unction of either the head or hand is used, nor is any mitre placed on his head. He, on the proper occasion after his consecration, takes the Greek mitre, which is very different in its shape from that of the Latins, being in fact a crown. Upon the whole the ceremony was very interesting, though by no means so solemn or imposing as that of the Latins. On the same day (July 6) Cardinal Odescalchi, Vice-Chancellor of the Holy Roman Church and Bishop of Sabina, went in state to the Church of St. Andrew on the Quirinal hill, the novitiate of the Jesuits, and consecrated Francis Strani, Bishop of the diocese of Massa di Carrara; the assistants were the Most Reverend John Soglia, Archbishop of Ephesus, and the Most Reverend Constantine Patozzi, Archbishop of Philippi and major-domo to His Holiness.

All the Italian bishops are consecrated in this city by cardinals, though the pontifical directs that as far as possible the bishop should be consecrated in the midst of his own people in the church to which he is promoted. The custom here originated in the practice, very properly established, of having the bishops elect of these countries examined in theology and canon law and certified as perfect in their

knowledge of both, by a very respectable congregation of cardinals, prelates, theologians and jurists, previous to their being approved and nominated by His Holiness in the consistory. I recollect that one of the most learned of this body of examiners, the present Bishop of Orvietto, having been appointed by the Pope, from his personal knowledge of his learning and merit, could not obtain the necessary certificate from his brother examiners, without undergoing a very rigorous and searching trial. When thus in the holy city, and examined, approved and named, they generally preferred being consecrated by a cardinal-bishop, and the custom is now grown into a law. I must acknowledge that I prefer the discipline laid down in the pontifical.

As your readers might wish to see a list of this congregation, and thus have an idea of the constitution of those committees of business, I shall give you a list of the present congregation for the examination of bishops elect.

Examiners in Theology.

CARDINALS: 1. Pacca. 2. Zurla. 3. Micara. 4. Lambruschini. 5. Marco-y-Catalan.

FATHERS: 6. Master Dominic Buttaoni, a Dominican friar, Master of the Sacred Palace. 7. Master Thomas Antonino Degola, of the same order, Secretary of the Index. 8. John da Capistrano, ex-General Minister of the Reformed Minor Observantine Friars. 9. Lewis Togni, Prefect-General of the Fathers Infirmarians for the Charitable Care of the Sick. 10. Laurence da Camerata, of the Order of Friars Capuchins, Apostolic Preacher for the Papal Household. 11. The Abbate Paul del Signore, a Canon Regular of St. Saviour's of Lateran. 12. John Roothan, General of the Society of Jesus. 13. The Abbate Don Ambrose Bianchi, Vicar-General of the Benedictine Congregation of Camaldoli. 14. Cherubino da Arienzo, of the Order of Friars Minors, Observantines. 15. Master Laurence Tardi, Vicar-General

of the Order of Hermits of St. Augustine. 16. Don Emilio Jacopini, of the Order of Regular Minor Clerks.

Examiners in Canon Law.

CARDINALS: 1. Galleffi. 2. De Gregorio. 3. Falzacappa. 4. Odescalchi. 5. Fransoni. 6. Sala.

MOST REVEREND: 7. Joseph della Porta Ronciglione, Patriarch of Constantinople. 8. Francis Canali, lately created cardinal, Archbishop of Larissa. 9. John Soglia, Archbishop of Ephesus.

THE PRELATES: Rev. Jerome Bontadosi, auditor (or assessor) of His Holiness. Silvester Bargagnati, one of the clerks of the chamber (Court of Appeals). Rev. Joseph Mezzofanti, First Keeper of the Vatican Library, of whom Lord Byron had so high an opinion; probably one of the first linguists in existence; he speaks with facility thirty-four living languages, and several of the dead tongues.

SECRETARY: The Most Rev. Joseph Vespigniani, Archbishop of Tyana.

When I contemplated one of those congregations, and after taking each individual separately and considering his erudition and respectability upon a variety of other grounds, and then viewed the aggregate of their merits; how did I pity the little beings who, without knowing one particle of the mode in which business is done here or concerning the character or qualifications of the councilors of the Holy Father, write and speak of mankind, ignorance, the dark ages, the mariner's compass, the art of printing, the feudal times—Martin Luther, Henry VIII, Anne Boleyn, &c.

By the bye, as we have touched this chord—I amused some of our Americans, whilst they were in this city about three weeks since, by taking them to Monsignor Mezzofanti, with whom I have the happiness of an intimate acquaintance, and procuring from him one of the pieces in his archives, an autograph love letter of the gallant monarch to Miss Anne. It is written in French, and not easily legible at

the first inspection; in the flourish to his signature is a heart in the midst of which, upon examination, you find the initials of the lady's name, A. This letter is pasted on the leaf of a book which contains a copy of the piece in a more modern and legible hand, by the aid of which the original is easily deciphered. Some ladies who joined the American party examined it with considerable minuteness. His majesty did not seem to be in the beheading humor when it was written. The learned keeper produced another piece of whose authenticity there could be no question: the copy of Henry's work in defence of the Catholic doctrine, of the seven sacraments, against Martin Luther, which work procured for his majesty so many polite compliments from the sainted reformers and for him and his successors from the Holy See the title of "Defender of the Faith"—which title those successors have with such admirably good taste preserved, whilst they robbed, whipped, banished, hanged, quartered, embowelled, and beheaded their beloved subjects for believing as his majesty then wrote! The dedication of this work to His Holiness was subscribed by his majesty with his own royal hand, and the work has been preserved ever since with care in the archives of the holy city. Monsignor Mezzofanti requested of the ladies to compare the signatures, which were palpably the work of the same hand. He was requested by them very naturally to give the history of the way in which the lady's letter came into the Vatican, which he did to our satisfaction; but as I am so stupid, the chain of succession has got entangled in my memory, and I shall not just now venture to guess. Probably, if nothing more important banishes the determination, I shall ask my friend for the history, when next we meet, and shall try to recollect it for you then.

V.

This is the period when the examinations are made in all the schools and colleges in the city. I do not know exactly the number of students. but I am perhaps consid-

erably under the mark in saying they are something over two thousand. On Thursday, July 17, I attended at the defence of his theses, by an American student at the Urban College, generally known as that of the Propaganda. The number of young men in this institution is over one hundred.

The process is generally as follows: During the private examinations at the several periods of the year, by the professors of the college itself, and also at that towards the end of the academical season, by others as well as by the professors of the house, one or more of the best pupils are selected to defend the theses. A thesis, as your readers are aware, is a position or stated proposition. Several of these are selected from the scientific course, which the student publishes and declares that he will be ready, at a fixed time and place, to defend against all opponents. The lists are regularly prepared for this scholastic knight, who appears duly sustained to exhibit his powers; nor is this tournament a mere idle display, in the rivalry of the schools; there are often formidable encounters and numerous spectators, and not unfrequently serious disasters. There is a formidable Jesuit here, a professor of dogmatic theology at the Roman College, who has lately swept, in a comparatively short encounter, half a dozen of those youthful aspirants from the field of fame; and their teachers were neither insensible nor inactive on and after the encounter. The effects of this carnage are not yet at an end; gauntlet after gauntlet is flung down, and the judges of such feats are in continual requisition

On the present occasion, Martin John Spalding,[1] a Kentuckian and the senior student of the United States of North America, a pupil of the Urban College, published a respectful and manly Latin address to the congregation of cardinals presiding over the affairs of the Propaganda, in which, after wishing their eminences happiness and health,

[1] Since Archbishop of Baltimore, and now dead.

he informs them of what he considers the blessings diffused by their institution, for which they deserve thanks. As he has finished the usual course of studies, he has determined to express publicly his gratitude by sustaining his theses, expressing the doctrines which he shall endeavor to teach in those distant regions to which he is about to return. For this purpose he will appear, God willing, in the morning, in the great hall of the college, when and where it shall be lawful for any one who thinks proper to controvert what he undertakes to defend. In the afternoon he will appear in the college chapel, where three select champions will successively make their assaults, after which he will be ready to meet any other that might be disposed to try his strength.

Then follows a list of two hundred and fifty-six propositions which he undertakes to defend. They are drawn from the several treatises of theology and canon law; copies of this were sent to the other colleges, and special invitations were given to several individuals whose attendance was particularly desirable.

About half past eight o'clock on Thursday morning I arrived at the gate of the college, on the pavement in front of which was a profuse scattering of sweet-smelling green leaves; the bay and myrtle predominated. The gate itself was open, and this fragrant path marked the way to the interior. The strewing continued up the great staircase, along the open gallery of the first floor, to the great door leading to the principal corridor, along this passage to the gate of the principal hall. This room, about eighty feet in length by forty wide and twenty in height, has its walls decorated with paintings of students of this college, under the inflictions of the deadly pain by which they were in remote regions martyred for their discharge of duty; thus exhibiting to the youth who are therein educated the constancy which the Church expects from them under similar circumstances. At the further extremity, opposite the door, was a carpeted platform elevated two steps. Upon

this the young Kentuckian was seated, with a small table before him, having also next to him on one side his professor of theology, a Roman, and on the other his professor of law, a Bavarian count, who is a priest and rector of the college. The renowned scholar, Angelo Mai, presided, being seated on your right, as you entered the hall near this platform. A range of chairs extended on either side, leaving a passage of about ten feet wide in the centre, from the door to the platform. These chairs were intended for cardinals, bishops, or other prelates and professors who might arrive. Ranges of benches parallel to these, on each side, behind, were pretty generally thronged by students of that and of other colleges and by many strangers. No cardinal was present in the forenoon; the Bishop of Charleston was the only prelate of the episcopal order. But several others of various grades, secular and regular, amongst whom were the rectors and professors of various colleges, occupied most of the chairs.

The first argument had been concluded when I arrived; it was conducted by an Italian secular priest, whose name I could not learn. The second was made by a Dominican friar, a man of very great talent and ingenuity; he had also nearly concluded. An infirmarian, or crutched friar, conducted the third with considerable spirit and ability. By the bye, you should in America say, that what I call a crutched friar, is in Italy called a *crucifero*, or "cross-bearer." He wears a red cross on the right breast of a black habit, and his obligation is to spend his time in attending the sick, especially in infirmaries. Hence I call him an infirmarian. This invaluable order of devoted men was founded by St. Camillo of Lellis. Next succeeded an Irishman, a student of the Roman Seminary, who did argue most lustily against the real presence and sacrifice of the Mass. The next was a German Jesuit, well known in the United States, Father Kohlman, who for nearly half an hour argued eloquently against the primacy of the Holy See. He was followed by Signor Rosa, one of the minutanti, and a professor of theology, who argued against the power of remitting all sins

in the Sacrament of Penance. Dr. Wiseman,[1] Rector of the English College, next argued for the figurative meaning of the words of our Saviour, in the institution of the Eucharist, introducing various analagous passages from Persian, Arabic, and other Asiatic writers, some of which are pompously brought forward in the preface to ponderous tomes of polyglots, by an Oxford doctor of modern celebrity. The celebrated Monsignor Mezzofanti then followed with considerable subtlety and acuteness, when the great bell announced midday.

The young American had now been upwards of four hours sharply engaged in scholastic disputation, in the Latin language, with men of various nations and of no ordinary calibre, and had not failed or hesitated in a single answer.

To a stranger the style of this mode of disputation is altogether a novelty. You are carried back by the introduction of the argument to all the pompous style of ancient heraldry and regulated courtesy of disputation. The disputant generally commences by a high wrought compliment to the institution, to its various officers, to the particular professor of the science in which he is to make his assault, to the genius and erudition of the defender; then speaks of his own defects, how reluctant he is to couch a lance against so powerful an opponent, but if he makes a pass or two, it is not in the vain hope of a victory for which there is no chance, but that taught by the prowess he will elicit, he may improve. He then commences his attack and presses on, generally with great vigor. The defender in turn professes the high estimation in which he holds his opponent; introducing in his description an enumeration of the offices he has held, the honors he has obtained, and the great qualities for which he is remarkable. Then he briefly recapitulates the argument, dissects it, and takes its separate parts for successive examination, and after having thus disposed of it, he says that he is inclined to think it not so strong as at first supposed.

[1] Since Cardinal, and now dead.

There was a recess for rest, dinner, and preparation for the afternoon. But on this occasion the assembly was more solemn. The disposition of the church was similar to that of the hall. The ecclesiastical dresses, however, were for cardinals, bishops, and other prelates, what were called robes of the second class; the cardinals in red, the bishops in purple, and such of the other prelates as were entitled to it in the same color. The cardinals, of whom only seven were present, sat on very rich chairs on the right side of the chapel facing the door; those chairs were elevated one step above the level of the floor. Three chosen disputants occupied the first places on the opposite side, then the bishops, &c. The Swiss guards formed at the door and lined the passage. The exercises began with an exceedingly ingenious argument against the Primacy of St. Peter, made with great tact and skill by the prelate Raffaelle Fornari, Canonist of the Penitentiary, former Professor of Theology in the Propaganda, and a man of the very first ability. This lasted nearly three quarters of an hour. The second was on the subject of Greece, by Father Perrone, a Jesuit, Professor of Dogmatic Theology in the Roman College; he is a man of the most profound research and great logical powers, with an admirable memory. The engagement lasted half an hour. Nearly as long again was occupied in an argument against the divine character of Christianity, by Father Modena, Assistant to the Master of the Sacred Palace and a Dominican friar. The cardinals rose and shook hands with the Kentuckian, who was carried away by his fellow-students in triumph.

Thus ended the public disputation at about eight o'clock. This is a specimen of Roman schools and monkish ignorance.

VI.

The charge of monkish ignorance, with all its unmeaning concomitants, comes against this city with a very bad grace from places where as yet comparatively little has been done to promote or to sustain a literary spirit. It is true Rome

had her days of light, flimsy gossamer-like semblance of science. She had also her day of melancholy oppression. She has had the peace of her children destroyed by the turmoil of faction; she has had to weep over the fury of her sons, and to mingle her tears with the torrents of their blood, not shed in the defence of public rights, but for the purposes of ambition. Religion often restrained and soothed the desperado; but religion herself was sometimes trodden down and bruised and wounded in the unholy affrays produced by the lust of power. In those days the din of confusion distracted even the monk in his cloister; and closing the pages or rolling up the parchment, he wept and prayed before the altar; or if he came out, it was to make an effort for peace, it was to cast himself between the exasperated victor and his prostrate victim; to lift the emblematic crucifix by which the God of mercy and the Judge of men admonished the one, and to fling the protecting mantle of religion over the other. The day of tumult, the arena of faction, the intrigues of ambition, the contests of violence, are not favorable to the pursuits of literature. And in this holy city, as in all other places, human passions are found in human beings. Rome has had her vicissitudes. Yet may she look around in calm dignity, and with the roll of ages unfolded and the surface of the globe exhibited to the beholders, firmly ask where is her rival. The number of literary and scientific societies at present not merely in existence but in operation here, exceeds that of any other city that I know, or perhaps that is known. Instead of a general description, I shall give you a few details; and those probably not one-fourth of what might be collected within the same period, as I was occupied in such a way as to leave me little leisure.

The Academy of the Catholic Religion held one of its stated meetings on the evening of Thursday, April 24. The president of this academy is the Most Rev. Dr. John Soglia, Archbishop of Ephesus; the secretary *ad interim* is the Rev. Father John Baptist Rosani, Procurator-General

of the Regular Clerks for Pious Schools. The academy consists of a large number of highly talented and erudite clergymen and laymen, and they have a very respectable body of honorary members in various parts of the world. The object is to make those literary researches which are demanded by the peculiar circumstances of the times, for the illustration and support of the Catholic religion. They meet in a large hall at the Roman University, generally called the Sapienza. On this evening Father Olivieri, General of the Dominican friars, read an extremely interesting and erudite essay, to prove that, without a knowledge of Sacred Scriptures, it was utterly impossible to have any accurate notions of either the antiquities or the history of Egypt. The substance of the composition is given in the following outline: Some well-deserved compliments to the exertions of the learned academician, Monsignor Testa, for his famous dissertation, by which was demonstrated the correct epoch of the zodiac of Denderah, that by some exquisites is thrown back to ages before the flood, and by others to ages before the creation; he then remarked upon the value of those Egyptian monuments, which, whatever might be the object of those that sought and produced them, gave, by their own authentic symbols and explanations, results always favorable to the cause of religion. Upon this principle he considered Egypt as connected with the great facts of sacred history; he enumerated the several kinds of antiquities remaining to us. A vast collection is found in the galleries of the Vatican, and some in other parts of the city. He showed the aids furnished by profane erudition, especially from the catalogues of monarchs of the Egyptian dynasties; he proved that, without the help of the sacred volumes, it is impossible to make any reasonable distribution of those numbers. According to the chronology which approximates nearest to the Hebrew copies considered as most to be relied upon and to the Latin Vulgate, it is impossible to go beyond Cham, the son of Noe. The journeys of Abraham and his sojourn

in Egypt exhibit, as does all the history of that period, the infancy of political institutions in that country, the monuments of which cannot precede the time of Joseph, the great-grandson of Abraham, under whose administration the power and grandeur of the Egyptian monarchs had their origin. Finally, the learned academician demonstrated, with evidence, that the arts and sciences had no earlier origin than the days of his administration in that country, which was one of the most precocious of Africa, and equal, perhaps, to any in Asia. He showed that, previous to the deluge, considerable progress had been made in many of the arts which flourished in ancient Egypt; and that a mighty process of time would not be required for the attainment of such a grade of knowledge, seeing that God had created man in a state of adult vigor, endowed with language for the communication of ideas, and with information necessary not only for the preservation of life, but for the father of future generations. The meeting was well attended; amongst those present were Cardinals Pedicini, Zurla, and Lambruschini, ordinary canons of the academy; several archbishops, bishops, distinguished prelates, nobles, and literary men of various ranks.

The Archæological Academy is a very highly respectable society, which holds its meetings in the great hall of the Roman Archiginnasio. Its object is the illustration of ancient monuments, and especially the correction of any popular errors respecting those generally best known. Protector, Cardinal Galleffi; President, the Marquis Commander Louis Biondi; Secretary, the Cavaliere Peter Hercules Visconti. In such a city as Rome, a society of this description is most useful. The number of ancient Pagan monuments that line the wall on your right, as you enter by the long passage to the galleries and chambers of statues in the Vatican—the corresponding monuments of early Christianity on your left—the succession of Egyptian monuments in the various chambers by which you pass to that which contains the fine painting of George IV of England, by Sir Thomas

Lawrence, and the casts of the Grecian marble, not to speak of the vast quantities daily produced from the excavations, would well employ many learned antiquarians.

A stated meeting was held on the 12th of June, under the presidency of the Marquis Biondi. The Academician Cavaliere T. Monaldi pronounced the eulogy of Domenico Sestina, a noble Florentine, deeply learned in the knowledge of medals, and a corresponding member of the academy. The secretary then produced an ancient Italian vase, considerably adorned with figures, and which was found in the month of last December in the excavations near Bolsena, and which now belongs to the collection of Signor Campanari, in this city. The learned secretary showed that it contained amongst others representations of the last libation made by Hector on parting from Priam and Hecuba previous to encountering Achilles. He thence took occasion to discuss the origin of the Italian arts, and of the poets who inspired the artists, vindicating in arts for Italy a priority over Greece. There were present on the occasion Cardinals Zurla, Sala, Castracane, Gazzoli, Mattei, and Grimaldi, all honorary members. His eminence Cardinal James Monico, Patriarch of Venice, was admitted to honorary membership.

Another meeting of this Society was held on the evening of the 26th of June, on which occasion the secretary continued the reading of a dissertation of which he had given a portion at a previous meeting. It was by the corresponding member and associate, Cavaliere Prockesch d'Osten, on the antiquities of the Island of Naxos. Then an illustration was given of a military diploma of the Emperor Adrian, now first brought to view. It was written by the corresponding member and associate, Signor Clement Cardinali. At this meeting there were present Cardinals Zurla, Sala, and Grimaldi, honorary members, besides many others of high respectability.

On the 19th of June there was another meeting of the Academy of the Catholic Religion, on which occasion the

Rev. Secretary read a very fine essay of the academician, Cavaliere Angelo Maria Ricci, a Knight of Malta and an excellent poet, "On the influence which the Catholic religion has always had on the progress of literature and the fine arts." The best judges of style gave high praises to this composition, for its perspicuity, elegance, varying harmony with the varying tone of the subject, and a simple sweetness of delicate, natural expression. Since Charles Villers obtained the prize from the National Institute of France in 1802 for his essay to show that the religious changes made by Luther improved literature and the arts, it has to a certain extent been fashionable to copy, to imitate, or to emulate his effort. The academician reviewed the allegations of a whole host of those gentry, showing upon how flimsy a foundation they rested, going from age to age of previous centuries to exhibit that before the bold professor of Wittenberg ventured upon the defence of the first thesis, the arts and sciences had attained and lost, and again attained, again lost many of those accidental improvements which were with so little reason attributed to his innovations. The principles and powers of sound criticism were here well applied.

It was demonstrated in the fullness of evidence, that in the dark days of a desolating barbarism, which anti-Christian hordes spread over the civilized countries of Europe, the fine arts, science, and literature owed their asylum to Popes, bishops, and monks, who preserved, cultivated, cherished, and restored them until, by their indefatigable and protracted exertions, those ferocious conquerors were softened into humanity, subjected to religion, and brought to the porch of civilization; that as society, thus reformed, was advancing towards perfection, these ennobling appendages were also receiving their development. The essayist then proceeded by analysis, by comparison, and by examples to show how much the spirit of the Catholic religion and the purity of its morality contributed to render more sublime and perfect the conceptions of the poet, of the philosopher, and of the artist.

The meeting was attended by cardinals Castracane and Grimaldi, by the Archbishop of Acrida, and by many distinguished prelates, nobles, clergy, and other literary characters.

The object of the Academy of St. Luke is the encouragement, improvement and cultivation of the fine arts. Its officers are: President, Cavaliere Gaspare Salvi; Vice-President, Professor Thomas Minardi; Ex-President, Cavaliere Antonio D'Estre; Secretary of the Council, Professor Louis Poletti; Steward, Clement Caval Folchi; Perpetual Secretary of the Academy, Professor Salvatore Batti.

In the schools, there are the following professorships: Painting, two, Pozzi and Minardi; Sculpture, two, Thorwaldsen and Tenerani; Theory of Architecture, Gaspare Salvi; Practical Architecture, Valadier; Elementary and Ornamental Architecture, Julius Camporesa; Geometry, Perspective, and Optics, Peter Delicati; Anatomy, Cajetan Albites; History, Mythology, and Dress, Salvatore Batti. Besides the above who are in actual employment, there are belonging to the Society resident professors of merit, that is, men whose professional merits, duly ascertained, have entitled them to be enrolled; of them there are of the several classes, the following number: Class of Painting—Councillors, 8; Academicians of merit, 4; Landscapes, 4; Engravers of copper-plate, 2. Every name here is that of a man high in fame. Class of Sculpture—Councillors, 8; Academicians of merit, 4; Engravers in steel and hard stone, 3. Class of Architecture—Councillors, 8; Academicians of merit, 4. This is a first rate institution. The schools, all of which are supported by the Pope, and the lectures in which are gratuitous, are held in the Roman University or Archiginnasio.

At a meeting of this academy on the 6th of this month, the president in the chair, he spoke upon several topics, but particularly of a receipt, dated June 28, by which he assigns a rich uniform dress, to be worn on state occasions by the professors of merit of this institute. It reckons amongst its honorary members several of the most distin-

guished men of various nations, eminent patrons of the fine arts or cultivators of science connected therewith.

On the 30th of June, by a joint regulation of both the Archæological Academy and that of St. Luke, they held their yearly joint assembly; on this occasion the great hall was decorated with peculiar splendor. His eminence, Cardinal Dom Placido Zurla, Vicar-General of Rome, Prefect of the Council of Studies, a Benedictine monk of the congregation of Camaldoli, and probably one of the most polished scholars and most eloquent men in Europe, was the orator. His theme was the influence of religion on the fine arts. He dwelt principally on the sublime group of Canova in the Chapel of the Pietà at St. Peter's, as well as on the other splendid productions by means of which genius consigned the fame of the artist to the care of immortality. Canova was president of both the societies. The close logical reasoning, the glowing and distinct illustrations, and the expanded philosophical reflections which flowed in such strong and harmonious language from this eminent, good, and extraordinarily active man, now in the sixty-sixth year of his age, delighted his auditory and drew forth repeated bursts of applause. Amongst those present were noticed the Cardinal Camerlengo Galleffi, protector of both societies, Cardinals Macchi, Lambruschini, Sala, Castracane, Monico, Polidori, Rivarola, Gazzoli, Mattei, and Grimaldi. The treasurer, Tosti, better known as the president of the fine establishment of San Michele, and a very large body of prelates, nobility, and literary men, and patrons of the arts, most of whom, as are all above named, were honorary members of one or both academies. It was thought by some that the Pope would attend to compliment the orator, who is his confessor, and formerly was his superior, as they are monks of the same order, but His Holiness was not present.

VII.

On the afternoon of the 6th of July the Tiberine Academy held a stated meeting at its hall in the Palazzo Muti, at Aracœli, near the capitol; President, Charles Marquis

Antichi; secretary, the lawyer John Baptist de Dominis. The object is the cultivation of polite literature; occasionally, or rather as incidentally connected with the principal object, antiquities. I believe this academy has public meetings every week for a considerable portion of the year. Their president is elected annually. This meeting was one of what is called "di libero argomento," which gives greater scope to the academicians to introduce any species of composition.

On the evening of the 6th the president began by reading a production of his own, exceedingly well written, pointing out the principles and regulations by whose means the theatre might, without difficulty, be made truly profitable, as an institution for public instruction as well as a public amusement. He was followed by the vice-president of this year, the Rev. Father, Master John Baptist Rosani, procurator-general of the pious schools and professor of eloquence in the Nazarene College. This learned and respectable clergyman read what was called a very fine piece of heroic poetry composed by him for the occasion, but I could not well understand the subject. The learned and polished scholar, Cavaliere Angelo Maria Ricci, followed with a short composition called "il Capitolo," which is a poetic vision in the style of Dante, the lyric ode. The secretary introduced the architect, Gaspare Servi, who read a composition styled "i Decasillabi," or lyric poetry of ten syllables in each line. This gentleman is one of the council of the year for the Tiberine Academy. Epigrams were produced in Italian and Latin by Cavaliere Michael Angelo Barberi and the Abbate Don Antonio Somai, the treasurer. Sonnets and other light productions by the following academicians were interspersed, viz., Count Thomas Gnoli, dean of the consistorial advocates, Rev. Raimondo Pigliacelli, professor of theology in the Urban College of the Propaganda, Messrs. Philip Zampi, of the council, and Hannibal Lepsi, perpetual archivist of the academy.

The Linchi, or Lynxes, is considered one of the most

scientific academies of the city. The proper title is Nuovi Linchi, or New Lynxes. The old society to which it succeeds had done an immensity for science, but had ceased to exist. The principal object is to look out with the watchfulness designated by the name for the discoveries and improvements of natural philosophy in every place, and to turn them to advantage. The Cavaliere Don Feliciano Scarpellini, a respectable priest, is the director and perpetual secretary. Their meeting place is in the capitol, in which is an observatory under the care of this learned director; there is another at the Roman College under the care of the Jesuits.

On the evening of the 13th a meeting of this academy was held, at which nine cardinals were present, besides a great number of prelates of various grades and several of the nobility, clergy, and literati. The session was opened with an oration delivered by Cardinal Odescalchi, Bishop of Sabina, Vice-Chancellor of the Holy See, archpriest of the Basilica of St. John Lateran, and prefect of the congregation of affairs of bishops and regulars. In it his eminence, in fine language, exhibited and described the motives which animated and urged Prince Frederick Cesi, the founder of this excellent academy.

This cardinal was followed by the Cavaliere Scarpellini, a man dear to science and to literature, precious to this academy, to which he concentrates honorable and heavy labors. He gave a summary of the academical acts of the past year, in which he exhibited the exertions and progress of the distinguished members and their merited rewards. He dwelt with peculiar emphasis and satisfaction on an exceedingly useful discovery in optics, by the illustrious Signor Alberto Gatti, the extraordinary perfection given to reflecting mirrors in *pietra dura*, and which is a matter of the very first importance in the construction of telescopes. In doing so he not only bestowed the due meed of praise on the inventor, but paid a just compliment to the papal government, which animated, aided, and urged him forward

in his exertions, as also to the academy that saw the utility of the discovery and exerted itself to procure the advantage for science and the credit for Rome.

On the evening of the 10th of this month the Academy of the Archæologia held their last stated meeting for the academical year. They will not assemble for ordinary business until after October. On this occasion the secretary read a dissertation transmitted by the corresponding associate, Cavaliere Luigi Nardi, in which he gives the history of the commentaries of Pope Pius II, who died in 1464, having governed the Church nearly six years. The associate describes the different editions of this work, and informs the academy that an apograph, or antique MS. copy of these commentaries of an early date has been found in the Gambalunga of Rimino, which has many very fine and useful passages, by which this work of the learned pontiff can be well corrected and made perfect, as has long been desired.

The secretary then entered upon a train of reasoning in regard to the early culture of Indian arts, based on the painting of an antique Italian vase, found this year in the Bolsenian excavations, and kept in the fine collection of the Campanari in this city. This vase is a Tyrrhenian pitcher two Roman palms and nine inches in height. On the principal side it exhibits, distinguished by their names, Ajax and Achilles. They appear to have cast lots to decide, as the secretary supposes, some military contest. The perfect execution of the figures in black upon a yellow ground, in the best style, does honor to the artist already well known by other discovered works; he has marked his name, Ezècia, in two places upon this vessel, which is one of the most precious that is known.

Besides the above, I know the following: The Academy of Noble Ecclesiastics: Protector, Cardinal Pacca, dean of the sacred college, and Bishop of Ostia; President, the Most Rev. James Sinibaldi, Archbishop of Damietta. Theological Academy, holding its meeting in the Roman University:

Protectors, Cardinals Pacca, Zurla, Lambruschini, and Albano; Secretary, Rev. Angelo Mai. Unica of Ecclesiastics of St. Paul, held in the Church of Sant. Appolonara: Protector, Cardinal Zurla; First Regulator, Most Rev. John Soglia, Archbishop of Ephesus; Secretary-General, Rev. Pius Bigni. The Arcadia, for lighter literature, and improvisation; its ordinary meetings are held at the Serbatorio, in the Via del Lavatore, near the splendid fountain of Trevi; the solemn ones at the capitol: Guardian-General, the Rev. Gabriel Laureani; Pro-Guardian, Don Paolo Barola. The Latin Academy holds its sessions in the Palazzo Sinibaldi; of this, the lawyer Francis Guadagni is president, and Signor Frederic Petrilli is secretary. The Philharmonic Academy unites perhaps the most splendid assemblage of vocal and instrumental performers in any one body in the world. I have been more than once at their performance, to which, in the proper seasons, the respectable strangers in the city are generously invited. It is a pity that their rooms are not larger. The principal one would scarcely accommodate four hundred persons. Prince D. Francis Borghese is president of the Academy, and Signor Joseph Spada is secretary; their rooms are in the Palazzo Lancelloti, near the Piazza Navona. The Philodramatic Academy holds its meetings at No. 18, near the Palazzo Cesarini in the Via del Pavone, under the presidency of the commander, Pietro of the Princes Odescalchi; the secretary is Signor Joseph Capobianchi. The names of these several societies sufficiently denote with the explanations given what are their general objects. I do not know of any other. I believe they are twelve in all.

The Theological Schools are numerous, and the rivalry in science is not small. Amongst those schools one belonging to the Franciscan Order has lately made a considerable display. In 1588, Pope Sixtus V founded the College of St. Bonaventure in the Convent of the XII Apostles, for young minor conventual students. This has generally sustained a fair character and produced some learned men. In

last June, a triennial examination for degrees was held, and the objectors were not idle. The bachelors who had attained their first honors in the provincial schools of the Order, now came to this college not only to seek their higher grade by examination, but also, by literary contest, to seek for the pre-eminence of their several schools and teachers. Cardinal Brancadoro, who is now seventy-nine years of age and thirty-three years a cardinal, and is the senior on the bench of cardinal-priests, is Archbishop of Fermo and protector of this college. Being unable to attend, he requested Pacca, the cardinal-dean to represent him. The degrees of the successful candidates were conferred under the regency of the Rev. Father, Master Hyacinth Guarlerni, on Saturday the 12th inst. After which the Rev. Father Collegial, Antonio Casaro of Calatafemi, in Sicily, who had been selected for the purpose, defended his theses, which he had dedicated to Cardinal Brancadoro. The defence was made in the Church of the XII. I remained only a few moments, and as the propositions that I saw selected by the objectors were mere squabbles upon scholastic opinions, I took but little interest in the useless subtlety of metaphysical abstraction in which they were engaged.

The following is a list of the theological seminaries and colleges of Rome, besides that of the Roman University or Sapienza. I give them here as they are recognized, though in many instances two are united in one establishment, and others, though they keep separate houses, yet attend the same course of lectures: 1. The Roman Seminary for the diocese of Rome. 2. The Seminary of the Chapter of St. Peter's, for that church, etc. Colleges: 3. The Roman, taught by the Jesuits. 4. The Urban, at the Propaganda. 5. Germanico-Hungarian, at the Gesù. 6. Of St. Thomas of Aquin. 7. Salviati. 8. Capranicense. 9. English. 10. Scotch, now at the Propaganda. 11. Irish. 12. Greek, at the Propaganda. 13. Maronist, do. 14. Ginnasi. 15. Pamphili. 16. Bandinelli. 17. Ghislieri. 18. Clementine. 19. Nazarine. 20. Sabine. 21. Of Liege. 22. Of Neophytes. 23. Carasoli Piceno.

The Roman University, or the Sapienza, is an institution of vast literary convenience and unusual facilities. Its body of professors is a host indeed; its schools open to every aspirant. I shall give you the summary. The Cardinal Camerlengo of the Holy Roman Church is ex-officio arch-chancellor of this university. (Galleffi is at present Camerlengo.) Deputy-rector: Monsignor Jerome Bontadosi, consistorial advocate. The first college is that of consistorial advocates, consisting of a dean, secretary, and seven members. The vice-rector is the advocate, Raffaelle Bertinelli. Second college: Theologians, a president, secretary, and fourteen members, of whom two only are seculars; the others of the various religious orders. Third college: Medicine and Surgery, a dean, secretary, and sixteen doctors. Fourth college: Philosophy, a president and thirteen members. Fifth college: Philology, a president and eight members. In the lists of the above councillors is many a learned name. Professors and Lecturers: 1. Sacred Department.—Holy Scriptures, one; Speculative Theology, three; Theological topics, one; Moral Theology, one; Ecclesiastical History, one; Sacred Physics, one. 2. Department of Laws.—Natural Law and Law of Nations, one; Public Ecclesiastical Law, one; Institutions of Canon Law, one; Texts of Canon Law, one; Institutes of Civil Law, one; Texts of Civil Law, two; Institutes of Criminal Law, one. 3. Department of Medicine and Surgery.—Anatomical Institutes, one; Physiology, one; Elements of Chemistry, one; Botany, one; Practical Botany, one; Pathology, etc., one; Therapeutics and Materia Medica, one; Theory and Practice of Medicine, one; Medical Jurisprudence, one; Clinical Lectures, two; Comparative Anatomy and Natural History of Animals, one; Surgery, etc., one; Obstetrics, one; Clinical Surgery, one; Practical Pharmacy, one; Veterinary Surgery, one. 4. Department of Philosophy.—Experimental Physics, one; Introduction to the Calculus, one; Sublime Calculus, one; Mechanics and Hydraulics, one; Optics and Astronomy, one; Architecture as connected with Statics and Hydraulics, one;

Descriptive Geometry, one; Mineralogy and Natural History, one; Archæology, one. 5. Department of Philosophy.—Latin and Italian Eloquence and Roman History, one; Hebrew, one; Arabic, one; Syro-Chaldaic, one. Besides these forty-seven professors, all paid by the Pope, there are six jubilated or superannuated professors, five emeriti, or persons having honorably retired, and two honorary, not counting the director of the chancery. Yet Rome is the enemy of learning!

VIII.

August 1st was the Festival of the Liberation of St. Peter, or as it is called, "St. Peter's Chains," and I was desirous of being present at the church at which it is celebrated, but a slight indisposition prevented my going out in the morning. In the afternoon I got into a carriage and told the coachman to drive to the Esquiline Hill to San Pietro in Vincola. When I arrived, I found the open space in front occupied by carriages, a few beggars, and a considerable number of persons going in and coming out. A large screen of canvass was extended forward like a shed at a considerable height, attached to the front of the church, to keep off the scorching sun, and the ground was strewed with bay and other sweet-smelling evergreens and shrubs. Upon entering the church I perceived they were chanting the solemn second vespers at the principal altar. The church was decorated with fine crimson silk and gold lace, covering many of the columns in the principal parts, and a large portion of the walls. Other tapestry covered other parts. The abbot was seated at the epistle side of the altar, coped and mitred, and his community occupied their places in the recess behind the altar, to its front, for this is one of the old-fashioned altars whose back is to the church. I took my place in the transept on the same side, under the splendid and powerful organ, having opposite to me at the other extremity of the transept the magnificent mausoleum of Pope Julius II of which the extraordinary

statue of Moses, by Michael Angelo, forms the most striking part. The music was indeed rich and varied, and the singing of the choir was exquisite.

About midway between the porch and the altar, on your right hand as you enter, is the altar upon which the relics from which the church takes its title were placed on this festival. It was richly decorated, and the candles were lighted. A fine casket of considerable size contained the relics. They are the chains with which it is said the Apostle St. Peter was bound in Jerusalem and in Rome, and which are believed to have miraculously united. I have not as yet examined the evidence on which the assertion rests; and as it is no article of faith, I am not called upon to believe farther than my own judgment will have dictated after having examined the special grounds of the assertion. I shall, for the present, suppose the truth of the statement. I have a promise from the abbot of being furnished with a copy of the testimony, which I shall examine at my leisure. From time to time a priest in a surplice and stole came, properly accompanied, to the altar, opened the casket, and drawing out the chain, one extremity of which remained fastened to the interior of the case itself, applied the other extremity to the necks of those who knelt before him, after which they kissed the relic, whilst he repeated a short form of prayer on their behalf. As I had not the opportunity of examining the church and relics as closely as I could wish, by reason of the service and of the crowd, I departed, determined to go this morning, at an early hour, for that purpose.

Accordingly, I went and had every facility. I saw the abbot, who is an exceedingly learned man, Dom Paolo Del Signore, Professor of Church History in the Roman University, and having told him my desire to examine minutely the chains and their history, he kindly accompanied me, and directed all concerned with any department of the establishment, to give me full information, aid and opportunity.

I went to the altar upon which the chains were placed. This case stands upon four short silver-gilt legs, about an inch in height; it is made of hard wood, lined with velvet, and covered outside with plates of highly chased silver; it is about eight or ten inches high, about fifteen or sixteen inches front and twelve deep; the cover, which is solidly attached, rises gradually towards the centre from four sides, to about two inches in height, and the projection is less than half an inch, the entire in the form of a roof nearly square. A child, finely executed in silver, with loose, flying drapery, stands on its summit, his right hand moderately extended and holding a tiara, his left gracefully and easily carried across his chest, towards the right side, a little above the hip, and from it hangs a chain. The chasing is principally free fancy scroll-work around seraphim. The front is a gate, having two large oval glazed apertures, through which you see the links of chain coiled up within the case. I opened this and drew out the chain. It consists of thirty-two links of moderate size, from three to four inches in length; I should suppose the heaviest link would not exceed the weight of six ounces. At one extremity is a light sort of hoop sufficiently large to embrace the neck or both wrists; it consists of two parts united to each other and to the chain by a rivet or gudgeon, on which, as on a hinge, they turn; one of these has a loop or eye at its extremity, and the other two prongs, one of which being introduced into the eye both might with some force be so twisted together as to secure the junction, and confine whatever was enclosed by the hoop. Upon close examination it will be easily perceived that there are three descriptions of links: four are much lighter and more delicate than the rest, and one by which they are united to the others has the soldering of the junction made with silver. These links are said to have belonged to the chain with which St. Paul was bound. A number of the other links, I did not count how many, but I should suppose eight or ten, are

less gross than the others, and appear much more worn at the places of contact. No mark of junction, however, is observable; and it is, moreover, asserted that one of the chains with which the Apostle was bound under Herod in Jerusalem, having been given in that city to Eudocia, the Empress of Theodosius the Younger, was sent by her to Rome to her daughter Eudoxia, who brought it to the Pope, and he had in his possession a chain with which the Apostle had been bound in Rome under Nero. Both chains formed, as it were, a spontaneous union, by the immediate influence of the divine power; and the links of St. Paul's chain having been added, they are preserved as memorials and relics, by means of which the faith of the people might be strengthened, and on regular days of solemn observance, the facts might be better brought under public consideration, and the gratitude and piety of the multitude increased, in like manner as God Himself regulated the exhibition of the brazen serpent to the multitude of Israel, the preservation of the manna in the ark, the rod of Aaron, and other relics which the chosen people long held in pious veneration. One of these links is fastened to the interior of the case with a hasp; and the case itself, whilst it remains upon this altar, is chained to it, and under continual observation. It is exhibited twice in the year; once on a day within the octave of SS. Peter and Paul, I think the 3d of July and the 1st of August, and during their octaves. The painting at this altar is the delivery of Peter from prison by the angel, as related in Acts xii.

At other times the relic, enclosed in its casket, is placed in a large case of less costly materials, and kept in a recess in the wall of the society with some other relics. This recess is closed by an iron grating, the key of whose lock is held by the abbot. Outside this grate is a beautiful bronze gate with two locks, the key of one of which is kept by the cardinal, who is titular of this church, at present Castracane degli Antimenelli, and the other by the Pope's major-domo, at present the Most Rev. Dr. Patrizi, Archbishop of Philippi.

The church is built upon the site of the baths of Titus, on the Esquiline, not very far from the Coliseum. The original building, which dates as far back as the end of the fifth century, did not extend beyond the present main nave as far as the transept. This is easily distinguished from the rest; it consists of three aisles separated by two colonnades crowned with arches; the middle aisle is about forty feet wide, and each of the others about half that width. In each of those, I may call them arcades, are ten fine fluted Doric columns of Grecian marble taken from the baths of Dioclesian; each shaft is but a single block, upwards of twenty feet in length. Upon a smart friction with iron, a sub-sulphureous smell is perceptible. At the termination of this middle aisle is a lofty arch, sustained by two fine columns of granite with marble capitols of the composite order; this begins the more recent, but yet sufficiently ancient part of the building. The large conch-like recess which forms the sanctuary was a portion of the baths of Titus. The altar and choir are on the ancient model; the altar considerably forward, with its back towards the church, so that the celebrant standing at it faces the congregation; and the benches of the choir attached to the wall of the recess, with the president's seat at its extremity exactly facing the altar, but having it between him and the people. I shall not in this place speak of its decorations, or paintings, or any other particulars. Between this recess and the old church of Eudoxia is the transept, a fine open space. When you enter it and look towards the altar, you have on your left a beautiful organ, and on your right, at the other extremity, the splendid monument of Julius II, who died in 1513. I cannot undertake to describe this. But probably, as few of your readers have seen accounts of it, I shall give them a very faint idea of this great work of the celebrated sculptor, whose conceptions were all gigantic as his genius.

The monument occupies the larger portion of the extremity of the transept, and consists of two stories. The

lower has three compartments, and is upwards of twenty feet high. Four immense blocks of pure white marble projecting from the back and formed into partitions, whose fronts are decorated with bold and beautiful scrolls and bear various emblematic devices, give a division of three great stalls, of which that in the centre is much the largest. Seated in this, considerably forward, in an easy, dignified, and commanding attitude, in a loose, flowing robe, with the tables of the law resting in his right hand, the colossal figure of the mighty leader of the host of Israel fixes the attention of the most negligent. Every joint is massive, every limb is immense, but the entire is in the most symmetrical proportion. The muscles of that arm which smote the rock seem braced as the rock itself, and yet you would imagine that the finger of an infant would leave the impression of its touch upon the surface; the drapery would change its folds in the agitation of breeze, or with the motion of the limb it covers. There is something expressively majestic in the flowing of those wreaths of beard; the eye shows keen vigor and penetration, and looks upon some object of mighty moment, with a degree of interest, mingled with momentary satisfaction and the consciousness of the power to command; the lips are parted, and we are not astonished to hear, that the mighty artist, when he perfected his work, stood with his own eye riveted upon that face, and after the absorption of his faculties, carried away by his feeling, and anxious to know what lay concealed, impatiently struck the knees, which he could reach with his chisel, and cried, "Speak!"

The figure of Meditation in the niche on his right, and that of Prudence on his left, would, if placed elsewhere, be well worthy of attention. They as well as those over them were made by Mateo Lupo; but the observer is perpetually drawn off, without perceiving the process by which it is effected, to the principal figure itself.

The second story is divided in like manner. The Pontiff, Julius II, is reclining in a posture half raised from his cushion, and stooping forward as if to point the

observers to the contemplation of the sainted Hebrew who sits below. He is in pontificals, wearing his tiara. In a niche considerably above him is a finely executed statue of Religion, with a child in her arms; this innocent holds a bird that attracts his attention; as far as I could observe it was a dove, emblematic of himself. In the recesses at each side of the Pontiff are Temperance on the right and Pontifical Sagacity upon the left. The effect produced by the group is magnificent.

Turning to my left, to enter the sacristy by a door which is to the right of the monument, my attention was arrested by the painting over the altar which was close at hand, and which terminated the right aisle of the church. It was not large, nor was the light strong, nor the piece very distinctly seen, yet I saw it was worthy of a master's name. I am no connoisseur. I am ignorant of those phrases which are familiar even to companions of the virtuosi. But I know when I am affected; and generally I can discover what occasions the feeling. A fine female figure, in which calm dignity, without affectation, and the expression of a noble intellect, were blended with the intrepidity of that heroism which becomes her sex, and that softness and delicacy which are compatible with the strength and vigor and healthful firmness of attained womanhood. A terrific dragon, whose glaring eyeballs showed a raging fire that burned without consuming, its distended mouth exhibiting a projected tongue whose point was formidable and whose livid hue denoted the poison with which it was swollen, gave also to view its destructive ranges of teeth. The vapor which issued from the throat of this monster seemed pestilential even to the eye; and many a scaly and nervous fold was discerned through the murky mass which covered the abyss that glowed below. With her eye steadily fixed on the monster, Margaret serenely contemplated the vain efforts that he made; whilst her right hand steadily held aloft, even within his view, that cross by which she was protected. How beautifully impressive was the lesson

that it taught; showing at once the violence, the fury, and the origin of passion, and the facility with which it is overcome by the powerful application of the merits of a crucified Saviour! The brother drew aside the curtains from the window. The countenance of the saint was mildly radiant; and the fire of the assailant seemed more hot. Her serenity was undisturbed, her drapery was exquisite. Hers was the expression of that humble consciousness of divine support, by which victory is felt as secure even before the close of the contest. I asked who was the artist. "He was," said the brother, "a man who wanted bread. He had genius, but he found no protector. He would have died of hunger, but for the canons regular of the Lateran Basilica; for such is our title, though others have been substituted for us in that church. Our community saved Guercino from want, and in return for the hospitality he received, he repaid us by his pencil." "And this St. Margaret is by Guercino," said I.

IX.

Leaving the altar of St. Margaret, we went towards the sacristy. The hall into which we first entered had a finely paved floor of large mosaic, many of the component parts of which were pietra dura, or precious stone, as contradistinguished from marble. The pavement itself was that of the ancient baths of Titus, as was that of the two rooms that served for the sacristy. To me the contemplation of this floor was one of the best evidences of the imperial wealth and general luxury of Rome about eighteen centuries ago. Porphyry, serpentino, stellato were amongst the more ordinary parts, and giallo antico, verde antico, rosso antico were in profusion.

My object was to see the place in which the chains are usually kept. The recess is about three feet deep in the thickness of the wall and carefully lined. It is over the vesting table opposite you as you enter, at the height of

about six feet from the floor to the sill of the doors. The aperture is about four feet square in the centre of the wall; it is surrounded by a fine entablature of antique yellow marble with its mouldings neatly executed; at the sides are two Ionic pilasters of Sicilian jasper, with the caps and volutes of marble richly gilt. Midway towards the angle on each side are corresponding marble panels in the wall, each nearly as large as the aperture. Each of these consists of three slabs of equal size; that in the centre is serpentino stellato, with dark porphyry on either side. Readers might not all know that this serpentino is a stone of a varied green color, and is harder than marble—therefore it is called pietra dura, or hard stone. It has the same quality as cornelian, jasper, etc. When it has a number of small white stars it is called stellato. This is rare and much esteemed. These panels are surrounded by old mosaic.

The ceiling is vaulted, but the arches which form this vault spring from the four sides, and as the room is not a square but an oblong parallelogram about twenty feet by fifteen, a panel formed where the arches would meet is oblong too. Upon this there is a fine fresco of the liberation of Peter by the angel. Four other frescoes surround this on the vault; at the head is Peter getting out of his boat to walk to Jesus whom he sees upon the shore; at the foot is the committal of Peter to prison by Herod; on the right is the death of Annanias and Sapphira; and on the left, the healing of the cripple who asked alms at the Beautiful Gate of the temple. At the angles, niches rise in the vaults, in which appropriate devices are given; three niches also rise at each side of the vault from the springing of the arch. In the centre one, over the recess for the preservation of the relics, is a fresco of the Blessed Virgin, and the others are occupied by saints. The remainder of the ceiling was decorated, in the year 1500, by Zucchari, with sprigs and scrolls after the manner of the baths of Titus; these are also colored in fresco and are in an excellent state of preservation.

The gates of the recess are perhaps some of the best executed bronzes in existence. Each gate consists of three panels, the middle one being the principal; this is about eighteen inches square, surrounded by a fine border, with varied enrichings in delicate bronze. The subject on the one to your left as you examine is the imprisonment of Peter. Upon the portion which exhibits the main group there are at least seventeen human figures in various reliefs and different attitudes; the whole is wrought in a masterly and delicate style. Herod sits on his tribunal, with his emblems of office; the seat is in a fine niche of a large building.. From the windows of the upper floor a number of persons are seen looking at the crowd that proceeds from the tribunal to the gate of the prison; the Apostle is prominent in this crowd, with an air of dignified resignation, approaching the door into which the keeper is thrusting his ponderous key. In the background, in fine perspective, is seen the front of some public building with three large niches, at various distances from the spectator, each containing some statue. The drapery is finely wrought, and on many of the figures portions of it are remarkably well gilt. Some of the persons appear to stand out fully separated from the panel, whilst little more than the outlines of others are discernible. On the oblong panel, over this, in the upper compartment, are two winged children, one at each extremity, who hold the ends of a finely filled festoon of leaves and flowers; over the centre of the festoon is the scutcheon with the family arms of Rovera; a sort of tree with its branches interwoven at the top and the tiara projecting. On the lower compartment, which corresponds in size and shape with the upper, are two trees, one at each extremity, the trunks near the ends, and the higher branches extending so as to meet nearly at the top of the centre; under each tree is a winged child, and in the centre the inscription in raised letters: SIXTUS QUARTUS, PONTIFEX MAXIMUS.

On the corresponding gate to your right hand the upper

compartment is similar, but that a cardinal's hat supplies the place of the tiara. The only difference in the lower compartment is the inscription, which is: JULIUS CARD. SANCTI PETRI AD VINCULA; SANCTÆ ROMANÆ ECCLESIÆ PŒNITENTIARIUS, MCCCCLXXVII. The middle panel is divided into three parts. That on your right exhibits the interior of a prison; the Apostle is lying on the floor, chained to a soldier on each side, both sleeping, one reclining, the other nearly erect and leaning against an angle. The angel is awakening the Apostle; and in the background other sleepers are seen, soldiers and prisoners intermixed. In the centre is the passage outside this dungeon, which extends down a good distance in excellent perspective, with a statue in a niche at its termination. The angel leads Peter from the dungeon, treading cautiously upon some armor that lies scattered over the floor. The Apostle seems doubting the reality of his delivery, yet is very careful to keep close to his conductor. The compartment on the left is the outer wall of the prison in which was the large iron gate, opening spontaneously to allow a passage. After passing through this the Apostle felt assured of his safety.

The collections of leaves and other decorations that go around each gate comprising its three panels are wrought with a lightness and softness of appearance equal to wax. This is one of the chef d'œuvres of the brothers Pullajoli, who cast the fine gates of St. Peter's at the Vatican. Their remains are interred in this church at the Esquiline. Cardinal Julius Rovera was nephew to Pope Sixtus IV, and had this and other works executed for this church, of which he was the titular cardinal-priest.

X.

The respectable abbot of St. Peter's has kindly furnished me with the dissertation which he promised, compiled by one of his order. It is a work now very scarce, of about fifty pages, quarto; a production which, however, must have

occupied much time, and required great patience and profound research. The writer is one of those laborious, enlightened, judicious and candid critics, whom the monasteries have furnished in great abundance. He shows that it cannot be distinctly known at present whether the church, which originally stood upon the site now occupied by that in which the chains are kept, was, as many authors state, the first which the Apostle Peter dedicated after his arrival in Rome—and that hence it was called, subsequently, and before the chains were placed there, St. Peter's Church. He shows that the chains were, from the earliest period, held in high estimation in Rome. He does not, however, bring such testimony as would make evidence for their authenticity, unless we admit one or more of the miracles which he relates as wrought by their means; and one at least of these is sustained by testimony which to me appears fully sufficient, making direct and circumstantial evidence abundant for every person who has not determined to be incredulous. He avows that great difficulty and indistinctness is found in the testimony respecting the miraculous junction of the chains brought from Jerusalem and that with which the Apostle was bound in Rome; and states that he can find no evidence beyond an unsustained and vague and imperfect tradition. But respecting the bringing of one of the chains from Jerusalem to Rome, the testimony amounts to a very great probability, though by no means sufficient to produce certainty. The reading of the work has, upon the whole, produced in my mind the conclusion of the authenticity of the relic itself; though I am not satisfied of the sufficiency of the proof by which it is sought to sustain several particular statements that are matters of pious belief. I look upon its preservation and exhibition to public respect to be not only rational and laudable, but exceedingly useful to religion. I write from my own experience when I inform you that by it the understanding is enlightened, the heart is moved; the respectful recollection of the Apostle raises the soul to a still

higher veneration for the commission with which he was invested, and of the faithful and painful discharge of whose duties this chain is an enduring witness. He who contemplates the relic upon the altar and witnesses that iron which enclosed the martyr's neck, bows in silent adoration, more resigned to the worldly and transient afflictions which Providence allots to him. The history of the saints is the justification of that Providence, which by some afflictions subjects to a penance in this transient state and makes perfect by tribulation those who, enriched by grace, are found faithful and destined for glory. Who would not prefer to suffer upon earth, and to be glorious in heaven with Lazarus and with Peter, than to die like Dives or like Nero? The sumptuous repasts have long since ceased. The bright and delicate vesture has faded and decayed. The golden palace is a heap of ruins. Ages have flowed away, and eternity is yet, if I might use the expression, in the very infancy of its duration. Sorrow is changed into joy, and the instrument of pain, the badge of disgrace, has become the evidence of fidelity, as it was the occasion of merit, and continues to be the emblem of triumph and the incitement to virtue. We feel the full force of that passage of the Apostle in which he says, that "God chooses the foolish things of the world that He might confound the wise—and the weak things of the world that He might confound the strong—and the ignoble things of the world, and the contemptible things of the world, did God choose, and the things that are not, that He might bring to nought the things that are, so that no flesh should glory in His sight."

In this church is another of Guercino's pieces, which attracted my notice, and for a time riveted my attention more even upon the moral than upon the production of the artist. The altar over which it is placed is near that of the chains; St. Augustine, the great Bishop of Hippo, is finely represented in the mood of most intense investigation. In the features you at once perceive the deep research and

the anxiety of inquiry; the eye would seem to penetrate beyond the sphere of his existence, and to scrutinize a world far, far beyond the scan of ordinary men. He is seated near the margin of the ocean; and a beautiful child, at a small distance from the prelate, seems to be equally intent upon his own occupation. He has a large shell with which he appears determined to draw off the waters of the ocean and to pour them on the land.

The saint relates that one day when endeavoring to form some idea of the nature of the infinite and eternal Creator, and led in his contemplations to try find some objects of comparison and to discern the mode of the Triune existence of the Almighty; after many a fruitless effort, he saw that a child thus occupied was the best emblem of an aspiring mortal who would endeavor, with his limited faculties, to grasp infinity. It reminded me of the solemn and sublime address of the Lord Himself to the wise, the patient, and the contemplative Eastern:

"When the morning stars sang together, and all the sons of God made joyful melody, who shut up the sea with doors when it broke forth as issuing out of the womb? When I made a cloud the garment thereof, and wrapped it in a mist as in swaddling bands, I set my bounds around it, and made it a bar and doors; and I said: Hitherto thou shalt come, and shalt go no further, and here thou shalt break thy swelling waves." [1]

[1] Job, c. 38, v. 7-11.

THE WALDENSES.

I HAVE found the following article in a Protestant paper:

"AN OLD CONFESSION OF FAITH.

"'Where was your religion before Luther?' is a standing interrogatory, fabricated for the double purpose of sustaining the pretensions of the Papacy to universal Catholicism, and to tantalize unlettered Protestants, by assuring them that their religion is of a very modern origin. The question, however, can be triumphantly answered. But, without attempting it at present, we shall merely adduce the Confession of Faith which was adopted by the much-persecuted Waldenses more than 400 years before Luther.

"There are several confessions of the faith of these Christians of the valleys, some of them bearing a very early date, still extant. Sir Samuel Morland has fixed the date of the earliest in the year 1120; it reads as follows:

"'1. We believe and firmly maintain all that is contained in the twelve articles of the symbol, commonly called the Apostles' Creed, and we regard as heretical whatever is inconsistent with the said twelve articles. 2. We believe that there is one God, Father, Son, and Spirit. 3. We acknowledge, for canonical Scriptures, the books of the Holy Bible. (The books enumerated correspond exactly with our received canon; the Apocrypha is excluded). 4. The books above mentioned teach us that there is one God Almighty, unbounded in wisdom, and infinite in goodness, and who in His goodness has made all things; for He created Adam after His own image and likeness: but, through the enmity of the devil and his disobedience Adam

fell, sin entered into the world, and we became transgressors in and by Adam. 5. That Christ had been promised to the fathers who received the law, to the end that knowing their sin by the law, and their unrighteousness and insufficiency, they might desire the coming of Christ to make satisfaction for their sins and to accomplish the law by Himself. 6. That at the time appointed by the Father, Christ was born; a time when inquiry everywhere abounded, to make it manifest that it was not for the sake of any good in ourselves, for we were all sinners, but that He who is true might display His grace and mercy towards us. 7. That Christ is our life, and truth, and peace, and righteousness, our shepherd and our advocate, our sacrifice and peace, who died for the satisfaction of all who should believe, and rose again for our justification. 8. And we also believe, that there is no other mediator or advocate with God the Father but Jesus Christ; and as to the Virgin Mary, she was holy, humble, and full of grace. And this we also believe concerning all other saints, namely, that they are waiting in heaven for the resurrection of their bodies at the day of judgment. 9. We also believe that, after this life there are but two places, one for those that are saved, the other for the damned, which two we call paradise and hell, wholly denying that imaginary purgatory of Antichrist, invented in opposition to the truth. 10. Moreover, we have ever regarded all the inventions of men in the affairs of religion as an unspeakable abomination before God; such as the festival days and vigils of saints, and what is called holy water, the abstaining from flesh on certain days, and such like things; but, above all, human inventions which produce distress, (probably meaning penance), and are prejudicial to the liberty of mind. 12. We consider the sacraments as signs of holy things, or as the visible emblems of invisible blessings. We regard it as proper and even necessary, that believers use these symbols and forms when it can be done. Notwithstanding which, we maintain that believers may be saved without these

signs when they have neither place nor opportunity of observing them. 13. We acknowledge no sacrament as of divine opportunity but baptism and the Lord's Supper. 14. We honor the secular powers with subjection, obedience, promptitude, and payment.'

"Several subsequent confessions of the Waldenses are of similar tenor, recognizing all the fundamental doctrines of the Reformation; but some parts of them are more pointedly directed against the errors of the Romish Church, such as the restricting of the use of the Scriptures to the clergy, the infallibility of the Pope, &c. The Waldenses seem at all times to have laid particular stress upon the point of the Church of Rome being the Antichrist, the harlot of Babylon, the man of sin, the son of perdition, spoken of in the New Testament prophecies; and they insisted strenuously upon the necessity of separation from her communion, though they nevertheless inculcate obedience to their Popish rulers."

Before entering into the particulars of this confession, it may be as well, supposing the truth of its date, to consider its claim to the term old. The present is the year 1837 from the birth of our Saviour, that is to say, 1804 from the descent of the Holy Ghost and the establishment of the Christian Church. Now, supposing the correctness of the date fixed by Sir Samuel Morland, 1120, this confession is 717 years old, and 1087 years after the establishment of the Church; that is, 370 years nearer to our day, than to that of the descent of the Holy Ghost. This is no great evidence of its Christian antiquity!

Again, it is said to be more than 400 years before Luther. Now Martin Luther was born on the 10th of November, 1483, that is 363 years after the supposed date of this confession, and I am indeed at a loss to discover how 363 is more than 400.

But this is not all. The writer tells us that it is the confession of the Waldenses. Everybody knows that the Waldenses were so called because they were the disciples

and the followers of Peter Waldo, who did not begin to form any disciples until after the year 1160, that is forty years after the period assigned for the date of this confession of faith, and thus the period of more than 400 years must be reduced to 323 at the most before the birth of Martin Luther; and this gentleman was not more than thirty-four years of age when he began to assail the Church. I believe that it can be shown by good evidence that the document called "The Old Confession of Faith," an abstract of which is given above, and a more full copy of which I have lying on the table before me, was not formed until about twenty-five years after the year 1160, which would reduce the more than 400 years to less than 300 years before Luther.

My object is not to diminish the value of this very old confession, by detracting from its antiquity, but to show the danger of loosely dealing in general assertions when persons are treating of facts. Another object is to show the danger of trusting to loose writers, when a person undertakes to give the copy or even the substance of such a document as a confession of faith.

I shall now supply a few omissions, not denying that in the form above given there is a pretty accurate description of some of the articles, but totally denying that the formulary is either perfect, complete, adequate, or full, in representing the doctrines of the followers of Peter Waldo, at any moment after they drew up anything like a confession of their belief.

A considerable portion of the above formulary is taken from their book called "The Spiritual Calendar;" more is taken substantially but not verbally from the description or history of Perrin. For instance, Article 3 is not taken exactly as a copy, but substantially and not very accurately; but Articles 12 and 14 are literal translations, the original of which we give as a literary curiosity:

"12. Nos cresen que li sacrament son segnal de la cosa sancta o forma vesibla de gratia non vesibla, tenent esserbon que li fidel uzan alcunas vecs duquisti dict segnal, o forma

vesibla, si la se po far. Ma imperço nos cresen et tenen que li predict fidel pon esser fait saifs non recebent li preeict segnal quand non han lo luoc, ni lo modo de poer uzar de li predict segnal."

"14. Nos deven donar, a la potesta secular, en subjection, en obedienca, en prompteza et en pagament."

The omissions are very many. I shall state a portion:

1. No notice is taken of their grand principle and most important charge against the Catholic Church, viz.: That she ceased to be the Church of Christ under Pope Sylvester, in the beginning of the 4th century, because she accepted temporal possessions from the Emperor Constantine, whereby, leaving apostolical simplicity and evangelical poverty, she became the conventicle of Satan.

2. No notice is taken of their assertion, that they believed the Church was become the scarlet lady, because the Pope and the prelates in his communion were murderers, inasmuch as they approved of or at least permitted the waging of war.

3. They pronounced the Church to be fallen, because she admitted distinctions between her members, styling some of them clergy of various orders, and others laity, thereby destroying their Christian equality.

4. They condemned the Church because she allowed priests to possess their family property, contrary to the divine precept in Deuteronomy xviii.

5. They taught that the Church was an abomination in the eye of heaven, because its clergy were permitted to receive prebends, or portions, or stipends, or pensions from foundations of real estate, attached to churches, contrary to the above and other laws.

6. They complained of the un-Christian conduct of the Church in allowing persons who were guilty of the crime of possessing land, as property of their own, and not as that of the community, to receive the sacraments.

7. They taught that the Church had grossly erred from the true religion of Jesus Christ, by having churches endowed

with property, thereby straying from holy poverty and deluding the unfortunate persons who were guilty of the crime of such endowments.

8. They believed that it was an attribute of Antichrist to leave a legacy to a church, and therefore that it was criminal to bequeath and criminal to receive such legacy.

9. They did not consider that any pastor of souls was qualified for his place except he supported himself by the labors of his hands, as the Apostles did, and they considered the Church which supported the clergy from any other funds to be the scarlet lady.

10. They taught, that there should be no distinction of offices in the Church, as it only favored vanity instead of promoting religion.

11. Notwithstanding the 14th Article, they professed to believe that all princes and judges were in a state of damnation.

12. They condemned as vanities of the devil all the academies or privileged schools or literary distinctions.

I could swell the catalogue, but I have gone sufficiently far to show that the Waldenses would, if to-day they could reappear amongst us, condemn the disciples of Luther and of Calvin equally as they would the Roman Catholic Church for several of those damnable and Antichristian errors; against which they inveighed in their day, as loudly as those do who, without holding their principles, claim them as their predecessors, and who undertake to condemn us also to-day.

I have given the above abstract of some omissions to the alleged copy of the confession of the Waldenses proper.

But were I to follow up the peculiarities of the sects into which this offset from the Church divided in a few years after its separation from the Catholic body, I could indeed fill many sheets.

The Waldenses proper were frequently designated Leonists, from the city of Lyons, where they had their origin, as they were also called Poor Men of Lyons, from their profes-

sion of evangelical poverty and declaiming against riches and the possession of private property. They had various other names from the places of their abode and remarkable leaders; Good Men, from their sanctimonious appearance and contempt for luxury and wealth.

They branched chiefly into the following sects:

1. Sciscidents, who contended for the necessity of receiving the Eucharist, and approached nearer to the Catholic doctrine respecting the nature of this sacrament.

2. Ortlibens, who professed the doctrines correctly, but gave mystic interpretations by which they evaded their true sense. They, amongst other curious notions, believed that there was no Trinity previous to the incarnation, and that Jesus was the son of Joseph; that marriage was good, but its use was criminal. They looked for the judgment and the millennium upon the conversion of the Pope and the emperor.

3. The Ordibarists, besides some of the above notions, believed that the Trinity was to be found in the members of their society.

4. The Cathari, or Puritans, who, amongst a variety of other peculiar errors, considered this world to have been created by the devil, looked upon marriage to be criminal, as also the eating of meet, of eggs, or of cheese, under any circumstances. This division soon became subdivided into Albanians and Bagnolensians, whose errors I do not notice.

5. The Paterinians, who admitted Lucifer only as a subcreator, and had strange notions of marriage.

6. The Passagenians, who, amongst other peculiarities, considered the ritual portion of the Jewish law obligatory upon Christians.

I could enumerate at least a dozen more, down to the Lollards; but I have far exceeded the limits I proposed to observe in this article.

The Bohemian remnant of this sect presented its confession of faith to Ferdinand, King of the Romans and of

Bohemia, in 1538, but it is very greatly altered from that produced by the writer under review, in many very capital points, especially where in its thirteenth article it treats of the nature of the Eucharist. Luther praises it, because it expresses the doctrines of the real presence, as does also the formulary which they sent to Hungary to King Ladislaus. Melanchthon and Bucer eulogize it also. Calvin, however, was by no means content with their declarations, and even in 1560 his answer to two of their messengers was, that their confession of faith, as it stood, could not be received or subscribed with safety.

This effort respecting the Waldenses is always full of trouble and perplexity to those who have essayed to obtain a semblance of antiquity by claiming these Poor Men of Lyons for their predecessors in the faith. This mode of stopping even at 1120 is unsatisfactory and useless. The best and wisest course is to go up to the days of the Apostles at once. Moore, in his "Travels of an Irish Gentleman in Search of a Religion," furnishes the entire evidence in chapter xxvii, and shows that Simon Magus held some of those tenets which, after having been occasionally forgotten and revived, are contained in that confession of faith which the Waldenses published about eleven centuries later. A few more of the articles are shown by the same author in chapter xxii and xxiii to have been known at even an earlier period, for some were professed at Capharnaum in the Saviour's presence, in this simple phrase: "How can this man give us his flesh to eat? This saying is hard, and who can bear it?"

Should any of them ask this writer, "Where was your religion before Luther?" I have no doubt but by the aid of a little industry he could triumphantly answer, that it existed in scattered portions through various ages, from the days of the Apostles. As for my part, he may calculate upon my poor assistance, should he need it.

HISTORICAL SKETCHES.

DENMARK.

This country is a portion of that large tract formerly known by the name of Scandinavia, and was, about the close of the seventh century, given its modern appellation.[1]

Hume, who is certainly one of the worst authorities we know, where religion is even incidentally concerned, states that "the Emperor Charlemagne, though naturally generous and humane, had been induced by bigotry to exercise great severities upon the pagan Saxons in Germany, whom he had subdued; and, besides often ravaging their country with fire and sword, he had, in cold blood, decimated all the inhabitants for their revolts, and had obliged them, by the most rigorous edicts, to make a seeming compliance with the Christian doctrines."

My object, at present, is not to examine critically how many falsehoods are contained in the paragraph which I have quoted, but I distinctly assert that it was neither religion nor bigotry that caused this monarch to inflict severites upon the pagan Saxons, but their frequent rebellions, or, as Hume calls it, "revolts," and the perpetual guilt of persecution and plunder of Christians in their vicinity, who were his subjects, and whom he was bound by every law, human and divine, to protect. Mr. Hume frequently lays before his readers facts without stating their true cause, and many of his readers take the causes upon his authority as they find the facts generally admitted and incontrovertible. Thus he is guilty of deceit, not exactly by forging facts, but by misstating their causes and their consequences.

[1] See Horn's "Scandinavian Literature." This work was published in Chicago, 1884.

I have read the edicts of Charlemagne, and must say, that I cannot discover one which obliges the pagan Saxons to a seeming or a real compliance with the Christian doctrine; and I am under the impression that such edicts, rigorous or otherwise, cannot be in existence, because we do find others in existence with which they would be incompatible. The fact is, many other critics whose sagacity was equal to Hume's, whose information was at least equally accurate, and who, though they differed in religion as much from Charlemagne as did Mr. Hume, had much less virulent bigotry than he had. Bigotry is not confined to one side of a question. Those men give the true cause for the severity, perhaps cruelty, of the monarch: "He could place no dependence upon their promises nor their oaths; and the moment his forces were withdrawn, after the conclusion of a treaty to observe which they had sworn, they were again in arms." How would General Jackson treat such persons? The cases are parallel. Is Jackson a bigot? [1]

Those Saxons retired into Jutland and the isles at the mouth of the Baltic, and, to use the words of Hume, "meeting there with a people of similar manners, they were readily received amongst them; and they soon stimulated the natives to concur in enterprises which both promised revenge upon the haughty conqueror"—who informed Hume that Charlemagne was haughty?—"and afforded subsistence to those numerous inhabitants with which the northern countries were now overburdened."

This was the origin of the Danish invasions. Their first descent upon England was in the year 787. In 794, they made another incursion upon Northumberland. Poor, innocent, harmless beings! Would it not be the excess of bigotry to punish them because they were pagans, particularly as the executioners of vengeance must necessarily be Roman Catholics? In 832, they began more formidable

[1] An allusion to President Jackson's treatment of the American aborigines. The words are quoted from one of his despatches.

and systematic invasions; and, by Mr. Hume's reasoning, to oppose their burning the country, their rapine, their abuse of women, their enslaving or massacre of men, particularly of nuns or monks, would be unpardonable bigotry. Yet Hume calls them pirates!

It was no easy matter to convert this people; but with God's assistance, their conversion was effected — not by rigorous edicts, but by mild and apostolic preaching.

In the year 822, St. Adelard, Abbot of Old Corbie, and cousin-german of Charlemagne, founded the abbey of New Corbie, otherwise Corwey, upon the Weser, about nine miles from the city of Paderborn, and established very regular discipline therein. Amongst the monks who came hither from Old Corbie in France was one named Anscharius, called by the Germans Sharies, and by the French Ansgar. He was sent with a number of missionaries into Jutland and other parts of Scandinavia, and their preaching was eminently successful. They were favored by Harald, a prince of Denmark, who had been baptized in the court of Louis Debonnaire. In 832, Anscharius was made Archbishop of Hamburg and Legate Apostolic by Pope Gregory IV. In 845, the Normans and Danes, in an irruption, burned the city of Hamburg, and in 849, the See of Bremen becoming vacant, the Pope united that of Hamburg thereto, and made St. Anscharius archbishop of the two. The more northern regions having relapsed into idolatry, the saint made new efforts for their conversion, which were more permanently successful. He was greatly aided by the exertions of Ebbo, Archbishop of Rheims. The first bishop of Bremen was St. Wilchad, an Englishman, a native of Northumberland, who was the first Christian missionary that passed the Elbe. He died in 789 or 790.

St. Rembert, a native of Flanders, in the vicinity of Bruges, succeeded St. Anscharius in the See of Bremen, in the year 865. He made great progress in spreading the faith in Denmark, and likewise began the conversion of the Sclavi or Vandals and of the Brandenburghers. He died on the 11th of June, 888.

King Eric I was baptized in 826. One of his successors, Swein or Sweno II apostatized, but his successor Knut or Canute II, surnamed the Great, who also succeeded Edmond Ironside on the throne of England in 1017, became a Catholic. In his reign many of his followers embraced Christianity in England, and many of the English ecclesiastics labored upon the Danish mission. Amongst these latter was St. William, who had been chaplain to Canute, and was afterwards Bishop of Roschild, in the isle of Zealand. Upon the death of Canute, he was succeeded in his Danish dominions by his son Swein, whom the bishop had more than once to reprove for his choler and injustice, but who, entering into himself, was subsequently not only religious, but greatly useful in the propagation of the faith. St. William and he both died and were buried in Roschild, in the year 1067.

About two centuries later, St. Hyacinth, a member of the illustrious house of the counts of Oldrovens, one of the most noble in Silesia, son of Count Konski, and born in the castle of Saxony, in 1185, and who was also one of the first members of the Dominican Order, having received the habit from St. Dominic himself in Rome, in the month of March, 1218, was a zealous apostle of this nation. The faith flourished therein, from its first planting and increase, as has been mentioned, until the anarchy and divisions of the sixteenth century.

In the year 1518, Christian II was King of Denmark; he was a tyrannical, ambitious, unprincipled monarch, and particularly aimed at getting possession of the crown of Sweden. Stenon, the Swedish king, suspected the Archbishop of Upsal and other prelates of his dominions of being favorable to the views of Christian, who in the next year invaded Sweden and got possession of the throne. His cruelties were excessive. This man added hypocrisy and sacrilege to his murders and usurpations. Driven from Stockholm, the Danish king no longer concealed his sentiments, but made open profession of his attachment to the

Lutheran cause. He was rejected by Denmark, his uncle Frederic, the Duke of Holstein, having been raised to the throne. Christian took refuge in Holland, whence he returned with an army to regain the throne, in 1531; but being defeated and taken, he was cast into prison, where he died in the year 1559. Stenon having died in 1520, of a wound received in battle, Gustavus, the son of Eric Vasa, was chosen king of Sweden.

In Denmark, the new monarch, Frederic, introduced Lutheranism, and proscribed and persecuted the Catholics. He died in 1535, and was succeeded by his son, Christian III, a good and moderate king, with the exception of his following the example of his father in the attempts to eradicate the Catholic religion by violence. Having founded a college at Copenhagen, and greatly encouraged learning, he died in 1559, and was succeeded by Frederic II. Very few of the inhabitants preserved their faith, and the number of clergymen were almost brought to nothing; the stragglers who lay hid in the country could seldom be discovered.

Somewhat more than a century later, an eminent Danish gentleman named Nicholas Stenon, who was born in Copenhagen in the year 1638, was famous in Italy for his knowledge, particularly in medicine and anatomy. He resided at the court of the Grand Duke of Tuscany in the year 1670. His parents had been Lutherans, and he was himself educated in that sect, and imbibed the strongest prejudices against Catholics; but finding by his intercourse with them and his closer reading and observation, that his notions of their belief and practice were altogether erroneous, his prejudices yielded to his judgment, and he some time afterwards became a Roman Catholic. Christian V, successor of Frederic III, was then King of Denmark, and being zealous for the improvement of the college of Copenhagen, he insisted upon the return thither of Mr. Stenon, to fill the chair of anatomy, promising that he should be undisturbed on the score of religion. Mr. Stenon went thither, but soon found that public prejudice was more powerful

than the protection of a monarch. He returned into Italy, and, in the year 1677, he was consecrated Bishop of Titiopolis, *in partibus*, and appointed by Innocent XI Vicar Apostolic of the northwest of Europe. His principal residence was at Hamburg. He died at Schwerin, in Mecklenburg, on the 24th of November, 1686, after having effected much good. He paid as much attention as his means would admit or their wants acquired to the few Catholics that were still found in his native country, and it is only in the same way they have been as yet looked after, though their numbers are now greatly increased and the profession of their religion is in a large degree sanctioned.

The total population of Denmark is stated at present at 1,565,000 of whom the Catholics are upwards of 60,000, perhaps 65,000. But as the religion is now and has been of late making considerable progress, the number at present is much greater than formerly.

SWEDEN.

This large tract of country was but little known, and we believe thinly inhabited, at the commencement of the Christian era. All to the north of Germany was, we may say, undiscovered, certainly unexplored. It was not until the arms of Charlemagne had struck terror into the northern barbarians, that it was safe to go amongst them.

In my account of Denmark, I mentioned the elevation of St. Anscharius to the See of Bremen and to legatine authority. About the year 830 the King of Sweden sent to Louis Debonnaire for missionaries to preach Christianity amongst his subjects. St. Anscharius, then a monk at New Corbie, and Vitmar, another of the same house, were selected for that purpose, and had books and ornaments to present from the emperor to the king. Anscharius had been previously in Denmark, where he had planted the faith. On their voyage they were plundered by pirates, and arrived quite

destitute at Biorc, then the capital of Sweden, and the principal harbor and royal residence. Upsal was, at that time, a considerable city; but its site was much nearer to where Stockholm now is than to where the present city of Upsal is built. Biorc is described as being situated upon an island two days' sail from Upsal; and we suppose it must be that island which is now called Waxholm, at the mouth of Lake Melar. Being received kindly by the king, they preached with great success, and found a considerable number of Christian slaves, who were delighted at the opportunity of receiving the sacraments, of which they had long been deprived. Herigar, governor of the capital, an intimate friend of the monarch, was converted at an early period, and greatly aided their exertions.

Anscharius, when raised to the See of Bremen, about the year 850, sent missionaries to revive the spirit which had, during some years, slumbered in Sweden; and then, by his own presence, roused it to energy and activity. The good work was continued by his successor, St. Rembert.

Again, in or about the year 925, Hunni, Archbishop of Bremen, arriving at Birca, which we suppose to be the same as Biorc, found but one priest remaining in Sweden; during the short and bloody reigns of the monarchs in the preceding sixty years, religion had been nearly forgotten. He died during his apostolic labors in that country, and was succeeded in the archbishopric of Bremen by St. Adaldagus, who filled that see during fifty-four years, and greatly promoted the conversion of the Swedes, and established some sees amongst them. Odinear, the elder, a religious Dane, and his nephew, of the same name, Bishop of Ripa, in Jutland, and one of the royal race of Denmark, who was consecrated by Libentius, Archbishop of Bremen, about the year 1000, labored much also in the conversion of Sweden.

Nearly sixty years before the arrival of Bishop Odinear, King Olas Scobcong had requested the British King Edred to procure some missionaries for Sweden. Sigefride, an

eminent priest of York, in England, undertook the task; and on the 21st of June, 950, he arrived at Wexio, in the territory of Smaland, in Gothland. Twelve of the principal inhabitants of this district were his first converts. St. Sigefride had received episcopal consecration before his arrival in Sweden and ample missionary powers, by virtue of which he was enabled to erect new sees and to fill them. He erected the Sees of Lingkopping in West Gothland and Skara in East Gothland. He then appointed his nephew Uduman to take charge of his See of Wexio, and went farther north. He baptized King Olas and his household and his army, established the See of Strengues, and restored that of Upsal, which had been founded by St. Anscharius. During his absence from Wexio, the idolaters plundered the church, and murdered Uduman and his two brothers, Sunaman a deacon, and Wiamar a sub-deacon. St. Sigefride having returned to Wexio, prevailed on the king to spare the lives of the murderers, and refused to accept a fine which was levied upon them; and having re-established his church he died, and was buried in his cathedral in the year 1002.

The faith was propagated in another part of Sweden, soon after, by St. Eskill, an Englishman, who was consecrated Bishop of Nordhans Kogh, and martyred by the pagans at Strengis. Adelbert, Archbishop of Bremen, and Sweyn II, King of Denmark, did much in this century to extend the reign of truth in Sweden.

In the year 1148, St. Henry, an Englishman, who had labored strenuously on the Swedish and other northern missions, together with his countryman, Cardinal Nicholas Breakspear, apostolic legate, and afterwards Pope Adrian IV, did much to confirm and to establish the faith.

Upsal was raised to the dignity of an archbishopric during the incumbency of Stephen, its sixth bishop and first archbishop; and in 1160, Pope Alexander III created the archbishop of that see metropolitan and primate of the Swedish Church. We may, at this period, consider Sweden as fully converted.

In the year 1517 the persons commissioned by the Pope to preach up indulgences for the contribution towards building the Church of St. Peter's in Rome were guilty of great excesses and extortions in Sweden. Angus Arcemboldi, Legate of the North, was the chief commissioner there, and had the sanction of Stenon, administrator, claiming to be King of Sweden. In an interview with that ruler, the legate attempted to reconcile him to Gustavus Troil, Archbishop of Upsal; but Stenon gave him sufficient reasons to justify his distrust in Gustavus, and showed the probability of the prelate's holding an improper correspondence with Christian II of Denmark, well known by the appellation of the Nero of the North, and who wished to confirm his authority in Sweden. The Danish king having manifested his hostility, Stenon had the Primate of Upsal tried by the senate, and being convicted, he was deprived of his revenues and confined in a monastery. The prelate had privately made an appeal to Rome, in which he stated his case to be one of great hardship. Arcemboldi was instructed to demand his release and restitution. Stenon and the senate refused; upon which Leo X placed Sweden under an interdict, and excommunicated Stenon and the senate. The Archbishop of Lunden, in Holstein, and the Bishop of Odensea were charged with the execution; and Christian of Denmark, who hypocritically appeared to be still a Catholic, though in truth a Lutheran, was requested to aid them. Stenon now seized upon the money which had been collected for Arcemboldi, and a new excommunication followed; and Christian, who longed for the opportunity, entered Sweden at the head of his army. Stenon died fighting at the head of his troops. Christian got possession of the capital. The archbishop was released and reinstated in his revenues. The bloody Christian treacherously seized upon and put to death in one day, at an entertainment where all appeared to be peace and amity, the principal lords of Sweden. He then, at the instigation of the Primate of Upsal, required the two prelate commis-

sioners to investigate the proceedings under which the primate had been originally punished; but, as their proceedings were too slow, he of his own authority condemned and executed ninety-six senators who survived, and amongst whom were the Bishops of Strenignen and Skara. The prior of St. John of Jerusalem, who had manifested most patriotism, was fastened to a St. Andrew's Cross, embowelled, and his heart torn out. The bodies were then ranged in a line, and all the heads raised on spears; after which the soldiers were let loose upon the populace. Next day an amnesty was published, but violated as soon as the people made their appearance. Christian then invited to a conference six bishops who had refused to assist at his Swedish coronation; and they, imagining that peace was at length to be given, met him—they were seized upon and burned. This caused so general an insurrection that the tyrant fled. Having left Sweden, he made open profession of Lutheranism.

Olaus Petri had already introduced the novel doctrines amongst the Swedes. Gustavus, the Son of Eric Vasa, Duke of Gripsholm, had, after a variety of difficulties and extraordinary escapes, found, amongst the hardy miners of Dalecarlia, a patriotic spirit. He began the liberation of his country with his little band; his standard soon floated victorious and overshadowed multiplied thousands. Gustavus Ericson, or Vasa, was chosen king. He wanted money: Olaus informed him that, according to the Lutheran principles, it was lawful to take away what was possessed by the monasteries, and to reduce the income of the parish churches. Gustavus, who had, during his captivity in Denmark, been predisposed to this new system, began to pave the way for carrying it into execution, but met considerable opposition from the few bishops that still remained in Sweden; thenceforward, Gustavus encouraged the Lutheran preachers.

Pope Adrian VI sent, as his legate to Gustavus, John Magni, an eminent and highly informed Swedish ecclesiastic. The king received him kindly, and prevailed upon him to

accept the primacy which was now vacant, by the degradation and banishment of the late unprincipled incumbent. The new primate soon perceived the true object at which the king aimed, for it had been proposed to him to convoke a synod and to establish the Lutheran doctrine. The primate was not a man to betray his charge, but he saw he could not avert the storm; he, therefore, returned to Rome.

In the year 1527 the king assembled the senate at Upsal, and subsequently at Arosen; at which meeting he declared, that unless they abolished the religion and the supremacy of the Roman See, he would abdicate: and that the revenues of the State demanded the confiscation of the Churchlands and property. Though a considerable portion of the legislature was composed of Roman Catholics, they were awed into acquiescence to his demands. He left what he called liberty of conscience. The spirit of Dalecarlia was still unbroken; and this brave people, being all Roman Catholics, they took up arms to oppose the invasion of their rights of conscience and the plunder of the property consecrated to the support of their pastors, by him whom they had borne on their shoulders to victory and to a throne. Gustavus, after having subdued them, treated the Dalecarlians in the most severe and cruel manner, because they did not choose to change their religion.

In 1542 the king procured from the general assembly the nomination of his son Eric as his successor, and the regulation that the crown should be hereditary; he also caused them to swear to the maintenance of Lutheranism, without tolerating any other religion. He had previously ran through the provinces at the head of a large body of cavalry, extirpating Catholicity.

The Lutheranism which he established has, in its external appearance and discipline, more affinity to the Catholic religion than any other sort of the new system. There are archbishops, bishops, priests, and deacons; their liturgy very much resembles that of Rome, and they have confession

and absolution and penance, but the confession is not always private.

Eric XIV succeeded, upon the death of his father, Gustavus, in 1560, but his conduct was that of a madman. He was deposed in 1568 for a variety of cruelties, and his attempt at raising Catherine, one of his concubines, who had been a fruit-girl in Stockholm, to the dignity of queen.

His brother, John III, was chosen to succeed him. He was married to Catherine, of the Jaggelon family, daughter to Sigismund, King of Poland. This queen was a Roman Catholic, and her husband having made a profession of that faith, in presence of Father Possevin, a Jesuit, was desirous of having his dominions reconciled to the Holy See. For this purpose he sent Pontus de la Gardie to Rome with proposals of reunion; but the Swedish nobility gave their decided opposition to the measure, though many of the clergy had manifested their anxiety to co-operate with the king. The project was unsuccessful, but a number of priests gained admittance into Sweden, and were able to console and to administer to the scattered members of the Church who were in the country. The queen died, leaving only one son, Sigismund, who adhered to the religion of his parents, and obtained the crown of Poland; though he lost that of Sweden, on account of his religion, through the intrigues of his uncle, Charles IV, son of Gustavus, who procured the deposition of Sigismund, and his own appointment, under the title of Charles IX. He is mentioned in high terms of commendation by some of the early Protestant writers, for having, through religious zeal, supplanted his nephew and usurped his throne.

Christina succeeded her father, the renowned Gustavus Adolphus, the head of the Protestant League, upon his death in 1654, in the twenty-eighth year of her age. This extraordinary woman resigned her throne, and abjured the religion she had previously professed, embracing the doctrines of the Catholic Church. Hitherto, the renowned and learned daughter of the great Gustavus had been the object of

admiration and of eulogy, the pride of the north. But now, the most scrutinizing criticism pried into all her conduct, and doubts as to whether she were really a great woman began to be entertained; and it was stated, aye, seriously stated, that it was not because she believed in the truth of those doctrines, to profess which she renounced a throne, that she changed her religion, but because "the austere manners and narrow acquisitions of the Swedish clergy were not likely to have attached her to their opinions; and they certainly were little able to vie in her estimation with the splendid and courtly dignitaries of the Romish Church." But the historiographer, from whom we have made the quotation, has, in his zeal against the Romish religion, overlooked the fact, that the queen of Sweden, at the time of her conversion, had not an opportunity of seeing and conversing with those splendid and courtly dignitaries whom she subsequently met in the polished and literary circles of the South; for in Sweden there were then but a few obscure and indigent Catholic clergymen, who had renounced the pomp of the world and exposed themselves to affliction, that they might comfort a persecuted flock. It is true, the attainments of the Swedish Lutheran clergy were never great.

Christina traveled into France, Italy, and Germany, spending much of her time in Rome. Upon the death of Charles Gustavus X, the cousin of Christina, to whom she had resigned the throne, her finances being embarrassed, she in 1660 went into Sweden to obtain payments, but was very badly received by her former subjects. They refused her incomes, pulled down her chapel, and some Italian clergymen who accompanied her were insulted and exposed to imminent danger. The States required a repetition of her act of renunciation, before they would suffer her to receive her revenue; and she then bade a final adieu to her country, and died in Rome in 1689.

Charles XI, who succeeded his father, Charles X, was one of the most stern, arbitrary, and despotic monarchs. He

published an edict forbidding the exercise of any religion but that of Luther, in Sweden, about the year 1690. This caused great dissatisfaction, for at that period numbers of other sectaries were in several parts of his kingdom who disliked the Lutheran mode nearly as much as they did the Catholic religion.

The events of the last century in this country have nothing to do with the religious view which it is my object to give. In the year 1810 the then reigning monarch was forced to a resignation, and Bernadotte, who rose from the lowest ranks of the army to be a general officer and marshal in the revolutionary service of France, upon obtaining the throne changed his name and religion. He was crowned by the name of Charles John, and having abjured the Roman Catholic faith, he professed Lutheranism.

The present Swedish dominions contain nearly three millions of inhabitants, of which the principal portion are Lutherans. From the documents we have seen, we believe they may be estimated as follows:

Lutherans	2,250,000
Other Protestants	450,000
Roman Catholics	80,000
	2,780,000
Add to these the inhabitants of Lapland, who are mostly Pagans, estimated at	60,000
Total population	2,840,000

NORWAY.

Norway was part of Scandinavia. About seventy years before the Christian era, Odin or Wodan, a Scythian chieftain from the borders of the Palus Mœotis, came into Scandinavia and subdued the aborigines. His wife was Frigga or Freia, and the most valiant of his sons was Thor. Subsequently they were considered as the three principal deities of the

North; and as the Orkneys, the Shetland and Faroe Islands, together with Iceland and part of Scotland, came under their dominion, their mythology diffused itself through those regions. The Danes, who had possession of England, had, before their conversion to Christianity, the same doctrines and deities as the Norwegians. The Romans had introduced their mythology too into Britain, and the Saxons had a blending of the observances of the North and South, before their conversion.

The days of the week derived their appellations from the deities. Sunday was sacred to Apollo or the sun, Monday to Diana or the moon, Tuesday to Mars, amongst the Romans, but the Northerns took the liberty of changing the name to suit the appellation of that of their own favorite, Tsycne, one of the sons of Wodan; Mercury was dispossessed of his day, in order to leave room for Odin or Wodan, who thus got Wednesday; Jove was obliged to give up his day to the superior claims of Thor; and as the next day was sacred to Venus, this Grecian lady was forced to yield to the superior claims of Freia, the beauty of the North; but Saturn was permitted to retain quiet possession of his own day.

I have been led to this little digression from noticing the state of Norwegian mythology in the early days of Christianity. From what I have said, my readers must see that the faith was considerably spread in the kingdoms of Denmark and Sweden, in the ninth century. Persecution in one place has usually been the cause of its establishment in other places, especially in the first ages. Such was the case in Scandinavia.

About the year 915, Gourm, King of Denmark, was violent and inexorable in the persecution of the Christians in his dominions; his object was to extirpate the professors of the religion of our Lord. There were many martyrs, but many also fled, and carried with them the doctrines of salvation. Some of the fugitives going into Norway, first brought the light of faith into those darkened regions, and

warmed the hearts of a benumbed people into gratitude to heaven.

The missionaries sent by St. Adaldagus in this age also aided in the great work, in that part of Norway which borders upon Sweden, where they were more occupied.

Harald, King of Denmark, procured many missionaries for the North, a few of whom penetrated into Norway. After the martyrdom, his sovereign, who had raised the infidels in rebellion, was subdued by Eric in Sweden: and one of the consequences of an application to Eric by Poppo, Bishop of Sleswick, was the facility and encouragement afforded for following up the northern missions.

The state of Norway had been hitherto unsettled; but about the year 1020 the independence and integrity of the kingdom were established. Olaus or Olave, son of Harald Granscius, Prince of Westfold, in Norway, by his wife Asta, daughter of Gulbrand Kuta, the Governor of Gulbrand's Dale or Valley, sailed for England in the year 1013. Norway was then, and had been for some time, annoyed and partitioned by Sweno, King of Denmark, Olave Scot Konung, son of Eric, King of Sweden, and Eric, son of Hacon, Earl of Norway. At the time of leaving his country, Olave was a Christian, and formed the design of having Norway freed from the oppression of foreigners and the darkness of paganism. He assisted King Ethelred against the Danes, after the death of Sweno, and thus emancipated his countrymen from their oppression. He next waged war against Olaus Scot Konung, who had succeeded his father upon the throne of Sweden; and having obtained exemption of the Norwegian territory from the future aggressions and incursions of Sweden, he married the daughter of the Swedish monarch, who was also a Christian, and by a domestic regulation with the earl, he became monarch of Norway.

Previous to his leaving England he procured a number of zealous missionaries, whom he brought with him—one of them, Grimkele, was consecrated Bishop of Drontheim.

The laws of Norway were revised and amended, and civilization began to spread itself, together with Christianity, and both were also communicated to Iceland and the islands.

Olave is honored as a saint in the Church; his acts were those of a wise potentate and a man of pure religion. He used his utmost exertions to extirpate idolatry, but this so exasperated the adherents to paganism that they took up arms, and, being assisted by Canute of Denmark, they overcame him. Olaus took refuge with his father-in-law, who aided him with troops to recover his throne, but he was slain at Stickstadt, north of Drontheim, on the 29th of July, 1028.

After some commotions, Hackin, whom Canute made Viceroy of Norway, being drowned, and Sweno, the son of Canute, and viceroy after his cousin Hackin, having fled from Norway, Harald, the brother of St. Olaus, persecuted the Christians and encouraged the pagans. Many suffered martyrdom under him; Adelbert, Archbishop of Bremen, finally prevailed on him to desist. But in 1035 Magnus, the son of Olave, being of age, was called out of Russia, where he had taken refuge, and placed upon the Norwegian throne. He rebuilt the Cathedral of Drontheim in such a style of magnificence as to be considered the pride of the North; it was dedicated under the invocation of his father, whose shrine was richly ornamented. This prince did much for the propagation of the faith.

Nicholas Breakspear, who was afterwards Pope Adrian IV, was, together with some others of his countrymen, employed upon the northern missions, particularly in Norway, of which he is often called the apostle, about the year 1140. Pope Eugenius III, in approbation of his zeal and success, created him Cardinal and Bishop of Alba; and in the next century St. Hyacinth, one of the first Dominican friars, preached in that country with great fruit, about a century after it had been the theatre of Cardinal Breakspear's exertions.

I am not aware of any particular facts that accompanied the change of religion in Norway, in the sixteenth century,

which would require special notice in such a summary as I give. Placed between Sweden, Denmark, and Scotland, where what was called "reformation" was carried on in a style of masterly severity, persecuting all who would not conform to the new tenets, and sometimes bowed under the yoke of Denmark, sometimes under that of Sweden, the Church of Norway was destroyed towards the middle of that century, and Lutheranism was upheld and protected. Some Catholics still were to be found in Norway, and some other descriptions of Protestants, but Lutheranism was and is the dominant sect.

ESTIMATE.

Lutherans	700,000
Other Protestants	200,000
Roman Catholics	30,000
Pagans	30,000
	960,000

Iceland was converted to the Catholic faith, principally in the thirteenth century, and the professors of that faith were persecuted into a conformity with the Norwegian and Danish changes, and left without Roman Catholic clergymen, in the commencement of the seventeenth century.

The Faroe Islands were converted earlier to the faith, and retained it longer than Iceland; we scarcely know how to characterize the religion of either at present. In both portions the number of Catholics is inconsiderable, not exceeding 5,000; the other sects calling themselves Christians, about 20,000, and pagans upwards of 20,000. Very little exertion is at present made to communicate instruction to these people.

RUSSIA.

I.

THIS vast country contains the principal portion of the ancient Sarmatia, Scythia, and part of what was Scandinavia. The Tartars and Muscovites, in later times, were the chief occupants of these extensive territories; and, in the inter-

mediate period, after the emigrations of the Goths and Vandals, the Sclavi, the Russi, the Hunni, the Turci, and various other tribes, extended themselves more or less through these undefined regions. Russia extends through Europe and Asia, and comprises a portion of America. I shall here confine myself to a very brief and general statement of the establishment of Christianity and its decay in European Russia.

In the seventh and eighth centuries, some knowledge of the Christian religion was obtained by the barbarous tribes above mentioned, from slaves whom they had taken from the civilized nations in some of their incursions, and from fugitives and adventurers from those nations. But very little progress was thus made; some persons, brought to a knowledge of the great mysteries of redemption, were baptized, principally by laymen.

In the beginning of the ninth century, Michael the Stammerer and his successor, Theophilus, iconoclasts and emperors of the East, persecuted the Catholics, especially the holy Patriarchs of Constantinople, Saints Nicephorus and Methodius. Theodora, the widow of Theophilus, administered during the minority of her son Michael III, whom she educated in the Roman Catholic faith. About the year 848, the Chazari, who were a tribe of Turci that had migrated from the banks of the Volga, the ancient Dra, sent a solemn embassy to the regent and her son, with a request to have some Christian missionaries procured for them. They were at that time governed by Chagans, or Chams, who had regal authority, and were but one of seven or eight tribes similarly circumstanced.

Theodora applied to St. Ignatius, Patriarch of Constantinople, who sent a number of clergymen under Cyril, a very learned priest, who was surnamed the Philosopher. Cyril's original name was Constantine. He was a native of Thessalonica, noted for his zeal and piety equally as for his learning. Having instructed the nation, baptized the Cham, and organized churches, he returned to Constantinople.

Accompanied by his brother, St. Methodius, St. Cyril afterwards preached the faith in several parts of what is now Turkey, and in part of the present Austrian dominions; but from his first mission under the authority of St. Ignatius, who held communion with and acknowledged the supremacy of the Pope, the southern part of what is now Russia received the faith.

From Bulgaria, where the two brothers spread the light of the Gospel, it penetrated into the southwestern parts of the same empire, then held by the Sclavi, who had gone southwards.

In the year 892, Rurick, Sinens, and Tyuwor, three brothers, came by invitation from the Warengi, on the borders of the Baltic, and governed the Russi and Sclavonians in their vicinity. Rurick, being the survivor, was sole monarch. He fixed his residence near Lake Lagoda. His son Igor transferred his seat of government to Kiow. Olga, his wife, surviving him, and going to Constantinople, was instructed in the faith, and was there baptized. Though her son Suastoslas died an idolater, yet her grandson Wladimir the Great, embraced Christianity and was baptized; he married Anne, a Grecian princess, and built the city of Wladimiria. By his means the truths of the Gospel were made known in another portion of what is now the Russian empire.

The manner in which Olga, who is also called Helena, conducted herself in very delicate circumstances is worthy of notice. Her husband Ihor, or Igor, undertook an expedition against Constantinople, and having been repulsed by the generals of the Emperors Romanus and Constantine, was slain by the Dreulans upon his retreat; Olga, his widow, then a pagan, revenged his death, subdued the Dreulans, and governed her husband's dominions with great prudence. About the year 945, she being then in peace, went to Constantinople; was instructed and baptized by the name of Helena, leaving the government to her son Suastoslas. After her conversion she returned home, and died

in the year 970. Her son never embraced Christianity, but his son Wladimir, or, according to others, spelled Volodimir, became a Christian, and obtained in marriage Anne, the sister of the two associated brothers, the Emperors Basil and Constantine. Nicholas Chrysoberga, the Roman Catholic Patriarch of Constantinople, sent, in 977, a number of clergy under the authority of Michael, whom he appointed their superior, into this country, in which they established the faith and extended considerably the influence of the Gospel. The title of Volodimir was Duke of the Russi. In the year 1156 George, Duke of Russia, built Moscow; and it was only in the year 1552 that Iwan, or John II, took the title of Czar, or King of Muscovy.

That part of Poland which belongs to this empire owes its conversion principally to the zealous labors of St. Adalbert, or Albert, in the first instance.

Adalbert was born in Bohemia in the year 956, and was in baptism called Woytiach, which, in Sclavonian, signifies "Help of the Army." Being placed by his parents under the care of Adalbert, Archbishop of Magdeburg, the greatest care was taken of his education, and the archbishop in confirmation gave him his own name. He was promoted to holy orders in 983 by Diethmar, Bishop of Prague, and in that same year was appointed successor to this same prelate, who died soon after his ordination. He was consecrated by the Archbishop of Mentz. Finding but little fruit from his preaching in Prague, he went to Rome and had his resignation accepted by Pope John XV in 989, and retired into a monastery; but in 994 the same Pope, at the solicitations of the Archbishop of Mentz, compelled him to resume his see, with a proviso, that if his exertions there should be fruitless, he might retire whither he would. Profiting by this clause, upon discovering the perfect inutility of his attempts to bring to practical religion a people who merely listened to and admired him, and were content with the bare and barren profession of the faith, he went to preach to the infidels of Poland and

Hungary, and was on terms of friendship with Stephen, king of the latter place, whom he had specially instructed.

Being again ordered by Pope Gregory V to return to Prague, he was refused admittance by Boleslas, Prince of Bohemia, and a number of his adherents, upon which he retired into Poland, where Miceslas was then duke, and whose son and principal counsellor, Boleslas, was a particular friend of Adalbert. This Bosleslas, succeeding in his wishes of having the people instructed, saw a vast accession to the Christian Church, through the labors of the holy bishop, who was martyred by a body of Prussian infidels, on the 23d of April, 997. Duke Miceslas sent ambassadors to Rome, but he died before their return in 999; he was succeeded by his son Boleslas I, surnamed Chabri or the Great, who became the first King of Poland.

Miceslas, his father, having in 965 embraced the faith upon his marriage with a Christian princess, daughter of Boleslas, Duke of Bohemia, and sister to him who opposed the return of St. Adalbert to Prague, caused the introduction of the Gospel into his dominions, and it was fully established under the auspices of the son.

Still further north was a people called Russi or Rutheni, who were some of the most northern European Scythians. They derived their pedigree from the ancient Roxolani mentioned by Strabo and Pliny, as beyond the Boristhynes, near the Gatæ. The word Rosscia in their language signifies scattering: and they were supposed to be denominated from living, not in towns or cities, but scattered over the country. Nations, similarly scattered, were by the Greeks called Spori, or scattered.

About the latter end of the tenth century, a young Saxon nobleman, named Boniface or Bruno, leaving the court of the Emperor Otho III, joined the Order of Camaldoli under St. Romuald, and after a long preparation by prayer and retirement and meditation, presented himself to Pope John XVIII, to preach to the infidels. Having received the necessary faculties, he was consecrated arch-

bishop of his mission by Taymont, Archbishop of Magdeburg. Passing through Prussia, he entered the territory of the Russi, where he made several converts, having endured much persecution and affliction; he baptized one of the kings of that place and several of his people. Soon after this, he was seized upon by the infidels and beheaded, together with eighteen of his companions, in the year 1009; but the faith continued to make considerable progress after his death.

Finland was principally converted by St. Henry, Archbishop of Upsal, in 1151.

In the next century, St. Hyacinth, of the Order of St. Dominic, a noble Silesian, of whom I have made mention before, extended the faith greatly in Poland. Subsequently passing into Lesser Russia, Moscovy, and the neighboring nations, he preached with great fruit until the destruction of Kiow by the Tartars, in 1231, when he returned into Poland, where he remained for some time, and then proceeded to join several other members of his order who were sent into Tartary. Thousands having embraced the faith, one of their princes, together with several lords of his nation, attended at the Council of Lateran in 1245. Having penetrated through Tartary nearly to Thibet and the East Indies, he founded in several places Christian churches. Thence coming back to Poland, he again entered Red Russia, where he made many additional converts, and returning to Cracow, died in 1257.

In the year 846, upon the death of St. Methodius, Patriarch of Constantinople, St. Ignatius was raised to that dignity. The Emperor Michael III was led, by his favorite uncle Bardas, into the most shameful excesses of profligacy. The holy patriarch remonstrated with him, but in vain. Bardas was, for his criminal habits, driven from the sacraments and excommunicated. His rage led him to threaten to stab Ignatius, but he bethought himself of a less revolting mode of revenge. He persuaded the young monarch that his mother domineered over him and deprived

him of his just power—recommended that Ignatius should be ordered to cut off her hair and that of her three daughters, and have them placed in some monastery. The patriarch, of course, refused to perform so irreligious an act of violence. Upon which, by the instigation of Bardas, Michael had his minions to perform the acts of violence, and Ignatius was banished to a monastery in the isle of Terebinthus, where every effort was used to force him to a resignation, which he refused. Photius, a very learned but very profligate relative of the emperor, was ordained bishop, from being a layman in office at the court, and on the sixth day intruded into the patriarchal chair, on Christmas day, 858. A synod of bishops met in Constantinople, and excommunicated Photius, who also proceeded against them, not merely with a similar form, but by force of arms and with the aid of Bardas. I do not here find it necessary to dwell upon facts which shall hereafter be particularized; suffice it to say, that after the unravelling of much deceit, Photius was excommunicated by Rome, which he had endeavored to deceive. In return, in the year 866, by the aid of the emperor, he held a sort of council at Constantinople, in which he excommunicated and pronounced sentence of deposition against Pope Nicholas, and thus commenced the Greek Schism. Bardas was put to death in that year by the emperor for conspiring against his life; and in September of the next year, the emperor himself was slain by his guard, for attempting to depose Basil, whom he had joined with him in the empire. Basil succeeded and banished Photius; Ignatius was restored and the schism healed, but its effects were not destroyed. Photius, upon the death of Ignatius, in 878, took possession of the Church of St. Sophia with an armed force, and obtained from John VIII the appointment to the patriarchate at the request of Basil, upon conditions which Photius never fulfilled. The intruder was then condemned by John, and by his successors Martin or Marinus, Adrian III, and Stephen V. After the death of Basil, his son

Leo the Wise, or the Philosopher, succeeded, who at the request of Pope Stephen banished Photius into a monastery in Armenia, where he died. The union was then perfect between the Popes and the Patriarchs of Constantinople during upwards of a century; but the schism under Michael Cerularius, in 1053, made a very considerable portion of the East separate from the centre of unity

The vicinity of Southern Russia to Constantinople, their union for so long a time with that metropolis, from which their forefathers had received the faith, and the similarity of their discipline, would appear to cause the Muscovites easily to be led into the separation. The contiguity of Kiow, the then capital of the Russians, to the city, caused more frequent communications between the dukes of Russia and the emperors of the East, so that the court and the principal ecclesiastics, having joined in the schism, it would be more generally adhered to.

This, however, was not the case, for we find strong and impregnable evidence of the Russian churches continuing Catholic during centuries, notwithstanding the unfounded assertions of many sectaries and Catholics to the contrary. I have already noticed that Vladimir, the son of Igor, was the duke who principally established the faith of Kiow and the rest of his dominions. His successor was Jaroslas, his son, who was succeeded in 1078 by Wsevolod I, his grandson, in whose reign Ephrem, Metropolitan of Kiow, executed the bull of Urban II for the feast of the translation of the relics of St. Nicholas, of Bari, on the 9th of May. His son, Andrew Bogoliski, transferred the ducal residence from Kiow to Wladimiria. In 1156 George, Duke of Russia, recovered Kiow, and built Moscow, so called from a monastery called Moskoi, which previously stood there, and had its name from Mus or Muisk men, that is, the seat or residence of select men. Under George II, Duke of Muscovy, in the beginning of the thirteenth century, many of the Russians were involved in the schism, but in 1244, they were formally reunited to the Holy See. His

son, Alexander, succeeded in 1246. He is honored as a saint in the Russian Church, and lived and died in the faith and communion of the Roman Catholic Church; he is called St. Alexander Newski, or of Newa, from a great victory he obtained over the Poles and Teutonic Knights in Livonia, on the banks of Newa, when he was Prince of Novogorod, in 1241; his death took place in 1262, at Gorodes. The Czar, Peter the Great, built a convent of Basillian monks to his honor near St. Petersburg, and in 1725, Catherine instituted the second order of Russian knighthood under his name. In 1304 Daniel, fourth son of Alexander, left by his father Duke of Moscow, after the death of his three elder brothers, became ruler, and made Moscow the ducal residence. In 1415, during the reign of Basil or Vasili II, Photius, Metropolitan of Russia, residing at Kiow, joined in the Greek schism, and being deposed on that account by a council held at Novogrodek, he retired into Great Russia, and there spread his poison. His successor in Kiow, Gregory, assisted at the Council of Constance. There were then and had been for some time in Russia seven archbishops and a proportionate number of bishops.

The schism having made rapid progress, in the year 1588 the Archbishop of Moscow was, by Jeremy, the schismatical Patriarch of Constantinople, declared Patriarch of all Russia, and was recognized as such by the schismatical patriarchs of Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem, upon condition that he should be chosen by them. Most of the Muscovites, thenceforward, were engaged in the schism, and joined several heresies thereto. But the archbishops of Kiow still continued Catholic, as did almost all Polish Russia, which, since the year 1600, has been under a metropolitan of Kiow, archbishop of Ploses, and bishops of Presmilia, Liceoria, and Leopold; but in 1686, Kiow being ceded to the Muscovites, they established a schismatical metropolitan therein—Photius and Jonas II being the only preceding prelates who were not Catholics.

The first czar was Iwan, or John IV, in 1552. In the reign of Czar Michael Alexis Witz, Nicon, an ambitious and crafty man, was the schismatical patriarch; he told the czar that it was a useless and derogatory custom for the Patriarch of Muscovy to seek for confirmation from Constantinople or the other patriarchates; that he derived his power from the Holy Ghost, and ought not to seek it from man. The czar countenanced him, and he quickly increased the number of archbishops and bishops in the State. Having regulated Church affairs to his liking, he next assumed a right to guide the decisions of the senate, and to direct the czar in making peace or war, lest he might act against conscience, and insisted that he should decide upon the justice or injustice of the laws previous to their promulgation. The czar and the senate opposed his pretensions; he would not abate a particle—excommunicated several of the senate, and excited rebellion, in which much blood was shed. The czar finding the patriarch still unsubdued, assembled a council in 1667, paying the expenses of any bishop in or out of his dominions who would attend; it consisted of three patriarchs, twenty-seven archbishops, one hundred and ten bishops, and one hundred and fifty other Russian ecclesiastics.

This synod deposed the patriarch, ordering that he should be confined during the rest of his life in a convent and fed on bread and water:

That the czar and senate should have votes in the election of the patriarch, who should be amenable to their judgment:

That the Patriarch of Constantinople should have no right to the appellation of the head of the Russian Church, nor any authority therein, but such as the czar should think proper to bestow on him:

That no more property should be given or left to convents or churches; and that the patriarch should have no authority to erect new dioceses or establishments without the consent of the czar and the senate.

II.

In 1588, the great body of the Russian clergy and people joined in the Greek schism, and in 1667, they formed an independent establishment, of which, in fact, they made the czar and senate of the empire the head, and rejecting the authority of the Patriarch of Constantinople, formally separated from him. The patriarchs of Moscow still had many quarrels with the court until the time of Peter the Great.

The descendants of Rurick, whom I have noticed before, as the founder of the race of dukes and czars, became extinct in Feoder or Theodore, in 1598. After some contention and confusion, Michael, of the family of Romanow, allied to the preceding czars, was chosen Great Duke of Muscovy, in 1613. His third descendant was Peter the Great, who founded the Russian empire. In the year 1700, the patriarchate became vacant, and after nineteen years, Peter, who had made some unsuccessful negotiations for a reunion with the See of Rome, declared himself head of the Russian Church, had an archbishop appointed for Moscow, and placed the Church government under a sort of committee, consisting of ecclesiastics and laymen — in which state it still continues.

There is a considerable division in the Russian Church, a large body who called themselves Sterawersi, or old faithful, having separated from the principal sect. This division has existed for a long time, but the formal separation was made in the patriarchate of Nicon. They were persecuted by the dominant party until Peter the Great established a limited freedom of conscience, tolerating every religion, but forbidding any persons to leave the Russian Church for the purpose of joining the Roman Catholic.

Lutheranism was introduced at an early period of the sixteenth century, particularly by the Swedes into Finland, which, until lately, belonged to them, and into the adjoining parts of Archangel and Novogorod. In 1559, William of Furstenberg, Herr Meister of Livonia, or Grand Master of

the Teutonic Knights, who then governed Livonia, having become a Lutheran, resigned his office in favor of Gotthard Kettler, who had been his coadjutor master. This man having also embraced the new doctrines, ceded a part of Livonia to the Danes, and the principal portion to Poland, receiving the investiture of the dukedoms of Courtland and Samagotia, as secular. The new doctrines spread from those places into Russia, so that Lutheranism made considerable progress in the northwestern part of that country. In the year 1581, Pope Gregory XIII wrote to the czar, John Vasilievitz, who was a Roman Catholic, to request he would send the Lutheran preachers out of his dominions; but the czar wrote back a refusal, stating that in his country all nations should have the free exercise of their several religions.

Many Calvanists subsequently found their way thither from the more southern regions of Europe, particularly through Poland and Germany, and in the time of Peter the Great, from Holland, and lately from Scotland.

The Armenians separated from the See of Rome, as well as those in its communion, are by no means a small number of the Christians of this country. The latter, of course, being members of the universal Catholic body, are to be ranked under their proper head. A very considerable portion of this body which was schismatic, and resided in Poland under a patriarch, was reunited to the Catholic Church, together with its patriarch, in 1616.

After the conquest of Greece by the Turks, and the establishment of Mahommedanism in the east of Europe, many of the Mussulmen settled in Russia, and, at present, the number in the European part of that empire is by no means inconsiderable.

By these several means, the Roman Catholic religion has been greatly reduced in this large empire, but still the numbers who have adhered to it are by no means few.

In the middle of the last century, the Jesuits, who had been frequently the objects of gross misrepresentation and

unfounded calumny, were established in many places, to diffuse the light of science in this country. They had previously labored as missionaries, and been, to a certain degree, successful; but, when they were driven from the rest of Europe, they, in the dominions of Catherine, found an asylum. The great obstacle to their labors was principally the law which forbade any person to become a convert; yet many, notwithstanding this law, embraced the doctrines of the Church. In 1782, the number of Roman Catholics had greatly increased; and in the next year, at the request of the Empress Catherine II, Stanislaus Siestrzencewez was consecrated in Rome first Archbishop of Mohilow, and Primate of the Roman Catholic Church of Russia, on the Feast of St. Thomas, the Apostle, December 21. The patriarchate of Kiow has thus been superseded.

Upon the seizure of a considerable part of what once was Poland by the Empress of Russia, in the last century, a considerable accession was made to the Catholic population of the empire; and when those usurpations had received a character of permanence, there were some regulations of the See of Rome, to settle the jurisdictions of the bishops of Poland, etc., within such limits as would not interfere with the boundaries of those powers, to which they were severally subject.

In most places within the Russian dominions, as well in the Catholic as in the Russian Churches, the liturgy is in the Sclavonian dialect. This was established by St. Methodius, after the death of his brother Cyril, by the authority of Pope John VIII, in the year 879, which custom was confirmed by Pope Urban VIII, and his successor, Innocent X, about 1650; by the Synod of Zamoski, held in 1720, under Innocent XI, then by Pope Innocent XIII, and finally by Benedict XIV, in the Bullar. Const. 98, dat. an. 1744, and Const. *Ex pastorali munere*, 1754.

The Sclavonic is, probably, with the exception of the Arabic, the most extensive language extant. But its modern dialects are as different from the old mother tongue as any

modern language is from those which are now called dead languages; and the liturgy in the Latin or Greek would be equally intelligible to the congregation as in the tongue which is used still by the discipline of the Roman Catholic Church, no particular portion thereof having authority to change the language of its rite without either the general consent of the whole body or of its head, that is, the bishops of the universal Church or the Bishop of Rome. And the same reasons which cause the retention of the other original languages, Latin, Greek, Coptic, and Syriac, or Chaldaic, which is the modern Hebrew, in the liturgies of several other portions of the Roman Catholic Church, operate with equal force for retaining the old Sclavonic in Russia and in the other countries where it was originally adopted.

A breviary and missal of this tongue, which had been revised and corrected by Caraman, afterwards Archbishop of Jadra, he having been properly authorized, were printed in Rome in 1741: according to the rules of a dictionary of that language, titled *Azbuguiderium*, i. e., A,b,c,derium. The best grammar thereof was compiled by Smotriski, a Basilian monk, and printed at Wilna in 1619—reprinted at Moscow in 1721.

Some of the Churches in Poland and Moravia, which had originally received the Latin liturgy, about the year 1000, wished to use the Sclavonian liturgy; but upon the same principle which causes the retention of the Sclavonian, in those Churches where it was originally established, a synod, held at Spalatro, under John, Archbishop of Salona, expressly prohibited its introduction to those churches. Maynard, the Pope's legate in those parts, forbade its use in any public office, to those Churches and clergy who had previously used the Latin tongue. These decisions were confirmed by Pope Alexander II; Pope Gregory VII, the successor of Alexander, renewed the decree, applying it to the Churches in Germany, which were in like manner omitting the Latin and adopting the Sclavonian. Some ignorant would-be critics, who merely catch at the first glimpse of an apparent

contradiction to form a judgment and to pronounce a condemnation, and some insidious men of ability who oppose the Catholic Church, quote these apparently conflicting decrees of several Popes, and similar ones, as proofs of the instability of Catholic doctrine, and triumphantly ask, "Is this Church infallible?" I really do not know how such men ought to be answered; for, in the first place, it would be necessary to give them either honesty or information, or both. Had they such qualifications, they would acknowledge, that so far from being conflicting, these decrees proceed upon the same principle, but applied variously, under different circumstances; and next, Roman Catholics do not claim infallibility for the Pope in everything; nor for the Church, except in doctrines of faith and morality; and these decrees do not regard either the doctrines of faith or the principles of morality, which are immutable; but the regulation of discipline, which might, at any moment, be changed by proper authority.

In Russia, some of the Churches have been planted by the missionaries from the East, and some by those from the West. Each portion had its peculiar ceremonies and forms of prayer, different from the other, though their doctrines of faith, their principles and morality, and their essential discipline, were exactly the same; those Churches, generally still retain, not only their original language, but also their original ceremonies and forms. Hence, amongst the Russian Catholics, great diversity of secondary discipline is observable. This has given rise to the assertions of some unskillful writers, who conclude that there must be a difference of belief, because there is a difference of external forms. As well might they conclude that Jansenists are Roman Catholics, because all the external forms are similar. As well might they conclude that the persons who frequent St. Mary's Church in Philadelphia are in the communion of the Roman Catholic Church, because the young man who officiates therein observes the same forms as are observed by duly authorized Roman Catholic priests.

Communion in spirituals consists in believing the same doctrines of faith, being united under the same Church government, and obeying the authority of that government, and having, of course, the same sacraments. The Russian Catholic Churches believe the same doctrines that are believed by all other Roman Catholic Churches. They have the same sacraments that all other Roman Catholics have; and they are under the government of bishops, who hold communion with and are subject to the Bishop of Rome, who is the centre of unity and communion for all Roman Catholics throughout the world. They acknowledge this authority and they obey it; though having been properly authorized therefor, their liturgical language and their accidental ceremonies, which are matters of ecclesiastical discipline, differ from those of other Churches. By not observing this distinction between what is essentially necessary and what is matter of conventional regulation, many superficial writers and readers have made egregious blunders; and by willfully confusing what ought to be accurately distinguished, many ingenious sophists have created considerable delusion.

Hence, Russia exhibits in her Roman Catholic Churches, perhaps the greatest diversity of discipline among all the nations, if we except the city of Rome, where there are Churches of all rites in communion with the Holy See. You find the Greek and Latin rites, in the Greek and Latin languages, and both in the old Sclavonian tongue, and the Armenian and Syriac rites, all used in several Roman Catholic Churches, having different discipline, but holding the same faith, and subject to the same authority, and united in the common father of Christendom, the Bishop of Rome.

At present, there are in Russia a legate of the Holy See, the Archbishop of Mohilow, and several bishops, the exact number I do not know, and a very considerable number of the clergy of the several rites, and monks and friars of various orders, together with the faithful attached to them, in union with the Bishop of Rome and the rest

of the Roman Catholic Churches; and during the last twenty or thirty years, notwithstanding the difficulties to conversion created by the laws, the progress of Catholicity in this vast empire has been and continues to be steady and considerable.

From the documents which I have been able to collect and to compare, I believe the following estimate will be found a pretty accurate representation of the religious situation of the European portion of Russia:

Various divisions of the Russian established and other similar Churches, separated from the Holy See, about	20,000,000
Roman Catholics of various rites	9,000,000
Lutherans	3,000,000
Other Protestants	1,500,000
Mahometans	1,250,000
Pagans	3,500,000
Total population of European Russia	38,250,000

EUROPEAN TURKEY.

I.

WHAT a contrast does this country now exhibit to what it once was! How faded in its religious glories! How debased its morality! What a series of instructive events does its history contain! The research of the antiquarian, the imagination of the poet, the investigation of the philosopher, the classic taste of the scholar, the reflection of the legislator, may all here find abundant employment. Here, too, the fragments which have escaped the unsparing hand of time and the ravages of barbarism and avarice, still exhibit models for an age which boasts of its progress beyond those which have preceded it. Upon this soil liberty had its defenders. Themistocles and Miltiades and Leonidas are no more. Demosthenes has long been silent. The productions of Apelles are decayed, and where are the men? They have vanished from this world—they

exist in another. We have no ground for determining their fate. The God who searches the hearts of men, who alone could judge of the opportunities which He afforded them, and who alone could determine how they corresponded with those opportunities, has judged them, and has not revealed that judgment to us. It would, therefore, be rashness and presumption in us to pronounce upon the fate of others, without a sufficient motive to direct our judgment. We have not such a motive, neither are we constituted judges over these men; but our duty is to labor strenuously in turning to account the opportunities afforded to ourselves. And in contemplating the history of religion in Greece, which is the present Turkey in Europe, we have a most instructive lesson for the direction of our conduct.

The Apostle St. Paul appears to have been the first Christian missionary in Greece, at least the first who founded Churches and established bishops in the country.

We read in chapter xvi of the Acts of the Apostles, that when St. Paul was at Troas in Lysia he saw, in a dream, an inhabitant of Macedonia inviting him to go thither and help them; on which account he sailed from Troas, and passing the Island of Samothracia he went to Neapolis, which was upon the confines of Thrace in Macedon—thence he went to Philippi, and subsequently to Amphipolis, Apollonia, and Thessalonica—whence he was sent to Berœa, when he sailed to Athens, where he preached in the Areopagus; subsequently he established the Church of Corinth.

After having left Greece in the year 53, Churches having been established in those several places which I mentioned, he remained some time in Asia; but, in the year 57, he again sailed from Troas for Macedon to revisit his Grecian Churches; and having written from Macedon his second epistle to the Corinthians, he complains of some divisions and irregularities amongst them, answers some questions proposed by them concerning marriage and celibacy (c. vii and xi), complains of some irregular practices at the time of

receiving the Holy Eucharist, and states that upon his arrival he will make a regulation upon the subject (v. 34). He was at Corinth in the year 58, when he wrote his epistle to the Romans; and St. Augustine[1] informs us that it was then he made the regulation, that no person should receive the Holy Eucharist except fasting, unless in case of danger of death; which was immediately adopted as a general rule by the whole Church, and has continued unchanged to the present day. In the next year St. Paul left Greece—and the bishops whom he had established in the several churches zealously followed up his labors, and soon spread the light of the Gospel through that country.

Amongst the bishops who governed those Churches, the most remarkable in the first and second ages were St. Denis, the Areopagite, first Bishop of Athens, appointed and consecrated by St. Paul to that charge in the year 51; St. Denis, Bishop of Corinth in the time of Pope Soter, about the year 170; Publius, who was Bishop of Athens in the year 150; and his successor, Quadratus, who was one of the first apologists for the Christians, he having drawn up and sent one to the Emperor Adrian; Athenagoras, an Athenian philosopher, who had been converted to Christianity, also presented an apology for the Christians in the reign of Marcus Aurelius.

Greece also gave many martyrs to the Church in the succeeding ages; but the blood of the martyrs only fertilized the soil of Christianity.

In the year 323, by the defeat of Licinius, Constantine the Great found himself at the head of the Roman Empire; and in that year, at Byzantium, in Thrace, he had determined to think of becoming a Christian. He had not been altogether uninstructed in its principles, having imbibed them from his holy mother, St. Helena. Upon his arrival at Byzantium, he was waited upon by a deputation of Pagan philosophers, who represented to him the great evils that would flow from innovation, and the folly of changing

[1] Ep. 118 ad. Jan.

from the faith of his fathers, and the possibility of serving God with a good heart under any system of religion. Alexander, the Bishop of Byzantium, was called before the emperor and asked if he could answer their arguments. The bishop requested one to be selected to speak for all; and after he had commenced his train of reasoning, Alexander stated that he was no great logician, but the servant of a God of might, who could instantly confound human pride, and commanded the philosopher, in the name of Jesus Christ, to be silent. He was struck dumb. Constantine immediately afterwards published edicts favorable to the Christians; and upon the site of Byzantium, he raised the city which, after himself, he called Constantinople, and which, from being the seat of the empire, was frequently called New Rome.

Arius, the author of an impious and blasphemous heresy in Alexandria, the capital of Egypt, came to Constantinople to try and make interest with the emperor. Alexander refused to receive him into communion or permit him to enter any of the churches of his diocese; but Arianism insinuated itself into Greece and caused much calamity. Sometimes the emperors and courtiers upheld the Arians and persecuted the Catholics. After the time of Constantine, the See of Constantinople was raised to the metropolitan dignity; it had been previously suffragan to the Archbishop of Heraclea, in Thrace. An attempt was made in the Council of Chalcedon, in 451, to elevate its rank above every other see, except Rome; and by the contrivance of the clergy of Constantinople and several of the suffragans and neighboring bishops, a canon to that effect was voted; it was the 28th; but St. Leo, who was then Pope, gave his sanction only to the first 27, thereby excluding that which was the 28th, and a number of other canons which were irregularly passed after the departure of the legates, Paschasinus, Bishop of Lilybum, Lucentius, Bishop of Ascoli, and Boniface, a priest of Rome, who presided in the name of St. Leo, together with several

other prelates. St. Protarius, Patriarch of Alexandria, and the bishops of Egypt, together with a considerable portion of the Oriental prelates, also opposed this innovation; and for some time the bishops of Constantinople relinquished their pretentions.

In the year 553, the second general council of Constantinople was held, and a new attempt was made to raise that see to the patriarchal dignity and to extend its jurisdiction. This was scarcely resisted, and Constantinople thenceforward ranked next in dignity to Rome.

We have, in the history of the Greek Church, which may be said principally to consist in the history of the See of Constantinople, one of the strongest and most melancholy exhibitions of the fatal consequences of the domination of worldly power over the affairs of the Church; and in the exhibition of to-day, we have the confirmation of my assertion. If religion be made to depend for its support upon worldly means or the power of princes or States, it will become the sport of human folly and the prey of human passion. Constantinople was elevated to dignity by human power and worldly intrigue, and those same causes have also produced its degradation.

Before the death of Alexander, bishop of that see in 340, Paul, a native of Thesalonica, who had been a deacon of his church, was recommended by that prelate as his successor. He was regularly appointed and consecrated. But the Arian party were desirous of having one who would favor their views; and accordingly they raised up Macedonius, one of their partisans, to be Paul's competitor. The Emperor Constantius banished Paul and Macedonius, and invited Eusebius, Bishop of Nicomedia, to govern that see. Thus we perceive how soon worldly domination began to exhibit itself upon the profession of the faith by the emperors, and how quickly they found amongst the clergy willing instruments. Paul took refuge with St. Maximinus Bishop of Triers, in Gaul, whence he proceeded to Rome, for the purpose of laying his case before the Pope. Here

he found St. Athanasius, who had come for a like purpose, under similar circumstances, having been driven from his See of Alexandria, in Egypt, by the Arians also.

Pope Julius I was holding a synod, which was attended by eighty bishops; and after examining the cases of Athanasius and Paul, he restored them to their sees, and sent them back with letters of injunction to their flocks. Eusebius, however, kept forcible possession of the See of Constantinople until his death, about nine or ten months after. The Arians had gained considerable sway over Constantius, and again procured the banishment of Paul.

Hermogenes, his general, was ordered by Constantius, who was in Antioch upon his way to Thrace, to pass by Constantinople and to drive Paul out of the city. The people resisted the general, and he was slain. Constantius came to the city, pardoned the people, and banished the bishop. Paul, upon his own application and at the request of the Pope, received, in 344, letters from Constans, the Emperor of the West, to his brother Constantius, requesting he would suffer the bishop to remain in his see for the government of his Church. Thus, he was enabled to remain until 350, when, Constans dying, his enemies succeeded in procuring his banishment, and he was, in 351, strangled in prison in Cucusus, a small town in a most unhealthy situation in the deserts of Mount Taurus, upon the confines of Cappadocia and Armenia, having been previously left six days without food in his dungeon.

Philip, the prefect of the Pretorian band, was the officer commissioned to remove Paul from his see—and knowing the facility of exciting a tumult in Constantinople he, though an Arian, privately sent for Paul, and showed him the order for his banishment, requesting that, to preserve peace, he would quietly obey. Meantime a crowd had assembled outside the bath where the bishop and the prefect conversed. The bishop, seeing contention useless, consented—and the prefect caused a passage to be privately broken through the rear of the building, through which the bishop

escaped, and lay concealed in the palace until he was embarked for the place of his destiny.

Philip next proceeded to fulfill the other part of his commission, and took Macedonius in state to be installed in the Cathedral. The Catholics and the Novations united in their opposition, blocked up the passages, and refused to make way; the military were brought out, and upwards of three thousand persons were killed on both sides. The prefect conducted Macedonius into the church and placed him in possession of the episcopal throne. The intruder now turned his attention to annoy the Novatians, and finding they were pretty numerous in Paphlagonia he procured an order from the emperor to have four regiments sent to compel them to embrace Arianism. The Paphlagonians prepared for the contest, and the soldiers were nearly all slain.

Upon a subsequent occasion he was opposed by the people in an attempt to remove the body of Constantine from the Church of the Apostles to that of St. Acacius, which caused dreadful carnage in the churches. The emperor, at length, weary of the repetition of these scenes, undertook to depose him. Macedonius now hated the Arians equally as he did the Catholics. The former denied the divinity of the Son of God—the latter believed in the divinity of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. Macedonius, in order to oppose both, asserted the divinity of the Son, and denied that of the Holy Ghost—thus forming a new sect, which, after him, were called Macedonians and Pneumatomachics, and other times Marathonians; the first name they derived from their founder—the second from the peculiarity of their doctrine, opposers of the Holy Ghost—the third from Marathon, Bishop of Nicomedia, who was a principal abettor of their errors, and without whose aid it is supposed the sect never would have been formed. This error spread principally through Thrace, along the shores of the Hellespont, and in Bithynia, and was condemned in the first Council of Constantinople in 381.

The perpetual interference of the emperors and their offi-

cers, who sometimes were Catholics, and sometimes members of some one of the various new heresies which were perpetually ravaging the Church of Constantinople, together with the restless spirit of its population, caused the greatest disorders and irregularities in this Church. St. John Chrysostom and St. Gregory Nazianzen, two of the brightest ornaments of the Christian world, were bishops of this see, and suffered the greatest persecutions and afflictions for their attempts to preserve Church discipline.

At the Council in 381 the title of St. Gregory Nazianzen to the See of Constantinople was recognized; but, finding that he could not preserve the peace of the Church consistently with its discipline, he resigned, and was succeeded by Nectarius. The emperor wrote to the Pope, requesting that, for the sake of peace, he would confirm these acts.

II.

I have merely glanced at the prominent facts which the early history of this portion of the Church exhibits. We have seen, however, that Byzantium was an episcopal see, subject to the Archbishop of Heraclea, in Thrace, and that although this town was by Constantine enlarged and ornamented and raised to the dignity of a capital of the empire, this made no change in the bishop's title, until subsequently, after much exertion, first it was raised to be an archbishopric, then began to lay claim to the patriarchal dignity, not from any allegation of original divine right, but from the concession of some councils and the voluntary submission of some bishops. Still, however, in the year 381, this claim was not recognized by Rome nor generally admitted.

In the year 381 a provincial council was held in that city, at which St. Meletius, Patriarch of Antioch, presided, and during the celebration of which he died. He was held in such esteem for his sanctity that the people pressed round the dead body to touch it with linen, which they

afterwards preserved as relics. The acts of this council were afterwards received by the whole Church, and thus it has the authority, of a general council from its acceptation.

The second canon of this council regulates the discipline of jurisdiction and boundary, prohibiting the bishops from creating confusion by interfering in the concerns of other Churches, and renews the decisions of the Council of Nice by forming the provinces, stating that Alexandria should govern the province of Egypt; the eastern bishops should regulate their own discipline, paying due honor to the primacy of the Church of Antioch, according to the Nicene statutes; the bishops of Asia Minor should also regulate their own discipline; those of Pontius that of their province, and the bishops of Thrace that of this province. This canon is found also in its proper place in the code of canon law, 9 qu. 2 cap. Episcopi qui extra. The thirty-fourth of the apostolic canons had previously made a similar enactment, so far only as regarded ordinations, under the penalty of deposition of the person ordaining and of those ordained. The Greek copy of this canon of Constantinople has a paragraph which is not found in the Latin copy, regulating, that "the Churches amongst the barbarians shall be administered according to the custom of the fathers, which has been preserved."

The canon of the Council of Nice principally referred to is the sixth. The fifteenth and sixteenth have also a bearing upon the case. Gratian quotes a canon of the Council of Antioch, held in 341, under Julius I, to the same effect. (Episcopum non debere, cap. 9 quæst. 9; in others, quæst. 2). This was the thirteenth canon of Antioch; and in the twenty-second of the same synod, the principle was applied to special cases. This Council of Antioch was far from being general, and some of its canons were rejected; but the thirteenth and twenty-second are amongst those received and confirmed, as having been founded upon the principle of the canon of the general Council of Nice, and confirmed by the first Council of Constantinople, which

became general by acceptation; and in the year 410 Pope Innocent I, who rejected some of the canons of this council and admitted others, received and confirmed the thirteenth and twenty-second. It was upheld by several other decisions during upwards of eleven hundred years; it was finally ratified by the Council of Trent, when that council remodelled the discipline, and repealed a considerable portion of the canons of the preceding ages. In the sixth session, held on the 13th of January, 1547, the fifth canon of reformation, which was the last canon of that session, re-enacts and confirms the principle of the second canon of the first Council of Constantinople, with a penalty nearly similar to that of the thirty-fourth apostolic canon, and the editor quotes as precedents those two canons, together with those of Nice and Antioch; the thirteenth of the second Council of Arles, about 442; the third and nineteenth canons of the Council of Sardica, in the year 347, under the famous Osius, Bishop of Cordova; and the fifteenth canon of the third Council of Orleans, held in 538.

There was, however, a special object in passing this second canon at Constantinople, which was only exhibited by the production of the third canon. Thrace having been now made a province, and placed upon an equality with Egypt and the province of Antioch, there having been also a number of new provinces created, which were not previously known, the next regulation should concern their rank. In Nice, the only patriarchates recognized were Antioch, which had formerly been the See of Peter, and Alexandria, which was the see of his disciple, St. Mark. Other provinces of minor note were referred to, without being named; but now we find not only Antioch and Alexandria, but also Asia Minor, Pontus, and Thrace.

The third canon then proceeds to give Constantinople the first rank amongst those, and enacts: "Let the Bishop of Constantinople have the first place of honor after the Bishop of Rome, because Constantinople is New Rome."

This canon was not approved of by the Pope, nor was

it accepted together with the other canons in the West, nor in Egypt, though it was partially received in Syria and in Asia Minor. The patriarchate of Antioch did not comprehend Thrace. That country was in the western patriarchate, which, upon two grounds, therefore, required the assent of the Bishop of Rome, for any change in territorial jurisdiction or precedence, first as patriarch of that special district, and next as head of the whole Church. Yet, though it was not ratified by him, it was acted upon voluntarily by those who enacted it; and we find also the second canon violated almost immediately, for the Bishop of Constantinople not only governed Thrace, but interfered in Pontus and Asia Minor, and part of Antioch; and the emperors who were anxious to add as much as possible to the splendor of the new imperial city, gave their countenance and support to the usurpation; but to this day the consequences of endeavoring to create and uphold spiritual power by such means, have destroyed religion in this miserable Church.

About this time, the errors of Apollinaris, Bishop of Laodicea, made some progress in the Churches of Greece. The principle of his error was found in the doctrines of Pythagorean philosophy. The reputed sage had taught that man had two souls, the rational and the sensitive, the one a pure spirit which possessed the higher powers of our nature, the other a nondescript substance, which was the receptacle of sensation and the seat of passion. Apollinaris taught that Christ had the sensitive soul, but not the rational soul, the existence of which he contended would be useless in consequence of the union of the divinity. St. Gregory Nazianzen, who had abdicated the See of Constantinople, which was now governed by Nectarius, opposed this error in the East, and St. Ambrose, of Milan, wrote against it in the West, and St. Anathasius in Africa.

The successor of Nectarius was St. John Chrysostom. This holy man used all the influence of his zeal, his eloquence, and his piety, to restore the discipline of the

Church, but the power of the court was too strong, and his efforts were unavailing. The Empress Eudoxia always found a sufficient number of the clergy ready to aid her in her projects of persecution against a prelate who was alike unmoved by the threats of power or the blandishments of luxury. He was frequently banished for the discharge of duty and as often recalled. On Easter eve, A. D. 404, four hundred soldiers attacked the faithful, who followed him to a private chapel, where he was baptizing the catechumens, as he could not consistently with the principles of the Church go into the cathedral. Vast numbers were slain, the baptismal fonts filled with blood, the very Eucharist trampled under foot by savages who called themselves Catholics. The holy bishop ended his days in exile, from the hardships he endured on his transportation to Armenia, in the month of September, 407.

Arsacius, brother to Nectarius, the former prelate, was intruded upon the Church, but Pope Innocent I refused to recognize or receive him into communion, and he was supported by the court. This was the first schism between the Latin and Greek Churches. Fourteen months after this, Anticus, an Armenian monk, was promoted to this see, and was received into communion upon his erasing from the dyptics of his Church the name of Arsacius, and substituting that of John Chrysostom, which the usurper had erased. The Church of Alexandria had the misfortune to have at its head, previously to this, Theophilus, the worst enemy of St. John Chrysostom; he was succeeded by his nephew, Cyril, who made a similar change in the dyptics of Alexandria to that which Atticus made in those of Constantinople. Atticus was succeeded by Sisinnius; and after his death, Nestorius was brought thither from Antioch, in 428.

III.

Scarcely was Nestorius fixed in his see when he began to introduce erroneous doctrines which he had imbibed from Theodore of Mopsuestia. He taught in his cathedral

that Christ had two persons as he had two natures, and therefore, that the expression which was usual amongst Christians when speaking of the blessed Virgin was incorrect—that they should not style her Mother of God, because she was only mother of the human person, but not of the divine person. The people rose up instantly and interrupted him in the midst of his discourse, stating that he was changing their doctrines, and that if an angel from heaven were to preach a different doctrine from what they had received from Jesus Christ through the Apostles and their successors, they could not receive it, for they were bound to believe the revelations of God, and it would be impiety to believe doctrines contradictory to what Jesus Christ delivered.

Theodore of Mopsuestia fell into his error by too violently opposing Apollinaris. Nestorius carried the false principles of Theodore to farther results than his teacher, and thus in their consequences proved their falsehood. Besides endeavoring to abolish the expression respecting the Blessed Virgin, which had been always known in the Church, Nestorius tried also to banish other phrases equally consecrated by truth and usage, and which the pagans cited as proofs of the folly of Christianity: "A God has died," "God has suffered." Nestorius stated that those expressions arose from a mistake of the doctrine, but his flock contended that their belief was correct and his doctrine a novelty.

The new archbishop was in high favor at court and immediately procured the aid of the civil and military power for his support, but the people would not change their faith. As every error will necessarily create opposition, and that opposition create noise and tumult, not only was this wretched Church now torn into factions, but these also communicated their feelings and opinions to their neighbors, so that all Greece and a considerable portion of Asia and Egypt became embroiled. St. Cyril, the Patriarch of Alexandria, having been consulted by some of the monks of his district, decided that the Archbishop of Constantinople

had erred. Nestorius had the decision of Cyril answered by Photius, to which Cyril replied, and now the contest was violent.

Acacius, Bishop of Berea, and John, Patriarch of Antioch, condemned Nestorius, but were of opinion that Cyril was too violent. Cyril and Nestorius had both written to Pope Celestin, who held a provincial council at Rome, in which Nestorianism was condemned, as it was also in a provincial council held by Cyril in Egypt. Nestorius retorted its own anathemas upon the synod of Alexandria, and appealed to a general council. This general council was held at Ephesus in 431, and Nestorius was condemned there; after which, the more strongly to mark their faith, the Catholics took every occasion of using the very phrases which Nestorius strove to abolish—"Holy Mary, Mother of God, pray for us sinners now and at the hour of our death," etc. Nestorius, having been deposed, retired to a monastery, but did not embrace the true faith. The Emperor Theodosius the younger prohibited the assemblies of the Nestorians, and banished numbers of them, who went principally to Persia and Syria.

This same Theodosius had the relics of St. John Chrysostom brought with great pomp from the East to Constantinople, in the time of Proclus, the successor of Nestorius. Flavian succeeded Proclus, and in his time another heresy originated in this city. Eutyches, the archimandrite or abbot of a monastery near Constantinople, was its author.

The rage of opposition to Nestorianism was such amongst this speculative and hot-headed people, that it was easy to lead them to the other extreme. Nothing was wanted but a leader, and Eutyches was fitted for that post. Austere and mortified, his appearance of sanctity, together with the situation which he held, gave him weight with the multitude, who were greatly taken with the vehemence of his declamations against Nestorianism. He was more headstrong and obstinate than intelligent or well informed, and he was held in some estimation at court. His spirit had also

something of a disposition to persecute, and he is looked upon as a promoter of the severities inflicted upon the Nestorians.

Eutyches inveighed against the impiety of those who dared to say that in Jesus Christ there were two persons, when there were not even two natures; for although the Son of God assumed our nature, in Him it was destroyed. It was no longer human nature after the personal union; Jesus Christ had then but one person and one nature. The Nestorian denied that Christ was one person possessing two natures. Eutyches denied that Christ had two natures in one person. The Catholic Church has always taught that in Christ there are two natures, the divine and human, united in one person. The errors of Eutyches were spread through several monasteries, and found their way into Egypt and the East. Eusebius, Bishop of Dorylea, who had been one of the earliest opponents of Nestorius, was also one of the first to detect the error of Eutyches. Finding his remonstrances with the archimandrite unavailing, he presented a formal complaint for heresy, without specifying the tenets against him, to Flavian, who then presided in a synod at Constantinople, which was held to regulate a dispute between the metropolitan of Lydia and two of his suffragans.

The abbot was summoned to attend, but feigned several excuses, and had it privately whispered through the monasteries that Flavian was a tyrant, who would not admit him to communion unless he signed a paper which he did not understand. Being obliged to appear before the synod, he was convicted; but availing himself of his credit at court, he obtained through the emperor an order for a council at Ephesus. Dioscorus, Patriarch of Alexandria, assumed the presidency. Together with a small party which was attached to Eutyches, he disregarded the authority of the papal legates who came to preside, deposed Flavian and those who had suspended and condemned the archmandrite. Him they restored, and then finding the majority of bishops to be

opposed to their acts, Dioscorus introduced the army, which was at his command. The orthodox bishops protested against this violence, but the opposite party cried out to put down their opponents. Flavian was trodden to such a state as soon produced his death, and others with difficulty escaped. None of the acts of this horrid assembly have been received by the Church. Pope St. Leo condemned this synod, and did all he could to prevail on Theodosius to suffer a proper council to assemble, but he would not consent. The Pope saw it would be useless to convoke it in opposition to the wishes of the emperor; but Theodosius soon dying, Marcian, his successor, afforded every facility, and a general council was held at Chalcedon, in which Eutyches was condemned, in the year 451. This was the fourth general council. Dioscorus was deposed and banished.

Anatolius contrived to get into the See of Constantinople, after the death of Flavian; and his ambition urged him in the Council of Chalcedon to attempt elevating the rank of Constantinople. Favored by the court and a considerable number of the bishops, a resolution was obtained in one of the sessions, after the regular business had been disposed of, by which resolution it was agreed, "That since the Church of Constantinople has the honor equally with Rome of being an imperial city and the seat of a senate, it ought to enjoy equal privilege and dignity with the Church of Rome, and therefore the provinces of Pontus and Asia and Thrace ought to belong to its jurisdiction, and be subject to the Bishop of Constantinople, and that their metropolitans should thenceforward be consecrated at Constantinople."

But when this was read in presence of the legates they immediately rejected and condemned it, stating that their instructions from the Pope upon the subject were clear and definite.

The Fathers who had agreed to it were further prevailed upon to write to the Pope, requesting he would

confirm what his legates had refused to sanction, and their own words will exhibit the influence which was employed. After stating their condemnation of Eutyches in conformity with the wishes of the Pope, and concurring with his legates, they continue: "We have thought fit to regulate some points of discipline, for the peace and welfare of the Church, in giving to the Bishop of Constantinople the next rank after Rome, but your legates have opposed it—though we have only in this confirmed the judgment of the one hundred and fifty bishops assembled in Constantinople in the reign of Theodosius the Great, which bishops decreed also that the Bishop of Constantinople should have privilege next after your Holy See. In opposing it, we suppose your legates were only moved by the desire of leaving to you the honor of doing personally this act, which is to insure the peace of the Church. In our decree we have been influenced by the wish of the emperor, the desire of the senate, and the request of the whole imperial city. By your confirmation you will insure the everlasting gratitude and strict adherence of the See of Constantinople. And as the credit of the good actions of children redound to the glory of their father, we pray you to honor our decrees by your judgment; and as we, your children, have joined in your judgment of faith, so you, our head, may in return concur in the regulation which we have originated as productive of great good. By so doing, you will also highly gratify the emperor and the imperial city."

St. Leo refused his sanction, and wrote to the emperor and to his religious empress and to the Archbishop of Constantinople, expostulating with them and giving the reasons for his refusal, stating, amongst others, that the civil dignity of a city was no ground for its ecclesiastical pre-eminence. It may also be remarked, that in this council there was no Patriarch of Alexandria to make opposition, for in the very first session Dioscorus had been deposed. Juvenal of Jerusalem held but an honorary distinction void

of jurisdiction, and Maximus of Antioch did not appear to interest himself; for by giving Pontus and Asia proper to Constantinople, together with Thrace, there was no encroachment upon his jurisdiction, as it did not extend north of Mount Taurus and the river Tigris. But the bishops of the province of Ephesus strongly opposed it. Another remark which should be made here is, that even at this period Greece proper, which is the ancient Peloponnesus and Achaia, together with Macedonia, Epirus, and Illyricum, were not in the patriarchate formed or intended to be formed for Constantinople, but were in the western patriarchate, of which Thrace was originally a portion.

Though the canons by which it was hitherto attempted to raise Constantinople were thus rendered invalid, still they were not inoperative. The ambition of the emperors and their courtiers, and sometimes the ambition and sometimes the weakness of the archbishops of the new imperial city, joined to the submission of the bishops of the new division, gave virtually an efficacy to the regulation. Anatolius exercised the power by the consent sometimes of those over whom he claimed jurisdiction, and at other times aided by the civil power he compelled submission. This introduction of the civil power to cause the execution of ecclesiastical decrees has been the ruin of Church discipline, and has laid the foundation of the intermeddling of kings and emperors with Church concerns, and has been productive, upon the whole, of incalculable mischief.

After the death of Anatolius, Gennadius, a good and pious bishop, governed the Church of Constantinople during a few years, and upon his death, in 471, Acacius, a bishop of a very different character, occupied his place.

The Emperor Marcian died in 457, and was succeeded by Leo Marcelles, who reigned until 474, when he was succeeded by Zeno the Isaurian, who filled the throne until 491, with the exception of the period that Basiliscus tyrannized in Constantinople, during the temporary abdication of Zeno and his flight into Isauria.

During that period the dreadful effects of this new interference in ecclesiastical concerns exhibited themselves. When the Christians were persecuted by the emperors, religion was preserved pure and uncontaminated; but when the emperors became the protectors of the Church, and the union of Church and State was formed, bishops became courtiers, and the episcopacy was now in a place of less trouble, less danger, less privation, more honor, more wealth, and more influence. Courtiers regulated Church affairs by the principles of human policy, and the Church was agitated by the concussions of the State. The ignorance of Leo, the vacillating tyranny of Basiliscus, and the officious interference of Zeno, under the guidance of the wily Acacius, threw everything into confusion; there was scarcely a see in the Patriarchate of Constantinople, whose bishop was not exiled or deposed by one or other of those three rulers; and persecution for difference of faith began to be formally introduced into Christianity.

Leo was orthodox, but ignorant; Zeno cared nothing for religion, and plundered his subjects, whilst the barbarians ravaged his provinces with impunity. He having fled to avoid the rage of the people, Basiliscus, brother-in-law to Leo, usurped the throne. He wished to make a party, and finding many Eutychians to whom he was attached, he condemned the Council of Chalcedon, and banished and deposed several bishops who refused to sign his act of condemnation. After two years, upon the return of Zeno, he was sent by him into Cappadocia, where he and his wife and children were put into a castle, the apertures of which were built up, and the unhappy inmates left there to starve. Zeno undid all that Basiliscus had done, and deposed those whom he had favored. But the Catholics and Eutychians had now come to violent opposition. To try and reconcile both parties, Acacius recommended to the emperor to publish an edict, in which the exposition of the Catholic faith concerning the incarnation was accurately given; but to gratify the Eutychians, no mention was made of the Council

of Chalcedon, or of its decrees. This edict was called Henotikon, or edict of union. The Eutychians refused to embrace its doctrines—the Catholics refused to treat a general council with disrespect. Acacius advised Zeno to punish both. The emperor followed his advise, and banished most of the bishops of the empire, persecuting both sides most unsparingly. This is the first instance we find on record of monarchs regulating the doctrines of religion.

Pope St. Leo died in 461, and was succeeded by St. Hilary, who died in 470. His successor was St. Simplicius, who died in 483, and was succeeded by Felix III. This Pope sent three legates, Vitalis and Misenus, bishops, and Felix, to Constantinople, to remonstrate against this persecution, to have the edict cancelled, and to prevail upon the emperor to withdraw his support from Peter Moggus, the unprincipled Patriarch of Alexandria. Acacius had so completely gained upon the emperor that he had the legates thrown into prison, and then succeeded in bringing the two bishops to enter into communion with Peter Moggus. The Pope assembled a council in Rome, deposed his legates and excommunicated Acacius, who in return excommunicated the Pope. This began the second schism of Constantinople.

Acacius died in 488, and was succeeded by Flavita, who not only was a schismatic but a heretic. The wretched people were now divided into three parties, the Catholics, the Eutychians, and a middle party called the Doubtful—all irreconcilable. Flavita was soon succeeded by Euphemius, who held the Catholic faith, and received the Council of Chalcedon, but he found the district in a miserable situation. Acacius had, in revenge for the excommunication of Felix, deposed most of the orthodox bishops, and Flavita was anxious to fill their places with Eutychians, so that the faith was lost in many of the Churches. Euphemius wrote to Pope Gelasius, the successor of Felix, who died in 492, that he condemned Dioscorus and received the Council of Chalcedon, praying to be received into communion. Gelasius required the name of Acacius to be

taken off the dyptics of Constantinople, and that of Felix to be inserted. Euphemius refused to comply with the first part, but willingly offered to comply with the second part of the requisition. Gelasius, therefore, refused him communion, and the schism continued. Meantime Zeno was succeeded in the empire by Anastatius I, who at first punished all the parties, but subsequently attaching himself to the Eutychians, he deposed and banished Euphemius, and had Macedonius substituted for him by some bishops, whom he procured for the purpose. The schism continued under Macedonius, though his faith was orthodox. Anastatius soon found means, as he had inclination, and deposed and banished Macedonius, as also Flavian of Antioch, and Elias of Jerusalem, for holding to the Council of Chalcedon. St. Sabas the Abbot and other holy men remonstrated with the emperor, who desisted a little from his persecution, and a profession of faith and petition for communion was sent to Pope Symmachus by most of the Churches, stating that they thought it hard to be punished for the fault of Acacius. The Pope answered that the profession was orthodox, but that they should acknowledge also the propriety of the condemnation of him whose crime they acknowledged.

Meantime Vitalian, a Scythian, raising a vast body of troops, under pretence of defending the Catholic faith, overran Scythia and Mysia, penetrated through Thrace, and laid siege to Constantinople. The emperor promised to reunite himself to Rome, and the troops withdrew. He applied to Pope Hormisdas, who required the same conditions as his predecessors had. The emperor refused, but many of the bishops and monasteries acceded and were reconciled. St. Sabas and a number of other holy men again applied to the emperor, and he appeared to relent, but still delayed. He died in the year 518, in the 88th year of his age, and was succeeded by Justinus I; and in the year 519, through the latter's intervention, the names of Acacius and Flavita, Euphemius and Macedonius were taken off the dyptics, the faith of Chalcedon restored, and an end put to the schism.

IV.

After the reconciliation with Rome in 519, there was a considerable calm in the Church of Constantinople. The Emperor Justin I dying in 527, was succeeded by Justinian I, his nephew, whose wife Theodora was a Eutychian. This emperor had a religious turn and a great propensity for legislation, the union of both which qualities in a person possessed of his authority made him a torment to the Church. He was at the commencement of his reign a Roman Catholic, and not only religious but austere and mortified. He devoted very little time to his meals and to sleep. He frequently fasted two days upon one poor meal of wild herbs and other vegetables. He soon began the career of theologian and ecclesiastical legislator. He is the first prince that we find usurping this power; but his earliest edicts, though regarding ecclesiastical persons, had more the appearance of civil than of ecclesiastical legislation; on which account the usurpation did not wear so obnoxious an aspect as to require strenuous opposition, especially in the unsettled state of that portion of the Church. Besides, the object of the edicts was evidently good and necessary, and the execution of the law was committed to the patriarch, and through him to the metropolitans. He also published a profession of faith, which contained the doctrine of the Catholic Church, and on this account was pretty generally subscribed. He manifested great zeal for the conversion of heretics and infidels, and brought many to the external profession of the faith, though most persons agree that he made more hypocrites than converts; and indeed the means which he used, viz.: rewards and punishments, were better calculated to produce hypocrisy than conviction. Some persons go so far as to say that he had an interest in those persecutions, for that he put into his private coffers the proceeds of the confiscations to which he subjected the obstinate.

The Eutychians having caused great trouble at Alexandria

in Egypt, and even made a schism amongst the Catholics, the emperor had a conference between six Catholic and six schismatical bishops in his palace, the result of which was the reconciliation of one of the schismatical prelates and some of the clergy and the exasperation of the others. Justinian drew up a formulary of faith anew, and sent it to the Pope, John I, a successor of Hormisdas, requesting him, as "the head of all the bishops," to confirm it. This form contained a clear exposition of the true faith, and was approved of by the Pope in 529, and subscribed by most of the Oriental bishops.

Justinian was desirous of reducing the laws of the empire into a better form than they were in, and for that purpose employed some of the ablest lawyers and chief officers of his time.

In 529, he published "the Code," so called as being the book which contained the select constitutions of the preceding emperors and his own, which he wished to preserve in force; and in 534, a more correct and improved selection was set forth. In 533 the best decisions of the lawyers upon cases under those constitutions were published under the title of Digests, or Pandects, and this was immediately followed by four books of Institutes, or introduction to the study and application of this law and those decisions. There was an appendix called Novellæ, which principally consisted of ecclesiastical laws compiled in like manner, and of several laws of his own modern enactment. The entire of this forms what is called the Civil or Justinian Code. Many of the ecclesiastical regulations were never received by the Church, and several that were received have been subsequently annulled by contrary usage, by disuse, or by repeal, or by the enactments of canons which are inconsistent with the entries of the Novellæ. Such as were of force at any time received their authority not from the enactment of Justinian, but from the acceptation of the Church. One of the principal topics in this appendix regarded the appointment of bishops. Some of the Eastern

Churches received the discipline there laid down, but very few in the West acted on it.

The discipline in the Western Churches was principally founded upon the canons of the Apostles, the canons of the Councils of Nice, Constantinople, Ephesus, and Chalcedon, which were general, and of the provincial councils of Ancyra, the capital of Galatia, in Asia Minor, held in 314; Gangres, the capital of Paphlagonia, held in 470; Neocesarea, in Cappadocia, now called Tocat, held about the year 315; three Councils of Antioch, in Syria, in 265, 359, and 452; Laodicea, in Phrygia, in the time of Pope Damasus, and some others, found in the collection of Dionysius the Little, a Scythian monk, who became a priest of the Church of Rome, of eminent piety and literary ability, and who, in 520, published the first collection of canon law, to which, a few years afterwards, he added the Decretals of the Popes Siricius, Innocent I, Zozimus, Boniface I, Celestin I, Leo the Great, Gelasius I, and Anastasius II. This same Dionysius was an excellent arithmetician and astronomer; he renewed the computation of the cycle, that of Cyril having nearly expired; and substituted the computation by the Christian era for that of consulate and other modes of keeping account. Many persons are of opinion, however, that he fell into a mistake, which has never been corrected, of four years in the assignment of the exact period of the Incarnation.

Another remark is also necessary upon the Novellæ, and indeed upon the whole Justinian code. I have before noticed the conduct of Justinian in compelling persons to profess a faith to which they were not attached. This had produced many bad results, amongst which that now adverted to was not trivial. Tribonian, a heathen, who pretended to be a Christian, was questor, which office is nearly the same as a judge in equity. This man, who was one of the best lawyers of the age, was by no means as upright as he was learned. Procopius and Suidas accuse him of having been excessively corrupt and venal. He was one

of the chief compilers of the Pandects and editors of the Novellæ, and frequently exhibited in them how little he was influenced by the principles of that religion which his interest obliged him to profess against his conviction.

I have stated before that the Empress Theodora was a Eutychian. But like all heresies, the Eutychian was now divided into several minor sects, a considerable one of which was called that of the Acephalists; they were obstinate opponents of the Council of Chalcedon. To this sect the empress specially attached herself. Upon the death of Epiphanius the patriarch, in 535, she contrived to have Anthimus, who was a member of this sect, raised to the See of Constantinople from the See of Trebisond, which he had previously filled.

St. Agepetus, who had succeeded John II in the See of Rome, was consecrated on the 4th of May, 535, and at the request of Theodotus, King of the Goths in Italy, went to Constantinople for the purpose of endeavoring to dissuade Justinian from sending an expedition to recover Italy. In this he failed; but the Catholics of the imperial city accused their patriarch of heresy. Agapetus refused to receive Anthimus into communion, unless he subscribed the decrees of Chalcedon, and complained of the irregularity of his translation from Trebisond. The emperor and empress used their influence in vain with the Pope to allow the translation to stand valid. Anthimus returned to his former see, and the Pope consecrated Mennas patriarch of the imperial city, and excommunicated Anthimus, unless he would subscribe the decrees of Chalcedon. This created for the Pope the enmity of the empress and all her adherents. Agapetus died at Constantinople on April 18, A. D., 536, and his body was brought to Rome for interment.

Upon the death of St. Agapetus, Silverius, son of Pope Hormisdas, who had been married previous to his ordination, was consecrated on the 8th of June, 536. Belisarius, the general of Justinian, having made himself master of Sicily in 535, took Naples in 536; and marching toward Rome,

that city was, at the request of Pope Silverius, delivered up to him. The empress looked upon this as a good opportunity of promoting her views; wrote to the Pope, requiring him either to acknowledge Anthimus Bishop of Constantinople, or to proceed to that city and examine his cause. Upon the receipt of the letter Silverius remarked that the packet would cost him his life. He wrote back that he could not betray the cause of the Catholic faith.

At this time Vigilius, one of the archdeacons of the Roman Church, who had accompanied the late Pope, was still at Constantinople. The empress promised to have him made Pope, as Rome was now in her power, and to bestow upon him a large sum of money, provided he would condemn the Council of Chalcedon, and restore to communion Anthimus, who was to be reinstated in Constantinople, and Severus and Theodosius, the Eutychian patriarchs of Antioch and Alexandria. The conditions were acceded to, and Vigilius set off for Rome, with a letter to Belisarius, commanding him to banish Silverius and have Vigilius placed in his stead. Constantinople had long felt the evils of a connection with the State; and the melancholy review which I have already made shows but too evidently the terrible effects of this unnatural and demoralizing association. This was the first attempt upon the See of Rome by the same agents.

Belisarius showed great reluctance to execute this commission; but his wife, Antonina, who was a confidant and favorite of the empress, had an undue ascendancy over him and prevailed. "The empress commands me," said the general, "I must obey. He who seeks the ruin of Silverius, and not I, shall answer for it at the last day." The Pope was accused, to afford a pretext for executing the order, of having held a treasonable correspondence with Vitiges, the Goth, who was raised to the throne in place of Theodotus, who was deposed. To prove this, a letter was produced as from the Pope, inviting Vitiges to attack the city and he would open its gates. It was proved that this letter

was forged by Marcus, a lawyer, and Julianus, a military man, who had been suborned by the empress' friends. Belisarius entreated the Pope to comply with the request of his mistress, and not place him under the necessity of doing what he said was his duty. The Pope declared that he could not abandon his own duty, and that the power of rulers could not justify him before God. He then took refuge in the Church of St. Sabina. The general contrived to get him out of the church, and had him privately removed; and Vigilius was consecrated on the 22d of November, 537, it being published that Silverius had voluntarily resigned. The good Pope was removed to Palmaria, in Lycia, the bishop of which place treated him with the kindness due to the Father of the faithful, and obtained from the emperor an order for his restoration, unless he could be proved guilty of high treason. The executioners of the empress' orders contrived his detention in the little Island of Palmaria, where he died, some say of ill treatment, others by the hand of an assassin, on the 20th of June, 538.

Vigilius repented of his crimes, and though theretofore an intruder, was now confirmed in his place, and became the successor not only to the dignity, but to the firm orthodoxy of Silverius, so that the designs of Theodora were frustrated.

Still, however, Justinian could not refrain from interfering in the concerns of the Church; and the opponents of Catholicity, amongst whom his wife was the most restless and not the least artful, took advantage of this propensity. Justinian had a council held under Mennas, in which laws were passed anew against the Nestorians and several sects of Eutychians; and the emperor persecuted all who would not receive those laws. Changing their appellation, some of those proscribed sectaries now took up the doctrines of Origen; and an application was made to the emperor, who actually neglected the government of the empire to get entangled in theological broils, to have them condemned.

He drew up a new edict, in which he divided the errors of Origen into classes, ranged them under six heads, and condemned them. He sent a copy of this to Mennas, requiring him to have the bishops of his patriarchate and their abbots to subscribe thereto, and informing him that he had sent copies to Pope Vigilius and to the other patriarchs for the same purpose. The edict contained no error, and was received and subscribed. Whilst his majesty was thus employed, Chosroes, King of Persia, was ravaging his eastern territories with impunity. Nor could the daily accounts of successive disasters withdraw him from ecclesiastical legislation.

Amongst the insincere subscribers to the edict which condemned the errors of Origen, one of the principal was Theodore Ascidas, visitor or exarch of the New Laura, founded by St. Sabas the abbot, in 507. This man afterwards contrived to obtain the Bishopric of Cæsarea in Cappadocia, and became the rallying point of the Origenist Eutychians. He was a man of consummate artifice and unexcelled hypocrisy. Being on good terms with Justinian and favored by Theodora, he devised a mode of, as he thought, covertly destroying the authority of the Council of Chalcedon. He told the emperor that if, instead of publishing edicts of condemnation against the Acephalists and other Eutychians, he would only have the Nestorians who were condemned at Ephesus fully put down, all the Eutychians would join the Church. He stated their objection to receiving the Council of Chalcedon to be, that in this council Nestorianism was tolerated, and that upon this sole ground they rejected the council; that this Nestorian doctrine was held by Theodore of Mopsuestia, who was treated by the council as orthodox, though it was from him Nestorius learned the errors; that it received as orthodox the letter of Ibas of Edessa to Maris the Persian, which was full of Nestorianism; and that if those errors and their abettors were condemned by an edict, as well as the errors of Theodoret of Cyrus, in opposition to St. Cyril, the Acephalists would subscribe willingly to the edict.

Justinian wanted but an opportunity to commence new work; and now that it was afforded, he began. The party knew that if the edict were once published, Justinian, whose pride was excessive, would never retract it. They calculated thus to bring discredit upon the Council of Chalcedon, and, by the power of the emperor, force the Catholics to subscribe contradictions or submit to persecution; but they were disappointed. Justinian published his edict condemning the three chapters—such was the appellation of those writings in 545—but it contained only the assertion of true doctrine.

V.

The edict of Justinian on the affair of the three chapters caused great disunion in the Church. The Eutychians boasted that the Council of Chalcedon was partially condemned thereby, many of the Catholics were of the same opinion, and several others could see in the edict only the declaration of the Catholic faith, without any reproach flung upon the Fathers of Chalcedon.

This is not the place for me to examine the grounds of their opinions. I only mention facts historically. A schism between the Catholics was the consequence. Pope Vigilius, who was at Constantinople, issued a condemnation of those documents styled a judicatum, saving, however, all respect for the authority of the Council of Chalcedon. Vigilius also placed the Empress Theodora under excommunication, and broke off special communication with Mennas.

The judicatum, so far from healing the schism, increased it. Vigilius then proposed to assemble a council for the examination of the chapter; and, pressed on all sides, superceded the judicatum by another decree, called the constitutum, in which under a different formula, the same errors were condemned, and a prohibition was issued to derogate from the authority of the Fathers, who had preceded those times. The emperor and his officers ill-treated the

Pope in such a manner, as frequently to endanger his life; he was imprisoned to force him to acts against his conscience, and kept in a state of durance, which left his acts void to that authority to which those of a free agent only are entitled.

Meantime, in the year 553, there was an assembly of bishops held, at which very few of the westerns attended. The council was opened in the private apartments of the cathedral of Constantinople; and after the bishops had proceeded for some time in their deliberations, the Pope had the constitutem sent to them, and protested against the irregularity of the proceedings. However, the sessions continued, and the errors of the three chapters were condemned; and in the last session the prelates recognized, received, and confirmed the acts of the Councils of Nice, Constantinople, and Chalcedon, and declared their faith to be the same as that which was defined in those four councils, and excommunicated those who would not receive all their decisions. Eutychius, the Patriarch of Constantinople, Apollinaris, of Alexandria, and the bishops, signed the acts of the council.

The emperor still detained Vigilius in the imperial city; but having succeeded in forcing him to confirm the acts of this council in about six months, he gave him leave to return into Italy. Still the troubles caused by the tyrannical interference of Justinian were not appeased. And although in the several documents which came from Vigilius, and the acts of the synod, there was nothing but the true doctrine of the Church, the irregularity of the proceedings threw the whole transaction into discredit, and the misconstructions of the sectaries rendered doubtful the exact doctrines which were held. The council was therefore by no means generally received. Vigilius died in Sicily, on his return to Rome.

Justinian either built or repaired in Constantinople, at his own cost, thirty-one churches, amongst which was the great church of St. Sophia, which is at this day a splendid

mosque. He also, in other parts of the empire, built thirty churches, ten hospitals, and twenty-three monasteries; but he made an inglorious peace with Chosroes, King of Persia, preferring to embroil himself and his empire in the theological disquisitions to discharging his duty by protecting his people from the ravages of enemies, and securing peace and justice for them in their temporal concerns, which had been specially entrusted to his care. This Emperor, in his latter years, fell into the heresy of the Incorruptibles, and after having been a persecutor for doctrine, a torment to the Church, a defender of faith, and a violator of discipline, he died out of the pale of that Church, in the year 556, having latterly begun to persecute those who held the Catholic faith, for not having followed him in his errors; amongst whom was Eutychius, the patriarch of the imperial city.

His successor was Justin II, who held the Catholic faith, and recalled all the Catholic prelates who had been banished by his uncle, with the exception of Eutychius. But though his doctrine was orthodox, his morality was corrupt. He died in 578, and was succeeded by Tiberius Constantine, who recalled the patriarch from Pontus, where he had spent twelve years in exile. St. Gregory the Great, who was afterwards Pope, was at this time nuncio from Pope Pelagius II, in the imperial city, and was on the most intimate terms with the emperor and his successor. By the exertions of the prelates, who were now free to use their best efforts, heresy and schism disappeared in several parts. The patriarch taught that by the resurrection the bodies would be impalpable; but upon a conversation with the nuncio, he was convinced of his error and openly corrected it.

After a reign of four years, Tiberius died, and was succeeded by Maurice, in 582. Gregory was soon afterwards recalled to Rome, and in 590 succeeded Pelagius in the pontificate. At the close of this century, John the Faster, a man of extraordinary austerity of life, but also of stern

manners, was in the See of Constantinople. He went in his progress a step farther than any of his predecessors, and took the title of Universal Bishop. Gregory wrote to reprove him for the presumption, requiring him to desist from using so equivocal a phrase, which had never been used by any bishop. Gregory, who knew well the history of the Constantinopolitan aggressions, and the ambition of the emperors to elevate the authority of that see, as well as the flattery of the provincial prelates, justly thought it would be giving his sanction to a principle of usurpation, to permit this to pass unnoticed. John answered that he did not assume the title as claiming jurisdiction over all the Churches, but over a great many. Gregory, however, insisted upon the title being altogether disused, which John for a time complied with.

The Emperor Maurice was extremely avaricious. This unfortunate passion caused him to refuse the payment of a small ransom demanded by the Khan of the Avari, for the release of ten thousand prisoners whom he had taken. This barbarian put them to death, and Maurice, looking upon himself as their murderer, was overwhelmed with grief. However, untaught by this, he ordered his troops into winter quarters beyond the Danube, that he might support them at less expense in an enemy's country. After the massacre of the prisoners, the emperor frequently prayed that God might rather punish him in this life than in the next. His prayer appears to have been heard and granted.

The troops beyond the Danube, displeased at their hard treatment, revolted, and chose Phocas, exarch of the centurions, as their leader, crossed the Danube, and came to Constantinople, where they proclaimed Phocas emperor. Maurice fled from the city. Many persons stating that Phocas could not reign whilst Maurice lived, a party was sent after the unfortunate fugitive, who was taken with his wife and eight children, and in the vicinity of Chalcedon they were deliberately murdered before his face, the unhappy father exclaiming frequently that verse of the 118th Psalm,

"Thou art just, O Lord, and Thy judgments are equitable." The unhappy monarch himself was slain last; and Phocas thus was elevated upon a blood-stained throne. He was crowned by Cyriacus, the patriarch, who still assumed the title of Universal Bishop.

St. Gregory the Great died in 604, and was succeeded by Sabinianus, whose successor was Boniface III, who, during his short pontificate, procured an order from Phocas to the imperial city, forbidding them to use the obnoxious title which John the Faster had attempted to establish and Cyriacus had assumed.

Phocas was deposed and put to death by Heraclius in 610, during the occupation of the See of Constantinople by Segius. In the year 625, Chosroes, King of Persia, who still ravaged Judea and the eastern provinces, required as a condition for peace, which Heraclius sought, the apostacy of the empire from Christianity and the adoption of the religion of the Persians. Heraclius rejected the proposal and prepared for vigorous operations; and it is fit here to remark, that it was upon this occasion the Turks, who were a savage tribe in the northwest of Asia, were brought down by Heraclius into Thrace; and about this period also Mahomet began his progress in Arabia.

VI.

I have made considerable progress in exhibiting the revolutions of religion in this unfortunate country; but the events thicken as I proceed; and as my object at present is not to give a detailed history of religion, but a sufficient sketch to enable my readers generally to know the manner in which each portion of the Church came to its present situation, I shall not find it necessary to dwell so much in detail upon the subsequent history of Turkey or Greece. In my account of Russia, I showed how the faith was introduced to the southern part of that nation; and as the northern part of what is at present Turkey in Europe and

the southern part of Russia were then occupied by the same hordes, the history of one is the history of the other. I shall still, therefore, confine myself to the history of Thrace and Greece.

Heraclius, having determined upon carrying on the war vigorously against Chosroes, King of Persia, was not much occupied with theology at first. However, the various sectaries which now arose produced perpetual contention and theological disputes, and the speculative Greeks were ever and ever making new distinctions and inventing new subtleties. The original errors having been with respect to the nature of our blessed Redeemer, every particle, if I may use an expression of that nature, was subjected to their examination. A new contest now arose.

Sergius, Archbishop of Constantinople, was a disguised Eutychian, and anxious covertly to introduce his doctrines, he began with Heraclius. His imperial pupil, charmed with the care of his new preceptor and gratified at the compliments paid to his progress in the theological erudition, adopted the dictates of the archbishop as the results of his own convictions. Nor was Heraclius the only pupil of the plotting prelate. Many others were infected with the new opinions, which as yet had not been brought to full light.

Eutychianism consisted in the doctrine of the singleness of the Redeemer's nature. This doctrine had been condemned. Of course, to teach it openly would insure condemnation. But if there was only a single will, there was of course in the Redeemer only a single rational nature. Could the doctrine of this single will be covertly established, the singleness of nature would be thus taught. This first doctrine had not yet been examined nor formerly proscribed, and Sergius inculcated that in Christ there was but one will, and thus he prepared the way for the introduction of Eutychianism.

Athanasius, Patriarch of the Jacobites, who were a great body of Eutychians, having been informed by Sergius of

the dispositions of Heraclius, went to meet his majesty at Hierapolis, and informed him that he and his people were anxious for a reunion with the Church, and that he would make such a profession of faith as would satisfy the Patriarch of Constantinople, and offered to content himself with expression that in Christ there was only one will. Heraclius, anxious for this union, embraced the proposition joyfully, and declared that he would take every step in his power to have Athanasius raised to the See of Antioch.

Cyrus, Bishop of Phasis, was another of the conspirators who, under the pretext of union, peace and charity, came to offer his services for the harmony of the faithful; and it was contrived that he obtained the See of Alexandria. Thus, without any noise, the principal sees of the East were, through the cunning of Sergius, in the power of Monothelites. Sophronius, a Syrian monk, was the first who exposed the heresy. He besought the Patriarchs of Alexandria and Constantinople in vain. They drew up a form to be subscribed by all who desired union with the Church. It consisted of nine articles; and the seventh only, which contained the doctrine of Monotheletism, was erroneous. The Eutychians ran in crowds to sign it, and the emperor was gratified.

The next step was to guard against the condemnation of Rome. For this purpose Sergius wrote to Pope Honorius that a most brilliant prospect was now before them of reuniting to the Church all the contending sects of the East; that the Patriarch of Alexandria had been eminently successful; that crowds were every day flocking in to reunite themselves; and that no obstacle was raised but by the unauthorized interference of the monk Sophronius, who was creating difficulties by discussing a new question upon which the Scriptures contained nothing, and which the councils had never even entertained, and which, though many of the Fathers had touched upon, still was more a question for grammarians than for bishops; and that, as all the success of their exertions depended upon peace, it

was requested that Honorius would command silence upon this new topic. The artifice succeeded; and the Pope, thus deceived, wrote a letter desiring that there should be no disputes about words, and that Sophronius should not trouble the Patriarch of Alexandria.[1] Sophronius was meantime raised to the See of Jerusalem, and held a council in which Monotheletism was condemned. He wrote to Honorius, and in return the Pope sent a second letter, in which he repeated his desire of silence upon the subject. Sophronius, aware that there must have been some imposition practiced upon the Holy See, selected Stephen, Bishop of Doria, upon whom he placed the greatest reliance, and taking him to Mount Calvary, bound him solemnly, as he would account to that Saviour who there shed His blood, to go to Rome and to lay the facts distinctly before the Pope, and gave him upwards of six hundred passages of the Fathers, which clearly contained the doctrines of two wills, the human and the divine, together with Scriptural texts. The Monothelites did all they could to intercept the holy bishop; but though they waylaid him in a variety of places, he arrived safely in Rome, but found Honorius had died.

Meantime Sergius composed a document, which Heraclius published under the title of Ecthesis, or an explanation, in 639. The doctrines of the Trinity and of the Incarnation are clearly stated in Catholic terms in this document; but there is a passage regarding the unity of will in the Redeemer, which is susceptible of an explanation in either sense. This document caused great commotion. Severinus was the immediate successor of Honorius; but dying after a pontificate of four months, he was succeeded by John IV, who, learning the true state of the question from the Bishop of Doria, condemned the Ecthesis in 640. Heraclius thereupon revoked the document, and informed the Pope that it had been drawn up by Sergius.

[1] This does not touch the infallibility of the Pope, since he was here acting not in the formal character of Pastor Eternus.

Jerusalem was taken by the Mussulmen, under the Caliph Omar, in 638; and in the following year, on the 11th of March, 639, St. Sophronius died. The Emperor Heraclius was succeeded in 641 by Constantine, who, after a reign of more than three months, made way for Heracleonas, and he in six months was succeeded by the Emperor Constans, in the same year 641.

Sergius, Bishop of Constantinople, died in 638, and was succeeded by Pyrrhus, a Monothelite. This prelate, having joined with Martina and Heracleonas in their wicked poisoning of Constantine and the usurpation of Heracleonas, fled from the city after the punishment of the empress and the usurper. Paul, another Monothelite, occupied the See of Constantinople; and he prevailed upon Constans, the emperor, in 648, to publish his edict called the Type, imposing silence on the Catholics and the Monothelites. The Type was condemned by Pope Theodore in the same year. Pyrrhus, having passed from Africa to Rome, retracted his errors, and was received into communion by the Pope. Thence he passed to Ravenna, where, at the instigation of the exarch Olympius, he relapsed into his errors, in the expectation of being restored to the favor of the emperor; and Paul dying in 655, he again got into the see of the imperial city. Many of the best, bravest, and wisest men of the empire fell victims to the relentless persecution of the Monothelites: amongst them was the holy Pope Martin, who, after severe torture in Constantinople, died of want and ill-treatment, in exile in the Chersonesus.

Constans dying in 668, was succeeded by his son, Constantine Pogonatus, who was a Catholic. He requested the Pope Donus to assemble a council; but that pontiff, in 688, was succeeded by Agatho, who complied with the emperor's request, and sent his legate to preside at the synod, which assembled in Constantinople in the month of November, 680. Theodore, a Monothelite, had succeeded Pyrrhus in the see of that city; and he having been

deposed, his place was filled by George, a Catholic. In this council the Monothelite heresy was condemned, as were its abettors; and amongst them Honorius the Pope had his memory censured for his criminal silence and neglect of opposing the progress of heresy. Pope Agatho dying in Rome before the acts of the council reached him, its canons were confirmed by his successor, Leo II. This is the third Council of Constantinople and the sixth general council.

THE GREEK SCHISM.

I

I FEAR exceedingly that a pure republican form of government cannot be established by this valorous people; the miscalled Holy Alliance cannot bear a free government to exist within the sphere of its action.[1] I fear that the only hope of patriotic and brave Greece must rest on the position advanced by some of her agents—even to receive a king from some reigning house in Europe. This seems to be the alternative between two evils; to choose Egyptian bondage or European monarchy, and we can hardly blame this suffering people for preferring the latter as the less of the two evils. The friend of Greece and humanity must shed a tear of sympathy over the uncertain and dangerous condition in which Greece now stands, according to the latest and best anthenticated accounts from Europe.

Having gone thus far into the civil concerns of Greece, let us see a little of the religious history of this people. For the first eight centuries of Christianity, the Greek or Eastern Church was in full communion with the Western or Latin Church, and under the jurisdiction and supremacy of the Bishop of Rome, successor to St. Peter, and visible head of the Church of Christ on earth. During this period several errors were broached in the East. Much of the

[1] These fears were confirmed.

Platonic and Pagan philosophy existed among the Greek Christians, and by endeavoring to incorporate or reconcile these principles with the principles of the Gospel, several errors in religion were introduced. In order to correct these errors and to establish the true principles of the Gospel, general councils of the Church were from time to time convened: and so we perceive that the first eight general councils were held in the East.

The first was held at Nice, in 325, regarding the divinity of Christ, and condemning the Arian heresy. The second at Constantinople, in 381, regarding the divinity of the Holy Ghost, and condemning the heresy of the Semi-Arians, the Sabellians, and the Macedonians. The third at Ephesus, in 431, against the Nestorians, showing that there was only one person in Christ, and that the Blessed Virgin is the Mother of God. The fourth at Chalcedon, in 451, against the Eutychians, showing that there were two natures in Christ. The fifth at Constantinople, in 553, respecting the errors of Origen and the three chapters. The sixth at Constantinople, in 680, against the Monothelites, proving that there were two wills and operations in Christ. The seventh at Nice, in 787, condemning the Iconoclasts (image-breakers), and establishing the doctrine of proper respect to sacred images. The eighth at Constantinople, in 869, against the schism of Photius. This proud and usurping prelate gave origin to the unfortunate separation of the Greek from the Catholic Church. Until this period both Churches were under one head, and though the Eastern Church lost many members by the above-named heresies, the great body were still Catholic, and in full communion with the Catholic Apostolic Church of Rome. One fact is very striking: that though the several separatists of the Eastern Church differ from the Catholic Church, yet they agree with her in all those points on which Protestants differ from the Catholic doctrine.

The history of Photius, the remarkable schismatic, must be examined. Bardas, the uncle of the young Emperor Michael, who then governed the Eastern Empire, gave great

scandal by his profligate mode of living. Ignatius, Patriarch of Constantinople, and son of Emperor Michael le Begue, predecessor of Leo the Armenian, felt it his duty to tell this profligate prince how injurious his example was to Christianity. He requested of him to look at least to his own soul; but this good advice only inflamed the passion of the royal delinquent. This public sinner presented himself to partake of the Eucharist on the Festival of Pentecost; the patriarch refused him the Holy Communion. Bardas vowed vengeance, and formed a determination to ruin him in the eyes of the Emperor. In three days after a deputation was sent to Ignatius, requiring of him to resign his see. He resisted all promises and threats. The emperor disregarding the canons of the Church, appointed Photius patriarch. This wicked man possessed great accomplishments of mind and body, but his unbounded ambition and finished hypocrisy tarnished the whole. Having considerable property, he possessed the means of making many supporters; by his assiduous application to literature he acquired a great reputation; in ecclesiastical learning he made considerable proficiency. Having secured the patronage of Bardas, he paved the way to his nomination to the patriarchate. He was then a layman; but he contrived to get himself through the several orders to episcopacy in six days! At his consecration he promised to hold communion with Ignatius, and in less than two months he declared vengeance against him and all his communion. Ignatius was hurried from prison to prison and most cruelly treated. Every means was employed to force from him a resignation of his see. But Photius, impatient of delay, assembled a sham council, with the support of the emperor, and declared Ignatius deposed. He also procured the deposition of all the bishops who remained firm to Ignatius; they were cast into prison, and Ignatius was exiled to the Isle of Lesbos. In the meantime Photius sent a delegation to Rome to have his own title confirmed, and the deposition of Ignatius ratified, on the pretence that Ignatius, through infirmity,

was no longer able to discharge the duties of his office. Pope Nicholas was on his guard; he sent two legates to Constantinople to get a correct statement of the case. The legates were not permitted to inquire into the facts, and were told that if they did not report favorably for Photius they would be sent into cruel exile. After long resistance they yielded to the emperor's will. Ignatius was removed to the Isle of Terebintius, where he suffered much; thence called to assist at a council formed in order to forward the views of Photius. Ignatius intending to assist in his patriarchal robes, was commanded by the emperor to come in the garb of a simple monk; he obeyed, and came to the council, where the emperor attended; pressed to give in his resignation, and not yielding, he was sent away: in ten days after he was forced to return, for he declared his intention not to be present at such a council, which was held in violation of all the rules of the Church. False charges were made against Ignatius; it was said that he had been consecrated without an electoral decree; a sentence of deposition was pronounced against him; he was divested of the pallium and of his episcopal robes and was declared unworthy of the priesthood. Photius caused him to be shut up in the vault of Constantine Copronymus. He was given in charge to three cruel guards, who stripped him of his clothes and placed him on a cold flag during the rigors of the winter season. Left for eight days without food or repose, he was put into a marble tomb, and bound therein, and left a whole night in this cruel posture; unbound the next day, and his hand forcibly put to sign a deed, drawn up by Photius, to the following purport: "I, Ignatius, the unworthy Patriarch of Constantinople, declare that I have been raised to this see without an electoral decree, and that I have tyrannically governed the same." This pretended declaration was presented to the emperor, and Ignatius was set at liberty. The illustrious prelate then sent to Rome a memorial signed by the metropolitans, fifty bishops, and many priests; he related what he had suffered and prayed for redress.

Photius, not yet satisfied, advised the emperor to make Ignatius read aloud in the Church of the Apostles, at Constantinople, his act of resignation, and to cause his hand to be cut off and his eyes plucked out. Ignatius being informed of the whole, escaped this new persecution by flight. In the garb of a slave he retreated by night from the city, and fled to the Isle of Propontide. He suffered much in his flight, and was closely sought for by Photius.

In the meantime Photius wrote hypocritical letters to Pope Nicholas, saying: "When I reflect on the great duties of the episcopal station, and on the weakness of man, and on my own in particular, I am surprised that any one could be found to assume such serious obligations. I cannot express my regret on beholding myself invested with such a burden. My predecessor having resigned his see, the clergy, the metropolitans, and especially the emperor, full of kindness towards others, but of cruelty toward me, and regardless of my opposition, have laid the episcopal charge on my shoulders. Thus, in spite of my tears and regrets, they have forced me into the episcopacy." Conscious of his own imposture, he exhibited forged letters from the Pope, which he himself had penned. The forgery was discovered, but he contrived to evade the deserved punishment. Photius was equally criminal in concealing the scandals of the Emperor Michael. This profligate prince laughed at all the ceremonies and doctrines of Christianity.

Pope Nicholas being duly informed of what passed at Constantinople, held a council and condemned Photius as a usurper. He wrote to Constantinople, saying that he would never hold communion with Photius, unless he renounced his usurped see.

Cæsar Bardas met a fatal end, and Photius lost his chief supporter. Michael suspecting Bardas, got him torn to pieces. Photius, yielding to the times, strongly inveighed against Bardas, and endeavored to merit the good graces of Michael. Many having retired from the communion of Photius, on receiving the papal mandate, he excited a vio-

lent persecution against them. He deprived some of their dignities—others of their property, and sent others into exile. On seeing that the Pope cut him off from his communion, he excommunicated the Pope in turn. To give a coloring to his proceedings, he held what he called a general council, where the emperor presided, and some legates from the East. False charges and false witnesses were produced against Pope Nicholas. Photius pretended to take the part of the Pope, and said he ought not to be condemned in his absence. The members of the council opposed his feigned opposition, and a sentence of deposition was pronounced against the Pope. He sent the acts of the council to the Roman Emperor, Lewis, and begged of him to banish Pope Nicholas, as being condemned by a general council.

This proceeding, of course, broke off all communion between the See of Rome and Photius; but to support his usurpation, Photius wrote a circular to the Eastern bishops, accusing the Latin Church of errors. Behold the prototype of Martin Luther. The accusation was, that the Roman Church held that the Holy Ghost "proceeded not only from the Father, but from the Son." To the present day, this is the chief point on doctrinal matters between the Greek schismatics and the Catholic Church.

Pope Nicholas being informed of this charge, wrote a pastoral letter on the unjust proceedings of the Greek emperor, and refuted the calumnies advanced against the Church of Rome.

The Emperor Michael still proceeded in his iniquitous career. Wishing to assassinate Basilius in a chase, he was himself killed by his own guards in a state of intoxication, and Basilius was proclaimed emperor. On the next day Photius was banished and Ignatius recalled from his exile. Basilius, with the advice of Ignatius, wrote to Pope Adrian to assemble a general council, in order to heal the wounds inflicted on the Church by the schism of Photius. The Pope sent three legates to Constantinople, where they were

received with every mark of respect. The emperor paid them due honors and requested of them to exert all their influence to establish a reunion of the Churches.

II.

Pope Adrian, having duly convened a general council to restore peace to the Greek Church, the council was accordingly opened on the 5th of October, 869, in the Church of St. Sophia, at Constantinople. The Pope's legates, to whom was assigned the first place, presented their credentials to the Emperor Basilius or Basil, by whom they were received with marks of profound respect; the Patriarch Ignatius took his seat next to the Pope's legates, then the legates from the patriarchs of Antioch and Jerusalem. The bishops who suffered persecution from Photius were then introduced. At the close of the first session, the Pope's letter was read to the council. In the next session, those priests and bishops, who yielded to the violence or persuasion of Photius, presented themselves, and explained the rigorous treatment employed by Photius in order to bring them over to his usurpation. They said they had been chained, cast into hideous dungeons, and supplied with the most offensive food; they, however, expressed their sorrow for having fallen.

By order of the legates, Photius attended at the fifth session; on his appearance, they exclaimed: "Is this Photius who has caused so much trouble in the Church?" Photius affected a profound silence, quoted some texts of Scripture, false in their application and offensive to the council; he persisted in his silence—was required to yield to the voice of the council—answered by reciting more texts of Scripture, which did not bear on the question, and which only exposed his hypocrisy.

The Emperor attended at the sixth session; the bishops favorable to Photius were present, and on being convinced of their error, the greater part renounced the schism.

Photius was again exhorted in the seventh to submit. He replied that he had no answer to make to calumny. In the eighth session, the imposition and foul means practiced by Photius, in order to create and continue the schism, were investigated and fully detected. Many of the image-breakers abjured their error. In the ninth session, penance had been imposed on the false witnesses who were procured against Ignatius. When the partizans and accomplices in crime of the Emperor Michael were arraigned for their wicked proceedings, they advanced as an excuse the threats and menaces of that prince.

At the tenth and last session, the emperor, with his son, Constantine, attended; the three ambassadors from Lewis, Emperor of Italy and France, and those from Michael, King of Bulgaria, were present, and about one hundred bishops. They approved of the seven general councils—confirmed the sentence of Popes Nicholas and Adrian against Photius. Twenty-seven canons of discipline were drawn up, and a confession of faith against the errors of the "Monothelites and Iconoclasts."

The pride of Photius would not submit; for the space of eight years, which he passed in exile, he was devising means for his restoration. He endeavored, by a singular stratagem, to secure the favor of the Emperor Basil. He framed a genealogy, in which he flattered the pride of the prince by tracing his origin to Tiridades, King of Armenia, and enriched this genealogy with a prophecy "that the reign of Basil would be more illustrious than any of his predecessors." Photius transcribed this fictitious narrative on three old parchments, and enveloped them in a moth-eaten cover and thus couched sent them to Theophanes, the emperor's secretary, with whom he had previously compounded on the subject.

Theophanes showed this roll to the emperor as being the oldest and most curious manuscript in the library, and said that nobody was able to read or explain it but Photius. Basil, ignorant of the deception, yielded to the impulse

of vanity, recalled Photius, received him kindly, and gave him free access to his presence.

Ignatius fell dangerously ill in the 80th year of his age. On the 24th of October, while the divine office was reciting at midnight, Ignatius inquired whose feast the Church celebrated on the next day; he was told that of St. James, called the brother of our Lord; he answered, that is my "patron" saint, and having given his benediction to his clergy, he slept in the Lord. The Greek and Latin Churches honor his memory on the day of his death.

Photius finding Ignatius the great obstacle to his ambitious views no more, assumed again the patriarchal chair, and persecuted the friends and adherents of Ignatius, and all in his communion. He gained over some by promises, others by threats, and those who remained faithful he put to death. He gained over the two legates sent by Pope John to Constantinople, regarding some ecclesiastical matters in Bulgaria. He sent delegates to Rome with insidious letters, in order to have himself recognized as the legitimate Patriarch of Constantinople. He convened a council, which he endeavored to render as numerous and as respectable as he could. He contrived to make it appear that the Pope recognized him as a brother patriarch. He was then extolled as a prodigy of learning, moderation, and piety. He induced the Roman legates to declare him legitimate patriarch, and to condemn the proceedings of the eighth general council. The Emperor Basil assisted at the sixth session of this sham council, where they rescinded that article of the general council of Constantinople, which decreed that "the Holy Ghost proceeds from the Father and the Son."

Yet iniquity could not prevail; Pope John being informed that Photius did not demand pardon for his past transgressions, and that he endeavored to reverse the sentence declared against him by a general council, he (the Pope) rejected him and his false council. The succeeding Pontiffs, Martin, Adrian III, and Stephen V, equally condemned the proceedings of Photius.

The Emperor Basil died in 886, and was succeeded by Leo VI, surnamed the Philosopher, who was fully aware of the iniquitous and schismatical acts of Photius. The great schismatic was exiled to the monastery of the Armenians, where he soon finished his evil career. Peace and unity were then restored to the Greek Church.

I have endeavored to compress these facts into as narrow limits as possible, in order not to weary some of my readers who appear to have a great aversion to lengthened discussions. Unfortunately we have no good ecclesiastical history in the English language.[1] The histories in Latin and French are rather voluminous, and hence it is no easy matter to collect a good account of Church concerns in a few pages. It would be much easier to give copious extracts than succinct narratives on such matters, but my time and labor are for the public and so I shall spare no pains to satisfy them.

III.

In the death of Photius the schismatics lost their head and chief support: the majority of the people returned to Catholic ministry and truth. The letters and works of Photius being in considerable circulation kept alive the spirit of disobedience to the mother Church. Though the materials for fresh schism were for a considerable time ready to burst forth into open insubordination, yet it was not till the year 1050 that the brand of discord was violently hurled into the bosom of the Church by Michael Cerullarius, Patriarch of Constantinople, and a bold proselyte to the views of Photius. Many of the Greek bishops were anxious for some occasion of renewing the schism, and of finding some resolute champion in their cause. The patriarch of Constantinople had lately assumed the title of Universal Bishop, knowing well that such a step would not pass unnoticed by the Pope. Italy was at this period in a

[1] Hefele's History, now being translated, is such a work, though it bears only on the first ages.

divided condition, and the seat of war and desolation, and from the intrigue and influence of some corrupt chieftains and princes, unworthy men were raised to the papal chair, which they dishonored by their irregular lives, and which brought scandal on the Church, and sunk the papal authority in the esteem of the Greek Church.

During this state of affairs, Michael Cerullarius wrote a letter to one of the Latin bishops, which at once revived and propagated the old schism. He attempted to prove to all the Latin bishops, that Christ, after having celebrated the ancient Pasch in Azymes or unleavened bread, instituted the pasch or Eucharistic Sacrifice of the new law, in leavened bread, and hence Cerullarius charged the Latin Church with error; he also accused the Latins for shaving their beards, for fasting on Saturdays, for eating strangled meat, and for inserting the word "filioque,—from the Son," in the Nicene Creed, and thereby expressing their belief of the Holy Ghost proceeding from the Father and from the Son. He brought other charges equally false and frivolous against the Church, in that the kiss of peace was given at Mass before the Communion, that alleluiah was not sung in Lent, and that due respect was not paid to the memory and relics of the saints; he concluded by saying that as soon as the Latin Church would correct these errors, he would send other important communications. This at once put the schism beyond the hope of a reconciliation.

Cardinal Humbert, having read this letter, translated it into Latin, and sent a copy of it to Pope Leo IX. The Pope replied in a long letter, wherein he first complained of the conduct of those who were endeavoring to disturb the peace of the Church; he then added: "Is the Church of Rome, after the lapse of more than one thousand years since the passion of our Lord Jesus Christ, now to begin to learn how to celebrate the 'institution' of the last supper? Are the instructions of the Apostles Peter and Paul, then of no use?" The conclusion of this letter was worthy of the common Father and

of Rome. "Let the Greeks follow the traditions of their fathers. We know that the difference of customs, according to times and nations, is not injurious to salvation, provided we be united in faith and charity."

In the meantime the Emperor Constantine Monourachus, wishing, through political motives, to keep in with the Pope, wrote him a letter in which he expressed his anxiety to support the union of both Churches, and he induced Cerullarius to write to the same effect. On receiving these letters, Leo replied, and sent three legates, of whom Cardinal Humbert was the chief. In the letter to Cerullarius the Pope styled him merely Bishop of Constantinople, which was not conducive to reconcile one to the Catholic Church, who seemed so desirous of schism. The legates were respectfully received by the emperor, and Cardinal Humbert replied to the letter of Cerullarius, in which he fully vindicated the Roman Catholic Church from the charges of Cerullarius. He showed that Jesus Christ celebrated the Eucharist in unleavened bread, and supported with the great body of commentators that Christ celebrated the legal Pasch, which could not be celebrated with any other but unleavened bread.

This answer made no impression on Cerullarius; he refused to see or communicate with the legates.

They indignantly expressed their displeasure at his conduct; perhaps they went too far. They went to the Church of St. Sophia and laid on the altar a sentence of excommunication against Cerullarius in presence of his clergy and flock; they then retired, and shook the dust from off their feet, exclaiming: "May God behold him and judge him." The form of excommunication ended with these words: "By authority of the blessed Trinity, of the Apostolic See, of the seven general councils of the Catholic Church, we subscribe to the sentence of excommunication pronounced by the Pope, and say, let Michael Cerullarius, the pretended patriarch, guilty of many crimes, and Leo, Bishop of Arcadia, and all their followers, be separated from the

Church until they be converted and do penance. Amen, Amen, Amen." They also forbade the laity of Constantinople to receive the Holy Communion from any clergyman who attributed errors to the Latin Church. Finally, they received the passport from the emperor and some presents for the Pope. Such a proceeding increased the schism instead of subduing it. Cerullarius, highly incensed at this act, issued a counter-decree: this decree bore his name and those of fourteen metropolitans, and declared that these legates, in attempting to corrupt the holy doctrine, were condemned by the emperor.

The Greeks after this could not bear the idea of a reconciliation with the Latin Church. They mutually encouraged each other to support the schism. They supposed that the hasty proceedings of the legates fully justified them, and erroneously attributed the faults of three individuals to the whole body of the Catholic Church. This is a common way of acting with all separatists. The schism then considerably extended its pestilential influence. Cities and provinces were soon involved in the vortex, and it came at last to such a pitch that the Greeks looked with more indignation on the members of the Latin Church than they did on the very pagans. Such are the evil effects of passion, disappointment, and the violation of Christian unity. We see to the present day the same melancholy effects produced by similar feelings. Would to God that we all had but "one heart and one spirit," like the primitive Christians! May the God of peace and charity infuse into us His Holy Spirit of unity!

ST. PETER'S ROMAN EPISCOPATE.

I.

THERE is a monthly magazine called the *Christian Advocate*, published in Philadelphia, by A. Finley, in the sixty-seventh number of which, for July, 1828, is found the following preface to a dissertation:

"We are indebted to a clerical brother, to whom we lent a few numbers of the 'Archives du Christianisme,' for the following translation. It will convey useful information to many of our readers, and we earnestly recommend to the serious consideration of all the remarks of the translator at the close. While the Romanists are pursuing an organized system to diffuse their pernicious errors in our country, it does seem to us that some systematic endeavors should be employed to counteract them."

This dissertation and its appendages are published to the American people as a deliberate attack upon what the writer is pleased to call the Romanists, that is, the Roman Catholics, to whose body I have the honor and happiness of belonging. I am not aware of any organized system amongst us, save that which is common to all our brethren of other denominations: the system of having our public churches and our regular ministry. If a line of distinction were to be drawn between the Roman Catholic and the Protestant Churches of the United States, upon the point of "organized system," I am of opinion that, owing to circumstances which I am in charity bound to suppose beyond the control of those with whom the remedy lies, the former is manifestly the worst organized Church in our States;[1] and it is notoriously defective in the essential

[1] This was written A. D. 1829, since when the principal defects lamented by the writer have been supplied; this language therefore cannot correctly be applied to the Catholic Church of the United States as it now exists.

points of system, which are community of counsel and unity of action. If irony and sarcasm were intended by the writer, I lament that he has had the cause afforded for his display; yet still he might have pitied our weakness, and if our failure was desirable, he might have continued satisfied that until we shall be able, not to mend our system but to supply its want and to organize our provincial Church, we must be exposed to mortification and disappointment. He should not then have made what does not exist a pretext for this rude assault; and despicable as our weakness may be, it cannot be admitted to excuse his want of urbanity.

This writer complains of the attempt to diffuse our pernicious errors. Can he be a Protestant who writes thus? The first principle of a Protestant is, that the Bible, as understood by those who earnestly seek after truth, will lead to the knowledge of God, and not to pernicious error; now we discover our doctrines in this sacred book as understood by us after earnest search. It is true our tenets do not agree with the opinions of the writer in the *Advocate*, but surely he claims no infallibility for himself nor for his Church. How dares he, then, call those tenets drawn by us from the Word of God pernicious errors, when it is, according to his own principle, equally a chance that he is in error and that we follow the truth?

I cannot avoid here noticing another exhibition of his intention to undervalue us; but it is not peculiar to him, it is pretty general. Writing in his own name, or in that of the denomination to which he belongs, he calls America our country. Really, I always looked upon America to be as much the country of old Charles Carroll of Carrollton as of any Presbyterian gentleman or of any clerical brother who writes for the *Christian Advocate*, although I have frequently known the vainglorious boasting of men, who in the same breath proclaimed our Union, "a Protestant country," and bewailing that the people here sat in darkness and in the shadow of death, complained that they

were Sabbath-breakers, even to the travelling in stages and steamboats, yea, so far as to permit small meats to be sold in open market, in Southern cities, on the summer Sabbath morning!

However, it seems that full scope was not afforded for the zeal of the writer in the wrestling with those abominations, but that he had a superabundance which could only be expended upon the Romanists. Neither was he content that the venerable Bishop White and his brother Bowen, together with their two armies of zealous ladies, should have the exclusive honor of pelting Popish pastors with their paper pellets for their enormous errors, but that this chosen one should, like another Saul, lead his host to complete the victory by pursuing the Philistines, whom Jonathan and his armor-bearer had already routed.

It cannot be unknown to all that "systematic endeavors" have been during a long period "employed to counteract the Romanists" in all parts of this Union, from the period when the ebulitions of zeal against Popery in New England and in Georgia rendered abortive the mission of Franklin, of Carroll, and of Chase into Canada, down to the present day. You that have ears to hear must frequently have found the religion of your Catholic progenitors "systematically" denounced in prayer and in declamation from the desk, the pulpit, and the stump; in the tale of your horrified grandam and of your enthusiastic attendant in the nursery; in conning over the spelling and the reading book of your infancy, in the nasal eloquence of your pedantic pedagogue, in the learned lucubrations of your proud professor, as well as in the pretty lispings of your sweet Sunday-school spinsters. Yea, this is but a faint outline of the "systematic endeavors," which are so powerfully aided by the upturned eye, the sigh of pity, the ejaculation of pious wonder, and the sanctimonious sneer. If missions hither and thither, if the donations and legacies of the wealthy, if the gathering of the mites of the poor, the calculation of the back stitches and the

hemmings and fellings of the industrious, the prayers of those who are "powerful to wrestle with the Lord," the publication of the conversions of blank Papists in blank places to the amount of blank numbers, testified by blank witnesses to blank persons of blank respectability; if the distribution of tracts filled with misrepresentations of the Roman Catholic religion and practices, and a thousand other such modes of "systematic endeavors," be not already in existence, the people of America are indeed deluded. What farther "systematic endeavors should be employed to counteract the Romanists," the holy editor saith not; and we cannot determine unless he would induce all the States to imitate North Carolina and New Jersey in their degrading bigotry; for you are of course aware, my friends, that neither of those two sanctified States will admit a Papist to hold any civil office.[1]

The editor then gives the translation of an article from a French publication, *Archives du Christianisme*, "On the residence of St. Peter at Rome," which dissertation I intend to examine, and then subjoins:

"*Note by the Translator.*—It will appear from M. Blanc's Scriptural statement of the question respecting Peter's residence at Rome, that it is very doubtful whether that Apostle ever saw Rome, and demonstrably evident that he never was bishop of that city. This removes the very corner-stone on which Roman Catholicism rests. For if Peter was not Bishop of Rome, the Bishops or Popes of Rome are not his successors; and even the most devoted Catholic must then see, that the assumed authority of the Pope is an unhallowed and unchristian usurpation, the traditions of the Romish Church a tissue of human inventions, and the infallibility of that Church a dream. At a time when the emissaries of that delusion are compassing sea and land to gain proselytes, especially in the South and West of our land, it is believed that the above brief exposure of the false foundation on which they build their

[1] The law is now changed.

Babel, may not be unprofitable. In France, it has been republished and circulated in the form of a tract, and it might be attended with benefit to souls, if several thousand copies of it were dispersed in those portions of our own country which are most exposed to the influence and the arts of men, who would have the whole world to wonder after and worship 'the beast.'

"The translator, in a letter to the editor, which accompanied the above, very justly adds:

"'It seems to me that Protestants should not be idle spectators of the exertions of the Catholic priests to waylay the unwary and destroy the simple. I have access to a weekly paper published in Charleston called the *United States Catholic Miscellany*, which affords melancholy proof of their industry, success, and deep delusion—as well as of their hatred of Protestant teachers, and of the unblushing falsehoods they invent and propagate to rivet the fetters of their followers and decoy the ignorant into their toils.'"

Allow me to address the public freely. You who differ from me in religious sentiment are too frequently under the impression that we are continually in the habit of using insulting and opprobrious language to you and of you, and that you and your ministers always speak of us in kind, mild, charitable, affectionate, and conciliating terms. I would take the liberty of requesting you who agree in tenets with the *Christian Advocate*, to observe for a few Sabbaths the mode in which Roman Catholics are mentioned or alluded to by your ministers in their prayers and preachings; and if you have ever heard a Roman Catholic priest, ask your own conscience whether in his service you found him style you or your congregation beasts; whether you heard him using the phrases which are here used regarding our clergy; seeking unhallowed and unchristian usurpation, emmissaries of delusion, and our Church a Babel! Do not then, I pray you, be over hasty in condemning us of want of charity and boasting of your superior liberality.

I put it to you whether a more insulting and ungenerous passage could be produced than that here used against the "Catholic priests," viz.: that they "waylay the unwary and destroy the simple." It is not surpassed by the description which follows of the mode—"hatred of Protestant teachers, deep delusion, unblushing falsehoods invented by them and propagated by them to rivet the fetters of their followers and decoy the ignorant into their toils." And where is the proof of this terrible charge to be found? Upon the pages of the *United States Catholic Miscellany*. You are in the habit of reading those pages, and I ask you whether they inculcate that hatred, whether they exhibit that falsehood? I unequivocally assert that a more insolent spirit of bigotry was never breathed than in this wretched expression, a more unfounded charge has never been made than in this offensive paragraph. And yet those men boast of their superior charity and of their superior meekness! In the name of insulted truth, let them vindicate themselves if they can; let them produce from the pages of the *Miscellany* even one passage which exhibits a tithe of the hatred to Presbyterian or to any other Protestant teachers which is here expressed by this holy man, this "clerical brother," against "Catholic priests;" and if they cannot, what ought to be thought of this *Christian Advocate?*

The great object, however, is to induce "Protestants not to be idle spectators of the exertions of the Catholic priests." Now this forcibly reminds me of a scene which I once witnessed in a court-house. The judges were much annoyed by the loud though indistinct muttering of some fellow and one of them called to the sheriff to seize upon the delinquent and thrust him into the dock, upon which the tone was changed, and his honor very audibly addressed: "I defy you and the sheriff, for I am already in the dock," and the cachinnations of the crowd (to use a big but expressive word) amused the disturber, whilst they irritated the bench. So it is with our priests; they are already in the dock; and the advocate of our castigation

knows, that from Maine to Florida, and from the Atlantic to the Stony Mountains, some thousands of roarers and some hundreds of presses assail us and oppose the "exertions of the Catholic priests," whilst collectors of rags and of corn and of cents and of dollars incessantly beg for provender and raiment, not only to feed the enthusiastic host of the heavenly assailants, but also to train up others so that they may enter, ready drilled and fully armed, to occupy the places of the veterans who might fall asleep in the Lord. Neither is the arm of the flesh always restrained, nor doth the sword of Gideon always rust in its scabbard; for beside that the fat of the land is openly reserved for the chosen ones of Israel in North Carolina and New Jersey, I could recount the acts of stout warriors who can smite powerfully in secret and destroy the unholy under the guise of liberality. The *Christian Advocate* might then rest fully satisfied that the sons of Protestant Israel neither sleep nor slumber; and though he might himself abominate works of supererogation in theory, he hath in this instance been heterodox in practice; for of a truth, it is a work of supererogation to call upon Protestants, as he hath done, to oppose the priests.

II.

The question which the dissertation undertakes to dispose of, is, whether the Apostle St. Peter was at Rome, and the conclusion drawn is, that he was never in that city. The grounds upon which it is drawn are two. First, that the authorities testifying the fact of his having been there are unworthy of credit; second, that his having been there is incompatible with the truth of the New Testament.

This question was never raised during upwards of thirteen hundred years, and through that whole period every Christian writer that we know of, who had occasion to mention the subject, stated as notorious facts, universally admitted, that St. Peter not only was at Rome, but that

he was Bishop of Rome and was put to death in the reign of Nero for his religion. It is said that a teacher of Wickliff, named William, asserted that Peter never was at Rome, and this is the earliest contradiction. Be that as it may; Ulric Velenus, a Lutheran, wrote a book to prove that this Apostle never saw the city; Illyricus also says he demonstrated it. Calvin only doubts upon the subject; and since his day, the question has been settled by various Protestants just as they pleased; but unquestionably some of their most erudite antiquarians are to be found in the English division, many of the best informed amongst whom state it to be unquestionable, in point of fact, that not only was he there, but that he was Bishop there and died there.

I believe it is in Frey Gerundo the advice is given to a young preacher who would bring himself into notice, by exciting the astonishment of his congregation, to commence boldly by proclaiming, in a loud and dogmatic tone, some astounding heresy or error, and then, after a suitable pause, in a more subdued tone, inform his hearers that he means to controvert and to demolish what he has laid before them. If I mistake not, the exemplification which is given is the following:—I deny that in the Godhead there are three persons! So says the Socinian, whose errors I mean to combat. Upon reading the commencement of Monsieur Blanc's dissertation, I was forcibly reminded of the Portuguese preceptor of the young friar who aspired to pulpit fame.

"It is upon the testimony of Papias, Bishop of Hierapolis, that the Popish tradition rests, respecting St. Peter's being at Rome, his founding a Church there, and for twenty-five years discharging in it the functions of a bishop. Papias was copied by Clement of Alexandria; Clement was copied by Eusebius, and the latter has been copied by many authors, ancient and modern, who have been, perhaps, too much interested to render credible a fact, which will always be of very little importance to those

who build their faith, not on the person of St. Peter, but upon the corner-stone, Jesus Christ. The account of Papias, which is based upon a hearsay only, about eighty years after the occurrence to which it refers, is still extant, and is full of fables and ridiculous tales—such as the contest which this Apostle sustained against Simon the sorcerer, his crucifixion, with his head downwards—as if Nero had left to the Christians the care of settling the forms of their own punishment—and other similar things, which were reported originally only by this Papias himself. Eusebius, speaking of him, calls him 'a man of narrow genius, and too credulous.'"

Nobly demolished! But allow me to gather up the fragments. First I must see who Papias was. He was Bishop of Hierapolis, and flourished about the beginning of the second century. St. Peter was put to death in the year 65 or 66. Papias died about the year 150, when he was considerably upwards of eighty years old, at the very lowest calculation; I might more safely say much older. Thus in place of being a gatherer of hearsay at the distance of eighty years after the time of Peter, this prelate was more properly speaking a contemporary of the Apostle, though not his acquaintance nor his hearer, but very young and living at a distance. He lived, according to all early writers, in the days of some of the Apostles, and had his accounts from those who saw and heard and lived with them; and from conversations with those persons he compiled his five books—"An Explication of the Oracles of God." All the ancient writers concur in the testimony of the excellence of character of Papias, so that he is unquestionably an honest witness; but they also are agreed that his testimonials are to be received with caution, because of his shallow judgment and credulous disposition. The facts which he testifies are of two descriptions, respecting which a palpable distinction is easily made. Some of them were of such a nature as required no effort of judgment: such as, knowing where one of the most remarkable of the Apostles

resided and died. A simple, honest man who held the station of bishop soon after Peter's death, and was a sedulous inquirer into the facts regarding the Apostles, could easily learn this and could as easily testify it. But in making inquiry regarding the sayings of the Apostles, he might by reason of his narrow judgment and credulous disposition be easily misled, as we find he was respecting the opinion of the millennium, of which he was the author. Thus Papias is rather to be considered a contemporary of the Apostles, and fully competent to testify where Peter lived and died, than to be looked upon as a silly old man who is only a gatherer of hearsays respecting nearly a century before. Papias was a contemporary and companion of St. Polycarp, the disciple of St. John the Evangelist, and whom this Apostle constituted Bishop of Smyrna, probably in the year 96. He was also a teacher of St. Irenæus, who died Bishop of Lyons, and who also derived much of his Christian knowledge from Polycarp; Irenæus was put to death in the year 202.

Having thus seen the character of Papias and his competency to be a witness of at least the fact where a well and publicly known man who held a high place in the Christian Church lived and died, I come to examine this flippant Frenchman's dash respecting the testimony itself. "It is upon the testimony of Papias that the Popish tradition rests." Why, of a truth, if the handing down of a known fact be tradition, yea, even this is tradition, for verily it handeth down the testified fact which was commonly and publicly known. The flimsy cobweb of the word tradition will not hide from Americans the truth. A fact must be testified by some writer that it might become a portion of recorded history; and being so testified and recorded as known truth, it does not lose its quality of truth because of being handed down. Thus, suppose we had no other original testimony save that of this old writer, still would it not be the less true because it had come from him to us. This is the way in which the Scriptures

have come to us, by tradition or delivery, and it was naturally impossible that it could have been otherwise received by us. The question at present is not whether St. Peter was there twenty-five years, nor whether he founded a Church there, nor whether he was crucified with his head downwards, nor whether the story of the contest with Simon is or is not true. Papias might have been misled upon all these points, and yet clearly know and plainly testify that Peter was at Rome and died there, though he might err in all the other particulars. I state this merely to narrow the question, not because I doubt the truth of any of the statements. The word tradition then, if meant to be opposed to good history, is a gross misrepresentation, for in making this record the Bishop of Hierapolis is a coeval historian, who receives from eye-witnesses and ear-witnesses the testimony of the residence of Peter and of his death at Rome. I doubt if M. Blank, of Philadelphia, was ever in Mexico or saw Iturbide, yet he might, in writing a history of American revolutions, fairly put into such a book the testimony of his being emperor, and dethroned, exiled, having returned, and being slain. No one of us in the United States is ignorant of those facts; yet how few of us are even now acquainted with the true state of Mexico! Whilst, then, we give correct testimony of those facts, we are liable to mistake and to be imposed upon by the accounts of a variety of opinions and conversations of some of the Scotch and Yorkist Masons, who have so much mysterious cabalism in the regulation of its affairs. Thus, respecting the residence and death of the chief of the Apostles, Papias is a good historian, though he might have been deceived in some of the particulars.

I come next to the assertion that the whole tradition (history) rests upon the testimony of Papias. Never was any assertion more unfounded. We have a great variety of other evidence to support the fact. The first arrival of St. Paul in Rome is mentioned in Acts xxviii, 14, 15, 16,

and here it is distinctly stated that the brethren (Christians) came as far as Appii Forum and the Three Taverns to meet him; consequently there were Christians in that city before his arrival. Previously to this, he had written his epistle to the Romans, where in chapter i, verses 7 and 8, it is manifest that Rome was then a city which had a Christian Church, "whose faith was spoken of through the whole world." Now the questions occur: Who made those Christians? Who governed that Church? Certainly not Paul, who had not been there at that time. Not only Papias but a great number of ancient writers inform us that Peter was their Apostle. This was stated to the knowledge of the people of Rome and of all the other Churches and not contradicted but admitted by them all, and in the earliest ages was made a foundation for a claim on the part of Rome for supremacy over the other parts of the Church. Towards several portions of the universal Church, in the earliest ages, the Bishops of Rome used measures which appeared harsh and coercive, and yet we never find a single bishop or Church in those early ages question the fact of Peter's residence and labors in Rome, though we find some of them displeased with the manner in which the authority derived from him was used against themselves. They lived near the Apostolic days, they knew the character of Papias, and still we are gravely told that this simple prelate beguiled and misled them all! Yet this is called criticism. I doubt not but we could find persons who would call it philosophy! Yes, the philosophy of history! There are some people who seriously give that name to their own speculations against fact. Monsieur Blanc, however, forgets himself a little, for though he told us that it was upon the authority of Papias the Popish tradition of St. Peter's being at Rome, etc., rested, and gives us the account of Papias as based upon a hearsay about eighty years after the occurrence—that is, in the year 146, or thereabouts—he informs us in his next paragraph:

"According to the testimony of the same Eusebius, Dionysius, Bishop of Corinth, an author of the second century,

affirms also that St. Peter and St. Paul met at Corinth, and that they departed together for Rome, where they suffered martyrdom."

One passing remark here might not be amiss, viz., this very accurate antiquarian refers us to the 25th chapter of Book II of Eusebius, as authority for his statement that "St. Peter and St. Paul met at Corinth." Not one syllable in support of such an assertion is to be found in any copy of Eusebius which has fallen under my eye, nor in support of the other averment that "they departed together for Rome." But the history of Eusebius does contain a passage from the said Dionysius, stating that both those saints did instruct the Christians at Corinth, and were united in building or planting the Church at Rome; and Eusebius also states, that the same author testifies their martyrdom at Rome. Thus we find the essayist gives us another witness besides Papias; and, therefore, the Popish tradition, even according to himself, does not rest on that prelate alone. This looks like a contradiction. Dionysius died in the reign of Marcus Aurelius, of course before the year 192, and at an advanced age. If Papias wrote at Hierapolis only from a hearsay, eighty years after the transaction, Dionysius in Corinth, who wrote several years before his death his epistle to the Romans, in which this testimony is found, must in all likelihood have learned it from other sources besides the book of the Bishop of Hierapolis. And how strangely must it sound to the Romans when the letter of the Bishop of Corinth was read to them, informing them of what, upon the supposition of our friend, the Reverend Blanc, they knew to be false, viz., that St. Peter, who never was in their city, planted their Church and was put to death in a place where he never had been! Yet this Dionysius appeared to know the history of the Roman Church very well, for in this same epistle to the Romans, or rather to Soter, their Bishop, he writes, in thanking them for the alms received from Rome for his Church:

"From the beginning it is your custom to bestow your alms in all places, and to furnish subsistence to many Churches. You send relief to the needy, especially to those who work in the mines; in which you follow the example of your fathers. Your blessed Bishop Soter is so far from degenerating from your ancestors on that head, that he goes beyond them; not to mention the comfort and advice which he, with the bowels of a tender father towards his children, affords to all who come to him. On this day we celebrated together the Lord's day, and read your letter as we do that which was heretofore written to us by Clement."

It will be matter of more than curiosity to compare this with an early Protestant translation:

"It hath bene your accustomed manner, euen from the beginning: diuersely to benefit all the brethren, and to send relief throughout the citie, supplying the want of the poore by refreshing them in this sorte, and specially the want of the brethren appointed for slauish drudgerie, and digging of metalls. You Romaines of olde do retaine the fatherly affection of Rome, which holy Soter, your byshop, not only obserued, but also augmented, ministring large and liberall relief to the vse of the sainctes: embracing louingly the conuerted brethren, as a father doth his sonnes, with exhortation of wholesome doctrine. Here also he remembreth the epistle of Clemens written to the Corinthians, showing the same of auncient custome, to haue bene read in the Church, for thus he writeth: We have this day solemnized the holy Sunday, in the which we haue read your epistle and always will for instructions sake, even as we do the former of Clemens written vnto us."

"The citie" is here substituted for "many churches;" any person can tell why. The bishop who wrote thus did not need the hearsay nor the tradition of Papias to tell who was the first Bishop of Rome. Of a verity then, Dionysius copied not Papias, as of a truth Monsieur Blanc copied not either Eusebius or Dionysius where he affected to do. Dionysius, however, must also be demolished.

"But besides that Dionysius himself complains that his letters have been falsified by heretics, a circumstance which considerably invalidates the authority of his writings, this testimony ought not to outweigh the truth of our holy Scriptures, which, with the divine assistance, we shall bring forward below."

Then we must, it seems, throw the testimony of this writer away, because he complains that "his letters had been falsified by heretics." If the principle be good, we must give to it all due weight and value; and, therefore, must make no use of what he thus states to have been so falsified. Of course, M. Blanc cannot reject one portion of the passage, and keep another, without giving some sufficient reason therefor. The following is the Protestant translation:

"When I was intreated of the brethren to write, I wrote certain Epistles, but the messengers of Satan have sowen them with tares, pulling away some, putting to others some, whose condemnation is laid up of certaine. No marveil then though some endeavored to corrupt the sacred Scriptures of God, when as went about to counterfeit such writings of so small authoritie."[1]

Are we then to reject the Scriptures? Have not heretics endeavored to falsify them? My answer is very simple. Attempts were made to change passages in those epistles of Dionysius regarding doctrine and opinion, but concerning a plain fact, as well known at Rome, whither he wrote, as at Corinth, upon a subject regarding which Rome could not mistake, it would indeed be egregious folly to attempt any counterfeit, for such counterfeit would be at once detected, and would expose him who made it to condemnation and contempt. But what a case do our adversaries make out for us, if they call this a forgery? It is equivalent to an avowal that in the days of this bishop, there was a body of men who falsified his letters to make it appear that Peter was at Rome, and that their system was,

[1] Lib. iv, c. 23.

like ours, founded upon his supremacy. Will not this destroy his assertion that it was begun by Papias? See the other consequence of arguing as Monsieur Blanc does. We destroy the authority of the Scriptures of God. It is really an avowal of what I am convinced is the fact, that to destroy the foundations of the Roman Catholic Church you must subvert Christianity.

But to return. It is plain that the epistle to Soter and the Roman people was not one of those that had been falsified, for they that were changed by heretics were his doctrinal epistles, but this is one merely of thanks for alms. He then learned, not from Papias, but from public evidence, as did Papias himself; hence the French dissertation states that which is not the fact, when it gives Papias as the only original author of the statement.

I leave to the "clerical friend" and to his editor to say how they can be *certain* that the copy of the Scriptures which they possess is free from heretical corruptions, if copies had been corrupted by heretics so early as the time of Dionysius. For my part, I avow I could have no certainty respecting the copy which I use, did I not acknowledge the infallible authority of a tribunal which then guarded their purity and continues to do so to-day, but which tribunal is valueless in the eye of those erudite antiquarians.

Before I proceed to adduce the other testimony, I desire to close my remarks upon the passages which I have adduced from Monsieur Blanc.

"Papias was copied by Clement of Alexandria, Clement was copied by Eusebius."

The essayist refers for his authority in making these statements to Eusebius, Hist. Ecc. lib. ii, c. 14, 15, et. seq. How far "et seq." might extend I know not. But I do know that, after diligent reading of Eusebius, I find no authority for the statement. But in the fifteenth chapter I find the following passage:

"CAP. XV.

"The foyle of Simon, and mention of the Gospell vvritten by St. Marke.

"When the heauenly worde came thither, immediately the power of *Simon*, together with him selfe came to nought, and the flame was quenched. But of the contrarie such a light of piety shined in the mindes of such as heard *Peter*, that they were not suffized with once hearing, neither satisfied with the unwritten doctrine that was deliuered: but earnestly besought *Sainct Marke* (whose Gospell is now in use) that he would leaue in writing, vnto them, the doctrine which they had receaued by preaching, neither ceassed they, vntil they had perswaded him, and so geuen an occasion of the Gospell to be written, which is now after *Marke*. It is reported, that the Apostle vnderstanding of this by inspiration of the holy spirite, was pleased with the motion of those men, and commanded this Gospell now written to be read in the Churches. *Clemens*, in the sixth of his *Hypotiposeon*, reporteth this story. With him agreeth *Papias*, Bishop of *Hierapolis* in *Asia*, who sayth, that of this *Marke* mention is made of *Peter*, in his former Epistle, which he compiled being at *Rome*, and of him the citie of *Rome* figuratively to be called *Babylon*, the which is signified when he sayth: *the Church partaker of your election, which is at Babylon, saluteth you, and Marke my sonne.*"

There is no authority here for stating that the writer of the Hypotiposeon copied from Papias, and when Monsieur Blanc made the assertion, he wrote *the thing which is not.* Neither was Clement the author of that book, though it bears his name. Eusebius wrote in the century succeeding that in which Clement died and quotes him; but I shall show a large body of intervening testimony in several places during the interval, so that to assert as is here done by the dissertator, is to suggest a falsehood, that this was the only course of the testimony, and is also to

suppress the truth, that there was a large host of other witnesses; and besides, the fact here referred to is not the founding of the Church but the writing of the Gospel by St. Mark at Rome, under the direction of St. Peter.

III.

I have shown that M. Blanc's references to Eusebius are not to be relied upon; that Papias was a contemporary of some of the Apostles, and could easily ascertain who was the first Bishop of Rome; that he was an honest witness, and even according to the reverend dissertator was not the only witness who, living in the Apostolic days, testified the fact of Peter's residence at Rome; for Dionysius, Bishop of Corinth, who testifies it, was also a contemporary with at least one of the Apostles.

The next attempt to destroy testimony is the effort to make Pope Clement of Rome say what is the very contradictory to his meaning.

"To all these pretensions, we can oppose, in the first place, the testimony of Clement, who is reckoned to have been the third or fourth Bishop of Rome. This pious and holy person, in his admirable epistle to the Corinthians, expresses himself thus on the subject of St. Peter and St. Paul: 'Through unjust envy, Peter did not endure one or two but a very great number of trials, and at last, having suffered martyrdom, he went to his place in glory. Through the same envy, Paul received the reward of his patience, having been in prison or in chains seven times, beaten twice, stoned once; and after he had been the herald of the Word of God in the East and in the West, he obtained by faith an illustrious victory. Having reached the extremity of the West, he suffered martyrdom *under the emperors*. Thus he departed from this world, and went to a holy place, leaving us a singular example of patience.' What is the likelihood, that in the parallel which Clement draws between these two Apostles, he should forget to say that *under the emperors* he (Peter) suffered the pains of

martyrdom? Would he have neglected a fact, in this manner, which would have given additional weight to his epistle, and done honor to his See?"

The passage of Clement is to be explained by the circumstances under which it was written, by the comment of contemporaneous writers and of those who lived soon after the period of its publication. Allow me first to remark, without questioning the accuracy of the translation, that this passage does not by any means deny, even by implication, the facts of Peter's residence and death at Rome; so that in truth there is no opposition between those two propositions: "Peter suffered martyrdom at Rome, where he had resided, under the emperor Nero," which is our assertion, and this other: "Peter having suffered martyrdom, he went to the place of his glory," which is Clement's assertion. The clause *under the emperors* can without any impropriety be referred to both Saints; for in truth they both suffered in the same place. As to the apparent neglect of Clement, the answer is very simple: The fact of Peter's having suffered at Rome was so well known that it was as unnecessary to mention it at that period to Christians as it would this day be unnecessary to inform a Frenchman that Louis XVI was beheaded in Paris.

The occasion of the letter was a schism at Corinth, in or about the year 96. This letter is one of which Dionysius, Bishop of that See, makes mention in the next century as having been still read in his Church, and we have seen that this prelate informs us what meaning the passage bore in the assembly to which it was addressed and by which it was preserved, viz., that both the Apostles, Peter and Paul, suffered martyrdom in Rome. This Clement was mentioned by St. Paul.[1] His epistle was read in several of the early Churches, and was held in such esteem as to be contained in a very ancient Alexandrian manuscript copy of the Bible, sent by Cyril Lucar to James I, of England. It was carried from Rome to Corinth

[1] Phil. iv. 3.

by Fortunatus, of whom St. Paul makes mention,[1] accompanied by four messengers from Rome, whom Clement requested the Corinthians speedily to send back to him with good tidings. In all the Churches in which it was read, the belief existed that the martyrdom of both the Apostles occurred in Rome. Eusebius[2] states:

"Cap. XIII.

"*Of Clemens, his Bishoprieke, his testimony, his Epistle.*

"In the twelfe yeare of the raygne of *Domitian*, when as *Anacletus* had bene Bishop of Rome twelue years: *Clemens* succeeded, whome *S. Paul*, writing to the Philipians, calleth his felow laborer, when he sayth: with *Clemens*, and the rest of my felow laborers, whose names are written in the booke of life, one undoubted epistle ther is of his, extant, both worthy and notable, the which he wrote from Rome unto Corinthe, when sedition was raysed among the Corinthians: the same Epistle we haue knowne to haue bene reade openly, and publikely, in many churches, both of old, and amongest us also. That at that tyme ther was raysed a sedition amongst the Corinthians, *Ægesippus* is a witness of creditt."

And this author distinctly testifies the martyrdom to have taken place in Rome,[3] upon the authority, amongst others, of Origen. It would be altogether too tedious to enumerate the others who, in the first three centuries, testify this to have been the sense of the passage which Mr. Blanc, by a new species of false logic, converts into a contradiction. St. Jerome, Photius, and others of highest authority for erudition and research, give this as its meaning. Amongst the Protestants, Dodwell, Bishop Pearson, Cave, Archbishop Wake, Grabe, and others, follow those ancient and venerable witnesses. Thus, the passage in Clement's epistle is

[1] 1 Cor. xvi, 17. [2] Lib. iii, c. 14. [3] Lib. c. iii, 1.

one which bears testimony for us and not against us. Eusebius, when he wrote, had this document, as well as several others, before him, all tending to uphold our position; and yet M. Blanc has the modesty to state that this historian only copied Clement of Alexandria who copied Papias, who made his statement upon a hearsay eighty years after the alleged occurrence! What says Eusebius himself?

"Cap. I.

"*In what countreyes the Apostles preached Christ.*

"When as the Iewish affrayres stood as before is declared, the Holy Apostles and Disciples of our Saviour were dispersed troughout the world. *Thomas* (as by tradition we receaue) chose Parthia: *Andrew*, Scythia; *John*, Asia: where he made his abode, and died at Ephesus. *Peter* is reported to haue preached to the dispersed Iewes throughout Pontus, Gallachia, Bithynia, Cappadocia, and Asia, who about this latter time, tarrying at Rome, was crucified with his head downwards, which kind of death he him selfe desired. What shall I say of *Paule*, which from Ierusalem to Illyricum, filled all places with the Gospel of Christ; and at the last suffred martyrdome at Rome under *Nero?* These thinges are manifestly and word by word declared by *Origen*, in the third tome of his commentaries upon Genesis."

"Cap. II.

"*VVho was the first Bishop of Rome.*

"Linus first, after the martyrdome of *Peter* and *Paule*, was chosen Bishop of Rome, *Paule* about the latter end in the salutation of the epistle which he wrote vnto *Timothe*, from Rome, maketh mention of him, saying: *Eubulus* saluteth thee, and *Pudens*, and *Linus*, and *Claudia*."

This is a very extraordinary mode of upholding the assertion, that Eusebius copied Clement of Alexandria. One may easily observe, then, the little value of this writer's statements.

Ignatius was a disciple of St. Peter and St. Paul, as also of St. John the Evangelist, with whom he was extremely intimate, and was second Bishop after Peter of the Church of Antioch. Evodius, who, in the year 43, succeeded Peter, was succeeded by this Ignatius. St. John Chrysostom[1] and Theodoret[2] inform us that the appointment of Ignatius was made by St. Peter, and that he was consecrated by him and St. Paul. He governed the See of Antioch during upwards of forty years, and suffered martyrdom in Rome on the 20th of December, 107. In his epistle to the Romans, after he had been sentenced in Antioch to be carried to Rome and delivered to be devoured by beasts at the public games, he alludes, in the following passage, to the authority which Peter and Paul, who had so long been the special rulers of their Church, had over them: "Pray to Christ for me, that in this I may become a sacrifice to God. I do not as Peter and Paul command you; they were Apostles, I am an inconsiderable person." The whole body of ancient writers inform us that this was an allusion to the command given by those Apostles to the Christians at Rome, not to interfere, by exertion, or entreaty, or prayer, to prevent their being sacrificed. Eusebius, when he wrote, had this document also.[3] He mentioned the five books of Church history compiled by Hegesippus, who came to Rome in the Pontificate of Anicetus, about the year 160, and remained there until 177, when he returned to the East, and died probably at Jerusalem, in the year 180, at a very advanced age.[4] Eusebius states he copied very much from him; and it is in his work the principal written testimony is first found as to the request of Peter that he might be crucified with his head downwards. In book iii, chap. 2, of Hegesippus, the relation was given. Thus, in Rome itself, and from the persons of all others best qualified to give the account, this author wrote his statement which Eusebius saw; and yet Monsieur Blanc gravely informs us, that he only copied

[1] Hom. on S. Ignat. [2] Dial. 1, p. 23. [3] Lib. iii, c. 36. [4] Lib. iv, c. 21, 22.

Clement of Alexandria, who copied Papias, who built his tradition on a hearsay about eighty years after the occurrence, and in Hierapolis! Of a truth this is a most historical critic.

About fifty years after the time of Dionysius of Corinth, Caius wrote, of whom Eusebius gives us the following account and testimony:[1]

"This enemy of God (Nero) (wherein he was first espied) set vp him selfe to the destruction of the Apostles, for they write that *Paule* was beheaded and *Peter* crucified of him at Rome, and that maketh for the credit of our history which is commonly reported, that there be churchyards vnto this day bearing the name of *Peter* and *Paule*. In like manerr *Gaius*, a Romane, and an Ecclesiasticall person, and (after *Zepherinus*), Bishop of Rome, writing unto *Proclus*, captaine, of the heresie which the Cataphyrgæns held, speaketh thus of the tombes wherein the Apostles were layd. I (sayeth he) am able to shewe the banners of the Apostles. For if thou wilt walke vnto Vaticanum, or the waye Ostienses, thou shalt finde there victorious banners, of such as haue builded this Church. And that they were both crowned with martirdome at the same time, *Dionysius*, Bishop of Corinth, affirmeth in his epistle vnto the Romanes."

This passage is more correctly translated thus:

"Therefore, when he (Nero), professed himself the open enemy of the divinity and piety, sought first the death of the very Apostles, as being the leaders and standard-bearers amongst the people of God; and condemned Paul to lose his head in the city of Rome, and Peter to the punishment of the cross. I think it useless to search extrinsic evidence of those things, since their most splendid monuments testify to the fact to-day."

Yet M. Blanc tells us that he only copied Clement of Alexandria, who copied Papias!

St. Irenæus, Bishop of Lyons, was born about the year 120, in Asia Minor, and was a disciple of the famous

[1] Lib. ii, c. 25.

St. Polycarp, Bishop of Smyrna, the pupil of St. John the Evangelist. Polycarp was the angel of the Church of Smyrna,[1] so commended by "the Son of Man." He visited Pope Anicetus, in Rome, about the year 158, and certainly was well aware of who was first Bishop of that See. He suffered martyrdom about the year 166, when, according to his own testimony, he had served Christ eighty-six years, and was at least one hundred years old. Basnage, a learned Protestant writer, thinks he was an hundred and twenty years old, which would have made him a contemporary of St. Peter. From him and other eminent prelates Irenæus learned the facts and doctrines of Christianity. Tertullian[2] calls Irenæus "the most diligent searcher of all doctrines." St. Epiphanius calls him a most learned and eloquent man, endowed with all the gifts of the Holy Ghost." Theodoret styles him, "the light of the Western Gauls." The commerce between Marseilles and Smyrna was extensive in the second century, and Irenæus was advised by Polycarp to proceed to Gaul, where many Christians were extending their faith. He was ordained priest by Pothinus, Bishop of Lyons, and in 177 was sent to Rome on business, from the Church of Lyons to Pope Eleutherius; thus in the city itself he had the full opportunity of investigating the history of its bishops. The Bishop of Lyons having been martyred during the absence of Irenæus, he was selected upon his return to govern that See; and was slain with a vast number of his flock, in the fifth persecution under Servius, about the year 202. This writer[3] states that the Apostles left their doctrine and the truth of all the mysteries of faith to their successors the pastors, and that it is fit we should have recourse to them to learn; especially "to the greatest Church, the most ancient and known to all, founded at Rome by the two most glorious Apostles, Peter and Paul, which retains the tradition it received from them, and which it derived

[1] Rev. ii, 8, 9. [2] Lib. contra Valent. c. 5. [3] Lib. iii, c. 3.

through a succession of bishops down to us. Showing which, we confound all who, any way out of self-conceit, love of applause, blindness, or false persuasions, embrace what ought not to be advanced; for to this Church, because of its better presidency, it is necessary that every Church —that is, the faithful everywhere—should address themselves; in which Church the tradition from the Apostles is altogether preserved." He then stated that SS. Peter and Paul chose Linus to succeed at their death; and he enumerates Anacletus, Clement, Evaristus, Alexander, Sixtus, Telesphorus, Hyginus, Pius, Anicetus, Soter, and Eleutherius, the twelve of the Apostles. This list is also found in Eusebius,[1] copied, as he alleges, from Irenæus. Thus one observes how extremely incorrect is the assertion of the Reverend M. Blanc as to the authority upon which this historian bases his statements.

Eusebius states,[2] from ancient accounts whose truth he considers to be extremely probable, that Philo, the Jew, who came from Egypt in the beginning of the reign of the Emperor Claudius, met and conferred at Rome with St. Peter, who then preached to the Romans. This was in the year 43 of the common era.

Arnobius, the famous Numidian rhetorician, who was converted to Christianity in or about the year 302, mentions the extensive progress of religion in Rome to have been in a great measure caused by the exposure and defeat of Simon Magus, by St. Peter, in that city.[3]

Tertullian, born at Carthage about the year 160, son of a centurion, a man of most comprehensive genius, extensive erudition, and deep research, profoundly versed in the Roman laws and the principles of evidence, in his book "On Prescriptions," states that Peter was crucified at Rome, and says that Clement was one of his successors in that See. He has in his book of Prescriptions the following passage:

[1] Lib. v, c. 6. [2] Lib. ii, c. xvi. [3] Lib. contra Gent.

"If you are near Italy, you have Rome; whence, too, we have authority convenient. Happy Church for which the Apostles poured out their entire doctrine, together with their blood—where Peter is assimilated to his suffering Lord, and Paul is crowned in a death like John's."

St. Cyprian, Bishop of Carthage, was son of one of the principal senators of that city, and only at an advanced period of life embraced the Christian faith. His education was one of the first order and his talents excellent; his intercourse with the Church of Rome was very considerable, after he had been elevated to the see of his native city; nor was it all of the most forbearing and obsequious character. In a variety of places he styles Rome "the See of Peter," "the Chair of Peter," "the principal Church whence the princely unity hath arisen." In his book iv, Epistle 2, to Antonianus we read: "Cornelius was made Bishop, when the place of Fabian, that is the place of Peter, and the degree of the sacerdotal chair, was vacant." This prelate was put to death in the year 258.

Lactantius, a disciple of Arnobius, at Sicca, in Africa, was converted from Paganism to Christianity at Nicomedia, about the year 290. About the year 317 he became preceptor to Crispus Cæsar, in Gaul, by the appointment of Constantine. One of his greatest works is that "Of Divine Institutions," published first in 320. I select the following passages:

"Christ at the time of His departure manifested to His disciples the things that were to happen, which Peter and Paul preached at Rome."

"After Nero had slain them (Peter and Paul), Vespasian extinguished the name and nation of the Jews, and did all those things which they foretold were to take place."[1]

St. Athanasius, Bishop of Alexandria, was born about the year 296, and amongst other passages of his writings is the following, taken from his letter to the Hermits:

[1] Lib. iv, c. 21.

"At first they did not spare even Liberius, Bishop of Rome; not being moved by any reverence, for that his See was Apostolic."

In the same he introduces Liberius declaring:

"Never has such been handed down to us by the Fathers, who have received their tradition from the blessed and great Peter."

Origen, the fellow student of Plotinus and Longinus, the disciple of Ammonius Saccas, was certainly no mere copyist without cause. This great master of the Catechetical school of Alexandria was born in the year 184; about the year 212 he went to Rome, in the Pontificate of Zepherinus, and was unquestionably well qualified to ascertain its ecclesiastical history. It is upon his authority also that Eusebius relates the manner in which St. Peter was crucified with his head downwards, at his own request:

"And Peter having waited at Rome to the last, was crucified there, his head being downwards, which was so besought by himself, lest he should appear to be equalled to his Lord."[1]

I suspect it required no special indulgence from Nero to leave the executioner the power of agreeing to the request of one to suffer, so far as regarded the position of his body. It is a miserable sneer of sophistry to insinuate that such an acquiescence on the part of the executioner was equivalent to "allowing Christians the care of settling their own forms of punishment."

All these and a great many more who bear similar testimony lived before or together with Eusebius, the historian, who was born in the year 270. Their works and those of several others were in his hands. How absurd then is the statement that he was the mere copyist of a copyist of hearsay?

I come now to exhibit the effort which the essayist makes to destroy the entire value of all the witnesses.

[1] Lib. iii, in Genes.

He had previously made his assaults upon Papias, Dionysius of Corinth, and Eusebius. But this he feels will not serve his purpose, and he, as if in a mere transient manner, as a matter too plain to be questioned, too palpable to require proof, states that not a single passage from any of the ancient writers is of any avail when adduced by a Roman Catholic, but if it be adduced by a Protestant it is conclusive. You will probably think this a very extraordinary position. But do not pass a hasty judgment.

"Let us also make, in passing, the remark, that when the Fathers are produced against us in order to support dogmas or facts, which our opponent feels himself interested in maintaining, we ought to be the more upon our guard, because the Council of Trent has decided that the books of the ancient Fathers ought to be purged, (*expurgati*); a circumstance that, consequently, should make us very circumspect in the admission of passages which they cite against us; while, on the other hand, the passages of these Fathers which we allege, remain in all their force, since we possess the books of the ancients only from the hands of our adversaries."

Now suppose the Council of Trent made such a decision, and that it was carried into execution; all that could follow would be, that after the close of that council the works would have been garbled; that is, passages would have been omitted. But my argument rests upon the passages which have been retained, and unless the witnesses contradict themselves, none of the expugned passages could have asserted what contradicts those retained. Hence, even were I to admit the truth of this statement, his conclusion would be unsupported.

Again: The Council of Trent did not close its session until the year 1563, at which period a large portion of Europe and several of its universities were Protestant, and a great number of ancient copies of the works of the Fathers were in the hands of the Protestants, as well as in the libraries of those universities and cathedrals, as in those

of the monasteries, colleges and schools, which they seized on, and in the hands of many private individuals. The council could not purge all those copies of the obnoxious passages which they contained; why not adduce those passages and thus convict the Catholics of this alleged garbling? Those works and printed copies of them are at this day in the hands of Protestants, and they have been so during the existence of the Protestant Churches; when such is the case, what use would be the purging of the copies held by the Catholics?

Monsieur Blanc perhaps thinks that using the Latin word *expurgati* will be sufficient proof that the council made such a decree. It is painful but it is necessory to inform you that the council made no such decree or decision. Writers like M. Blanc and the "clerical brother" and the editor of the *Christian Advocate* are too fond of using this mode of attack upon us. It would have been as easy and more satisfactory to have referred to the session when the decree was made, to the page of the work in which it might be found, or to the head under which it was classed, as to write the Latin word *expurgati*.

Thus it is very plain that in three paragraphs of this dissertation we have a very large number of glaring misstatements, as well as the manifestation of a desire to destroy the credit of all the ancient witnesses and documents of Church history, merely because they manifestly prove the truth of a fact which our "clerical brother" hates to admit. It is a little extraordinary that men who belong to a Christian society should be so anxious to extinguish all the ancient lights of the Church, and to create a chaos or to leave a blank between the period at which St. Luke concludes his account of the Acts of the Apostles and the present day; or a comparatively recent period.

Having thus shown the disingenuity, the sophistry, and want of honesty of M. Blanc, in his first assertions, I shall proceed to examine another very flippant expression of his essay:

"Clement was copied by Eusebius, and the latter has been copied by many authors, ancient and modern, who have been, perhaps, too much interested to render credible a fact which will always be of very little importance to those who build their faith, not on the person of Peter, but upon the corner-stone, Jesus Christ."

In the first place I would remark that I know of no persons who build their faith upon the person of St. Peter. If it be meant to insinuate that Roman Catholics do, the insinuation is untrue. When Christ changed the name of Simon to Peter, or rock, He declared that upon that rock He would build His church, and that the gates of hell should not prevail against it.[1] Roman Catholics believe that our blessed Lord did build His Church upon that Peter or rock, by making Peter its first chief pastor after His own ascension; but he never desired the people to build their faith or belief upon that rock, but upon Jesus Christ Himself. When a Roman Catholic makes an act of faith, he declares that he believes the articles of his religion because God has revealed them; and thus the truth of God is the foundation of his faith. Christ then built the Church upon St. Peter, but Roman Catholics build their faith upon the Saviour Himself.

Eusebius principally used the compilation of Julianus Africanus, and the history of the Church written by St. Hegesippus, the former in his chronicle, the latter, so far as it came, viz., to the year 170, in his history; but he had also in his possession the writings of the various authors above quoted, most of which he cites himself. I would then ask what is to be thought of a man who, like this Monsieur Blanc, boldly makes a grossly untrue assertion—viz., that Eusebius only copied Clement of Alexandria, on this subject, Clement having only copied Papias, and Papias only writing upon a hearsay about eighty years after the death of Peter? Will not all conclude with me,

[1] Matt. xvi, 18.

even before examining the subsequent writers, that this Frenchman was either very ignorant or ——— I shall not write the alternative? I do not like to call men who differ from me beasts, idolaters, unhallowed usurpers, deluders, babblers, unblushing liars, and such other names. I am not sufficiently polished for this; I am a plain republican; I do not like to call nick-names, though I might see that a man writes what he ought not. The history of Eusebius was brought down to the epoch of the defeat of Licinius, in 323; all the authorities which I have quoted, hitherto, were anterior to this event.

IV.

The essayist concedes to us, from that period forward, the host of writers who admit the truth of the fact. However, this concession is made with a very bad grace, for, in the first place, it is asserted that in obedience to a decision of the Council of Trent, their works have been garbled, and in the next place, that the ancient and modern authors who have copied from Eusebius were generally too much interested to render the fact credible. I have already disposed of this first statement.

I shall here make what appears to me a very natural observation. It is conceded by the essayist that at the early period of the fourth century it was publicly stated that St. Peter suffered martyrdom in Rome. He would not, I presume, deny that the Bishops of Rome did at that period claim a supremacy in the Church, because of their being the successors in his See. He would not, I suppose, deny that then, and for many years after, several bishops and their flocks not only submitted to that claim, but strenuously supported it. Consequently, is it not passing strange, that from the mass of ancient authors he cannot cite one passage to question the truth of what all the ancient writers assert? Surely the Council of Trent, which was opened in 1545, could not have purged the

Fathers before the time of Arius in 320, of Macedonius in 360, of Nestorius in 430, of Eutyches in 450, of Heraclius in 640, of Constans in 668, of Leo the Isaurian in 740, or of Photius in 880. All those men and their followers and adherents opposed the Bishops of Rome, and were condemned by those prelates. Yet not one syllable do they urge in denial of the martyrdom of Peter at Rome; not one of them attempts to deny the notorious fact that the Bishops of that See were, in their episcopacy thereof, the successors of that Apostle. I presume we shall not be told that those opponents were interested in making it credible.

Shall we be told that the prelates, the divines, and the critics of the Protestant Church of England are interested in rendering it credible? No nation, no Church, can boast of brighter genius, more varied talent, deeper erudition, and more general scholarship, than is to be found in the ratio of their numbers in that national Church. It is true that in the fury of their early efforts against Popery, as was the phrase of the day, neither John Knox in Scotland nor the Mussulman in the East made a more holy havoc of the documents of ancient days. As the Bible with the one and the Koran with the other were the only books which contained true knowledge, and were worthy of the believer's attention, so after being stripped of the mammon of iniquity with which their covers and cases were enriched, whole hecatombs of ungodly parchments were offered as holocausts to the spirit of innovation. Yet still, as the "monkish" collection was immense, and the zeal of the ravagers was after a time restrained, the learned men, who subsequently arose in the English Church, had ample opportunities for indulging their critical and antiquarian research. To the testimony of Archbishop Wake, Bishop Pearson, Dodwell, Cave, and a host of this description, I would merely add the following remark of the acute Whiston:

"Mr. Bower, with some weak Protestants before him, almost pretended to deny that St. Peter was ever in

Rome; concerning which matter take my own former words out of my three Tracts, p. 53. Mr. Baratier proves most thoroughly, as Bishop Pearson has done before him, that St. Peter was at Rome. This is so clear in Christian antiquity, that it is a shame for any Protestant to confess that any Protestant ever denied it. This partial procedure demonstrates that Mr. Bower has by no means got clear of the prejudices of some Protestants, as an impartial writer of history, which he strongly pretends to be, ought to do, and has in this case greatly hurt the Protestant cause instead of helping it." [1]

Baratier was an eminent Protestant divine, whose dissertation was printed at Utrecht in 1740. It is entitled "A Chronological Inquiry about the most ancient Bishops of Rome, from Peter to Victor." In it he demonstrates the fact which had been so ably exhibited in the learned dissertation of Bishop Pearson.

Will it be pretended then that English, French and German Protestant divines are interested in rendering this fact credible? The Rev. M. Blanc is not more opposed to the See of Rome than they were; the *Christian Advocate* is not more inimical to what he and they call Popery than were those writers. But they were men who had read extensively and searched deeply upon the subject.

I shall now adduce the testimony of men whom the essayist would, perhaps, with some show of ground, assert were interested, because they were Roman Catholics. Are we then to reject the evidence furnished by the best witnesses of the brightest days of Christianity merely because it will lead to a conclusion at which some gentlemen do not choose to arrive?

St. Epiphanius was born at Eleutheropolis, in Palestine, in the year 310. In his youth he closely studied the Hebrew, the Egyptian, the Syriac, the Greek, and the Latin languages, for the purpose of being better able to

[1] Mem. of his own life, p. 599.

study the Holy Scriptures. He retired into a monastery in the desert of Egypt, whence he returned to Palestine in 333, and built a monastery near the place of his birth, in which his time was divided between labor, study and prayer. About the year 367 he was chosen Bishop of Constantia, now Salamis, in the island of Cyprus. In 382 he accompanied St. Paulinus of Nola to Rome, during the pontificate of Damasus. Scarcely a book of note was to be found which he had not studied, and he had improved his reading by travel and observation. His death occurred in 403. In his account of the twenty-seventh heresy, which is that of Carpocrates, he distinctly states: "Peter and Paul were the first in Rome." He follows up the succession by stating: "The succession of Bishops in Rome had this consecution, Peter and Paul, Linus, Cletus, Clement, Evaristus, Alexander," &c.

This is pretty strong testimony, given by a man of extensive knowledge and reading, whose research was close and protracted, and whose opportunities were abundant and ample.

St. Jerome was born in the year 329 or 331, and lived to the year 420, enjoying extraordinary advantages of extensive information in Rome, in Palestine, and in various other places where the best opportunities of knowledge were to be found. He writes of himself: "When a boy I studied the liberal arts at Rome. I was wont to make a round to visit the tombs of the Apostles and Martyrs, with others of the same age and inclinations, and often to descend into the caves which are dug deep into the earth, and have for walls on each side the bodies of those that are interred there."[1] His close application to the study of the Holy Scriptures has never been exceeded, perhaps never equalled; no one better knew the whole range of ecclesiastical affairs. In his notices of illustrious men we read the following brief but emphatic and explicit testimony:

[1]Lib. 12, c. 40, Ezech.

"Simon Peter went to Rome in order to vanquish Simon Magus, and there he held the sacerdotal Chair during twenty-five years, that is, to the fourteenth or last year of Nero, by whom he was fastened to the Cross, and suffered martyrdom, with his head down towards the earth."

In his epistle to Marcella we read the following testimony regarding Rome, which, however, as the centre of former pagan infidelity, he styles the Babylon of the Apocalypse: "There exists the Holy Church; there are the trophies of the Apostles and of the martyrs, there the true confession of Christ, there too the faith preached by the Apostle, and the Christian name daily raising itself on high, having trodden on the Gentile system."

In his epistle I to Pope Damasus, the 37th Bishop of Rome, concerning the name *hypostasis*, he has the following testimony: "I speak with the successor of the fisherman and the Disciple of the Cross; I am joined in communion with your Holiness, that is, to the Chair of Peter."

St. Ambrose, Bishop of Milan, was born in Gaul in the year 340, where his father, who was at the time prefect of the Prætorium, kept his court. Ambrose himself, when Governor of Liguria and Æmilia, was chosen for the See of Milan and consecrated in the year 374; he died in 397. His instruction was had in Rome, and no person could be more fully qualified than he was by education, by habit, and by principle, to investigate the origin of that Church. It is from his oration against Auxentius which is found in his epistles, lib. 5, that we read one of those accounts of St. Peter, at which the Rev. Monsieur Blanc, the clerical brother, and the *Christian Advocate* would affect to sneer as a "ridiculous tale," "a fable," &c. But my wise friends ought to be aware that we have received the Holy Scriptures, which contain many similar statements, only from the same hands, and by the same testimony which transmits to us those tales and fables, as the sage and critical trio are pleased to designate them.

St. Ambrose is stating an occurrence which took place after the Christians had prevailed upon Peter to leave the city of Rome in order to escape: "He began to go beyond the walls by night, and seeing Christ meet him in the gate-way, as if entering the city, he said: 'Lord whither goest Thou?' Christ answered: 'I come to Rome for the purpose of being again crucified.' Peter understood the divine answer to relate to his own cross, &c. . . . . Being quickly seized upon, he by his Cross honored the Lord Jesus."

In his Book III on the Sacraments, chap. i., he has the following testimony, showing the ground upon which he made a statement: "Truly we have as the author of this our assertion Peter the Apostle, who was the Priest of the Roman Church."

St. Paulinus, Bishop of Nola, was born of illustrious parents, at Bordeaux, in the year 353, educated in the most famous schools, and possessed all the advantages of talent, fortune, books, and communication with the most learned men of his time, in various places where he resided. He entered upon retirement from his worldly grandeur in the year 390, and was consecrated in 409, and died in 431. In his book "Natali," 3, he gives us the following testimony: "And Rome herself, powerful in the sacred monuments of the heavenly leaders, in Peter and in Paul."

St. John Chrysostom was born about the year 344, at Antioch. He was the only son of Secundus, the commander-in-chief of the imperial troops in Syria. His name in his eulogy; his knowledge was indeed extensive, as his tongue was eloquent. He was ordained deacon in 381; priest in 386; and was consecrated Bishop of Constantinople on the 26th of February, 398, and died on the 14th of September, 407. In his Commentary on the 18th Psalm we read: "Because Peter the fisherman took possession of the chief royal city, he shines, even after death, more splendid than the sun."

In his Homily 32, on the epistle to the Romans, he states: "The heavens do not shine so brightly when the sun shoots forth his rays, as doth the city of the Romans, pouring out the light of those two lamps through all the world. From this place Paul will be snatched, from this place Peter. Consider, and be astonished what a spectacle Rome will behold, to wit, Paul arising suddenly from the repository together with Peter, and borne upwards to meet the Lord."

Eutropius, an excellent historian born in the same century, who wrote ten books of the history of Rome down to the time of the Emperor Valens, gives the following testimony in his book vii "On the Life of Nero:" "Finally he added this to all his other crimes, that he butchered the holy Apostles of God, Peter and Paul."

St. Sulpicius Severns, of a rich and illustrious Roman family, was born near Toulouse in Aquitain, about the year 360. He was a most acute and eloquent barrister, of extensive reading and deep erudition. Upon the death of his wife he retired and devoted himself altogether to piety and literature. Some writers state that he was ordained priest, but doubts exist upon the subject. He compiled an ecclesiastical history and some works of hagiography. The language of his abridged history, to the year 400, is such as to deserve a comparison in style with best of the earlier ages, and procured for him the appellation of the Christian Sallust. His death occurred about the year 420, when it was generally supposed he was a monk in a monastery, founded near Marseilles, by Cassian, who came thither from Constantinople about twelve years previously. Here is his testimony: "The divine religion had grown strong in the city, Peter being Bishop there, and Paul having been afterwards led to Rome. . . . . Paul and Peter were capitally sentenced, of whom one was beheaded with a sword; Peter was lifted on a cross." [1]

[1] Sac. Hist., lib. 2.

The Emperor Theodosius the Great reigned from 395 to 408, and from his situation must have had good opportunities of knowing the general impression of the wise and the learned of his own day, as well as the history of previous times. This emperor must, if local prejudices or partialities swayed him, have been less disposed to favor Rome than Constantinople. Let us view his testimony given in "G. de summa Trinitate, et fide Catholica, L. cunctos populos:" "We desire all the people who are under the rule of our clemency to be exercised in that religion, whose preservation as yet amongst the Romans declare it to have been to them delivered by the blessed Apostle Peter."

St. Augustine, Bishop of Hippo, was born at Tagaste in Numidia in the year 354. His education was most carefully looked after, his talents were of the first order, and his research was extensive and accurate. Having been instructed in the Christian doctrine by St. Ambrose, as well as by an aged priest named Simplician, whom Pope Damasus had formerly sent to instruct Ambrose himself, he became a Christian, and was baptized by St. Ambrose, on Easter eve, in the year 387. In the course of two or three years afterwards he was ordained priest, and was consecrated bishop in the year 395, and died in the year 430. I might quote many passages from his voluminous writings to sustain the facts which I here uphold. I shall be content with the following: "Rome commends more solemnly, and with greater celebrity, the merits of Peter and of Paul, because they suffered on the same day."[1] "What hath the Chair of the Church of Rome done to you, that Chair in which Peter sat, and in which Anastasius now sits?"[2]

In his sixteenth epistle, he enumerates the Bishops of Rome from Peter to Anastasius.

Paul Orosius, a learned priest of Tarragona, in Spain, who about the year 416 was in Palestine and in several

[1] Lib. i, c. 10, de consensu, Evangel. [2] Lib. 11, c. 51, contra litteras Petiliam,

parts of the most flourishing divisions of the Church, the doctrine and knowledge of which he had fully known, testifies in lib. vii, c. 6 of his history:

"In the beginning of the reign of Claudius, Peter, the Apostle of our Lord Jesus Christ, came to Rome, and by faithful discourse taught the saving faith to all, and approved it by most powerful virtues, and from that time Christians began to be at Rome." . . . . . .

"For Nero first at Rome punished and slew Christians, and endeavoring to extirpate the very name, he put to death the most blessed Apostles of Christ, Peter by the cross and Paul by the sword."

Theodoret, Bishop of Cyprus, was consecrated in 423; his see was about 80 miles from Antioch. He died in the year 458, before he had reached his 70th year. He was deeply versed in every branch of Syriac, Greek, and Hebrew learning, highly esteemed for his critical and philosophical powers. An unfortunate dispute existed between him and St. Cyril, of Alexandria, legate of Pope Celestine, regarding the personal criminality of Nestorius, Bishop of Constantinople; so that Theodoret was no flatterer of the See of Rome. He made a valuable compilation of Church history from the year 324, when Eusebius closed, to the year 429; besides writing several other works. In his Com. on chapter i, to the Romans, we have this testimony:

"The great Peter first gave to them (the Romans) the Gospel doctrine."

In his epistle to Pope Leo the Great, writing of Rome, he states:

"She possesses the sepulchres of our common Fathers and doctors of the truth, of Peter and of Paul, which illuminate the souls of the faithful." . . . . . .

"They (Peter and Paul) have made your See the more illustrious; this is the sum of your goods. But God hath now also rendered your See bright and worthy of remark, when he hath placed your Holiness in that seat which emits the rays of the orthodox faith."

I could swell this catalogue, but to what purpose? Nothing is more plainly exhibited upon the records of antiquity, in the writings of historians, in the letters of bishops, in the edicts of emperors, in the documents of Churches, in public monuments, in the acts of councils, in the avowal of opponents, than that the blessed Apostle Peter was at Rome, was first Bishop of Rome, and died in that city, being Bishop thereof. Let any man of common discernment now compare the small portion of our evidence which I have adduced, with this miserable sophistry of the lauded Monsieur Blanc of Mens, Isere, and draw his own conclusion.

I have two other points to meet, which, of course, I shall thoroughly discuss, viz., whether by Babylon, St. Peter meant Rome, or the city of Chaldea, or Grand Cairo; and also whether Scripture does not contradict my position. But I was desirous of first giving a small specimen of our tradition, which is so much undervalued by those who have not had the opportunity of knowing the meaning which we attach to the word. With us tradition means conclusive evidence derived from the earliest ages. It might be of very little importance to the essayist, to his clerical brother, and to the *Christian Advocate*, to know what was the doctrine of the true believers of the early ages, the doctrine of those men who alone can be to us the witnesses of the authenticity and the integrity of the holy Scriptures. We pretend to no private inspiration to lead us individually to the knowledge of which book is and which is not canonical. The canon by which the distinction was originally made was found in the judgment and authority of those men who composed the Church of Christ in those primitive ages; the writers whom I have adduced as my witnesses are also the witnesses of their canons. Reject their testimony in one case, and how can you consistently retain it in another? Thus the holy trio destroy the holy Scriptures, and yet they make those Scriptures, which they so destroy, the foundation of their belief!

The host of witnesses adduced by me might indeed have been interested in rendering credible the fact that Peter was at Rome; and I am convinced they were, because they were so interested in rendering truth credible, and they proved their interest by their devotion thereto, exhibited in labors, in self-denial, by splendid virtue, in immense sacrifices, and frequently by martyrdom. But could they create monuments at Rome to commemorate facts which the Roman people knew to be fiction? Could they persuade the world that Peter, who must have died somewhere, and the place of whose death must have been known, did not die there, but died where he never had been, where no monument was found, no tradition existed, no claim was made? It would be folly in me to enumerate the absurdities which those suppositions would involve. But in calling forward a few from the host at my disposal, I have omitted several of the early Bishops of Rome itself: such as Clement and Anacletus in the first century, men who knew and spoke with Peter at Rome; Marcellus in the third century; Damasus and Innocent, who lived in the fourth; Leo the Great and Gelasius, who are of the fifth century. I have omitted the testimonies of Councils such as that of Sardica in 347 and of Chalcedon in 451. I have ceased to unfold the roll of ages, not because it was deficient in authorities, but because I am convinced that I have exhibited more than enough to satisfy any reasonable person.

If it be said that the Chrysostoms, the Ambroses, the Augustines, the Epiphaniuses, the Jeromes, the Eusebiuses, the Orosiuses, and the other luminaries of that splendid galaxy which marked the Christians' path from earth to heaven with the milk of celestial doctrine in the early days of the Church, were interested in upholding the system to-day called Popery: they who make the assertion identify modern Popery, as they are pleased to call our religion, and the Christian system of the best, the brightest, and the earliest days of the Church. How then, in the name of consistency, can we be charged with innovations, when

we desire to be tried by the testimony of those ancient Fathers? How can our separated brethren claim to hold the principles of the primitive Church, when their continual efforts are directed to the destruction or the depreciation of its splendid documents and noble witnesses?

V.

I proceed to examine the next paragraph of Monsieur Blanc's production:

"The tradition of this journey of St. Peter to Rome rests, moreover, upon the supposition that the Babylon, from which he wrote his first epistle, was Rome. Eusebius strengthens this conjecture by saying that Peter 'figuratively called Rome Babylon.' But many learned men with reason maintain that the name Babylon ought to be taken in its proper signification, for Babylon of Chaldea, or that of Egypt, which is now Grand Cairo, where there were many Jews, to whom Peter was specially sent, as St. Paul teaches us, in the second chapter of his epistle to the Galatians."

The second chapter of the epistle to the Galatians states, indeed, a general regulation which was adopted for a division of labor, by which Peter was principally to labor amongst the Jews and Paul principally amongst the Gentiles; but each of them did frequently labor amongst both descriptions.[1] Peter first received Gentiles into the Church, and Paul frequently preached in the synagogues, and even in the city of Rome itself he sought to bring the children of Israel to the knowledge of their Messias. If we look to the Acts of the Apostles, xiii, 14, we shall find abundant evidence of the fact, and verse 46 exhibits that it was not either unusual or accidental. "To you it behoved us to speak first the word of God; but seeing you reject it, and judge yourselves unworthy of eternal life; behold we turn to the Gentiles." The same principle is exhibited in Acts xvii, 1, 2, 10, 17; xviii, 4, 5, 19; xix, 8; xxviii, 17, 23, 28, &c., as also in many

[1] Acts, x, 48.

other passages. The fact of his addressing an epistle to the Hebrews shows clearly that St. Paul found himself at perfect liberty to seek for their salvation and to bring them into the Christian fold. Hence, upon the same ground, though the principal charge of laboring specially amongst the Jews was assumed by Peter, this selection did not interfere with his concern for the Gentiles. The chapter referred to by the essayist does not, therefore, preclude the laboring of Peter amongst the Gentiles.

I will now suppose that it was the duty of Peter to reside where a large body of Jews had been collected together. I shall adduce testimony to show that there was such an assemblage in Rome. In Josephus[1] we read that when the Jews sent fifty ambassadors to Rome for the purpose of lodging a complaint against the administration of Herod, in the reign of Augustus, there were "above eight thousand of the Jews already at Rome," joined in the commission with those fifty delegates from Palestine. The number of that nation residing in the city about the thirtieth year of the reign of Augustus, which corresponds with the beginning of the Christian era, has been estimated by good statistical antiquarians at considerably upwards of twelve thousand; several of whom would not join in the accusation against Herod, nor in petitioning for the restoration of the Jewish laws. During the forty-three years that intervened between this period and the arrival of Peter, the calamities and dissensions of Judea, as well as the tyranny of the petty rulers by whom it was harassed, caused the emigration of large bodies of its inhabitants, great numbers of whom took up their abode in the capital of the empire; so that in the reign of Caligula, Philo wrote that the larger portion of the city beyond the Tiber was occupied by Jews. Dio, the historian,[2] informs us that in the reign of Claudius, who assumed the imperial purple in the year 41, and died in 54, that emperor found so many of the nation in Rome, that although desirous of

[1] Antiquit., Lib. xvii, c. 11. [2] Lib. 9.

banishing them, he feared to do so, and merely published at first an edict to prohibit their assemblage, lest they should create a sedition. Our statement is, that Peter arrived in this city in the beginning of the reign of Claudius, probably about the middle or latter part of the year 43. There can be no question but that there was then an ample field amongst the Jews in Rome open for his exertions; because probably, at that period, no other city in the universe contained so extensive an assemblage of that nation.

The preaching of this Apostle must have created considerable excitement amongst the Jews, as we may judge by analogy, from the relations given in the Acts of the Apostles. Hence, allowing for the carelessness and contempt with which a Gentile writer usually treated what was called the superstition of the Jews, we can easily find the true meaning of the blunder of Suetonius (in Claudio): "He expelled from Rome the Jews, who were in a continual tumult at the instigation of Chrestus." The explanation is as obvious as it is correct. Though Christ was not there, His Apostle was; and this expulsion, which took place in the ninth year of Claudius, probably caused Peter, who was the leader of the Christians, to leave the city for some time. In examining the circumstances of Babylon and of Grand Cairo, I shall show that in neither place was there any such field open for the labors of this Apostle as there was in Rome; so that it will be clear, the reference to the second chapter of the epistle to the Galatians is a delusion. Even Monsieur Blanc does not venture to assert that when St. Peter wrote "the Church which is in Babylon, elected together, saluteth you, and so doth my son Mark," he did not mean Rome; he merely tells us, that "many learned men with reason maintain that the name of Babylon ought to be taken in its proper signification for Babylon of Chaldea, or that of Egypt, where were many Jews." It is, however, not a little remarkable that those "many learned men," who are all moderns, cannot inform

us from which Babylon it was written, though they are certain that it was not written from Rome; neither do they vouchsafe to conjecture where St. Peter died, though they are convinced that it was not at Rome; nor will they show us where he labored, though verily it could not be at Rome.

I shall now proceed to show sufficient grounds for substituting the word Babylon for Rome, in the epistle itself, by the writer. First, I have already demonstrated that the Jews were banished from the city in the reign of Claudius, because of the tumults occasioned by the introduction of Christianity. They soon began to return, but slowly and privately at first. St. Peter was the most obnoxious personage, as well to the great body of his own nation, as to the rulers of the city; upon which score prudence would suggest that he should not too openly and unnecessarily exhibit to every person that he again resided in that city. Could he find a word designating his abode, to those who would not betray him, and which would not point him out to his opponents, its use would be natural. Such a word was Babylon.

He wrote primarily to converted Hebrews, who had been accustomed to such figures of speech, and who were conversant with the writings of the prophets, in which they abounded. Amongst this people the name of a city or of a region had generally attached an historical recollection, which immediately exhibited what many phrases would be required to describe. Sodom was a city of unnatural crime, Egypt an idolatrous people, Canaan an accursed race, Babylon was the prison of their fathers, the enemy of their nation, the usurper of their rights, the tyrant of their race, the proud and inexorable mistress of their captive rulers. Such also in the days of Peter was pagan Rome; and the Asiatic Jews were so well accustomed to designate that mighty city by the name, that the Evangelist St. John so styles it, amongst other places, in Rev. or Apocal. xiv, 8; xvi, 19; xvii, 5; xviii, 2, 10, 21. To support the fact

of their being so accustomed to style Rome, I could produce the testimony of Tertullian, lib. 3, contra Marcion, Andreas and Aretas in Apoc. xvii, St. Jerome in Isaiam xlvi, and xlvii, besides many others, who, together with Papias, Eusebius, and the several early writers, state that St. Peter meant Rome in this first epistle by the word Babylon. Not only has Martin Luther designated the city of Rome by this name, when he compiled his book, "Of the Babylonish Captivity," but hundreds of zealous Protestants perpetually apply to us Romanists, as they call us, all that is written against Babylon in the Revelations. It is to be hoped that the gentlemen do not mean to say and to unsay with the same breath. I will then conclude that Peter had a sufficient cause for styling Rome Babylon, and that in so doing he was intelligible to the persons for whom he wrote.

I might here rest my case, and upon the testimonies of the ancient witnesses assert, that we have in this epistle the declaration of Peter himself, that he was at Rome. Let those who assert that he was the founder of the Church in Babylon of Chaldea, or of that in Grand Cairo, adduce their authorities; let them produce the records of those Churches; let them give to us the catalogue of his successors; let them inform us of the place, the time, the manner of his death; let them refer us to one ancient writer who gives the shadow of a contradiction to my statement, or who affords even the most flimsy basis upon which to rest their conjectures.

I go yet farther, and I ask if it was not written from the Babylon of the Apocalypse, which is Rome, from what Babylon was it written? The answer which I receive is a conjecture. I have produced positive testimony. What species of logic is that which would destroy positive testimony by the conjecture of a possibility? But I yield all this, and proceed to examine the conjectures themselves. In truth the advocates of each will refute the advocates of the other. Those who contend that the epistle was

written from Chaldea state that in the second, which was written from the same place (c. ii, v, 15), the word Bosor is a Chaldaic expression, and that this furnishes evidence sufficient for the residence of the writer. I have but a very passing remark to make upon the extraordinary obstacle. A transcriber might have written Bosor for Beor, by mistake, and the word would then cease to be Chaldaic. Again, between the period when Moses wrote that Balaam was the son of Beor, and the period of Peter's writing his epistles, the Hebrew people had been captives in Chaldea; and long before the Apostle's day, the Syro-Chaldaic had been substituted for the ancient Hebrew. Several pure Chaldaic words were also adopted, of which Bosor might have been one.

The ground next taken by those persons is, that although the Jews of Babylon had been greatly reduced in number by the destructive ravages made upon them under Anileus and Asineus, as well by the Babylonians as by the united Greeks and Syrians, still there were many of them who survived and settled in Chaldea, as the last chapter of Josephus, lib. xviii, exhibits. They also state that there are no grounds whatever for the supposition of those who assert that Peter went into Egypt and there founded a Church at Babylon, now called Grand Cairo. But they think it extremely probable that he who preached in Bithynia, Galatia, Pontus, and Cappadocia, did go to Babylon of Chaldea, which was in his vicinity, and came through it to Syria. They say it is on all hands allowed that he was at Antioch, and it is natural to suppose that he went thence to Babylon of Chaldea, where a great number of Jews dwelt, and remained with them for some time.

My readers will observe that all this is merely conjecture and probability, save the assertion that no evidence exists of his having founded a Church in Egypt.

Now, the good gentlemen of the other side assure us that Babylon of Egypt must have been the city of his sojourn; for they demonstrate that, at this period, the

Jews were banished from the Chaldean city, which had also become nearly a desert—and that Peter, having preached in Egypt and having established the See of Alexandria, of which they gave no proof, went to the city of Babylon, now called Grand Cairo, and there established his own see. Thus, if we leave the fight between our adversaries, they will destroy each other.

I shall give an outline of the reasoning upon which we allege that this epistle was not written from Babylon in Chaldea. In the first place, we have no testimony to uphold the assertion that Peter ever went to that city; and we have abundant evidence that he did go to Rome, which was known amongst the Jews and the early Christians under the name of Babylon, because of the criminality of its pagan inhabitants, their pride, their lust of dominion, their oppression of the people of God, and their accumulated idolatry. Next, we have the testimony of Pliny to show that the city of Chaldea was then in a state verging upon ruin and hastening to decay. That author, book vii, c. 26, writes, that at this period it was reduced to a state of solitude, exhausted by the vicinity of Seleucia, upon the Tigris, which had been built as its destructive rival by Nicanor. Strabo informs us, that it was then comparatively a desert; and Diodorus states that but a very small portion of the remains of that city was inhabited.

Add to these testimonies that of Josephus, who informs us in the chapter before cited, that, after the death of Anileus and his companions, which occurred before the reign of Claudius, when this epistle was written, the Jews who remained in Babylon, not finding themselves sufficiently strong to resist the other inhabitants, most of them left the place and took up their abode in Seleucia. Six years after that migration, a plague, which ravaged this devoted Babylon, swept away the remnant which lingered amidst its ruins. Nor were those who took refuge in Seleucia much more fortunate; for the Greeks and Syrians of that city, having conspired, suddenly attacked their Jew-

ish fellow-citizens, of whom they massacred upwards of 50,000. The few survivors then of this nation that yet wept upon the borders of the Euphrates or Tigris, were sheltered in Neerda and in Nisibi. Are we, then, because of the word Bosor is Chaldaic, and because the right of Roman primacy rests upon the fact of Peter's having been at Rome, to declare that because there were Jews in Babylon before the period of their flight and extermination, this Apostle, as being chiefly anxious for their conversion, went to dwell in a city where scarcely one of that nation had remained?

Surely, though that destruction should not even have taken place previous to the writing of this epistle, and though we should not have good reason to know that St. Peter and his brethren were guided by the prophetic spirit to which futurity is open, still we must acknowledge that he and they received from on high light to understand the Scriptural prophecies; and he needed only to look through the book of Isaias to be convinced that, "Babylon, the oppressor, should come to nothing," xvi, 4. "Its pride should be brought down to hell," v, 11. "Its name was to be destroyed, the remains, the bud, and the offspring," v, 22. "It was to be made a possession for the ericus and pools of waters—it was to be swept and worn out with a besom," v, 23. "It was to be destroyed like Sodom and Gomorrah," xiii, v, 19. "It should not be inhabited forever, neither should the Arabian pitch his tent there, nor shepherds rest there," v, 20. "But wild beasts should rest there, the houses should be filled with serpents, ostriches should dwell there, and the hairy ones should dance there," v, 21. "Owls should answer one another in it," v, 22. And yet, with this prophecy under his eye, and the proof of its beginning to be accomplished in full evidence before him, the holy trio would, against its own judgment and the evidence of all antiquity, send Peter to Chaldea, that they might keep him out of Italy! Admirable critics! Profound antiquarians! Learned com-

mentators! If farther evidence was required of the prophecies, it might be easily found in chapter xxi of the same prophet, in Jeremias, chap. l, li, and in several other places. From these topics, I conclude that Peter could not have written from Babylon in Chaldea, for his residence in which we have not a particle of evidence, nor any evidence of a Church existing there in his day, nor any likelihood of his going thither

M. Blanc states, that in the Egyptian Babylon there "were many Jews to whom Peter was specially sent." If by "many Jews" he means such a number as a few thousands, the information is quite new to me. This city was called *Bubasticus*, in the Nomos Heliopolitis, and is now probably the city of Grand Cairo. It was built by a Persian colony after the subjugation of Egypt by Cambyses, about 500 years before the period of Peter's writing. In the time of Strabo, which was a little previous to the days of this Apostle, it was considered chiefly as a strong citadel, which formed a good garrison for one of the Roman legions then sent to guard Egypt (Strabo lib. xvii); but we are left without any information of its being a place in which either Jews or Christians dwelt in any numbers during more than four centuries later than this period. Indeed, the Jews of Pontus, Galatia, Bithynia, Cappadocia, and generally of Asia Minor, knew very little, if anything, of this distant city of Egypt. According to this view, which is the best that I can give of the Egyptian Babylon, there appears nothing to support the assertion of the essayist, that in this city there "were many Jews to whom Peter was specially sent." Thus, without evidence of the fact, without any probable grounds even for conjecture, merely because of the name of Babylon and the dislike to Rome, we are to cast away the testimony of the ancient witnesses and to place the Apostle in Grand Cairo!

It is natural to presume that, if he had been there, a Christian Church would have existed in this city, yet of this we have no evidence. Even Spanheim, a learned

Protestant divine, with all his research, could not discover an earlier Bishop of Grand Cairo than Cyrus, whose name is mentioned in the first proceedings of the Council of Chalcedon, in 451. Baronius, however, will have it that Zosimus, who lived under the Emperor Justin the younger, about a century later than that period, is the first. I shall grant Spanheim the benefit of his discovery, but how far will it bring his party on their way? To this I shall add a remark of Calmet, which has great force. Suppose Rome to be out of the question, and the word Babylon written as the place of the writer's abode; would not those persons who lived in the vicinity of this ancient metropolis, and who scarcely knew of the Egyptian city, naturally look to the Chaldean, unless some guarded phrase or well-known circumstance corrected their mistake? Yet here is no such phrase, and if any such circumstance existed, it must have been known to the early writers, some one of whom would have thrown light upon the subject, and prevented the supposed delusion under which all Christians labored during so many centuries, in believing the Babylon of St. Peter to be the Babylon of St. John. These few testimonies and observations will show why I state that Peter, by writing from Babylon, informs us that he writes from Rome, and not from a city on the Euphrates, the Tigris, or the Nile. Upon these grounds, I assert that in the Scripture itself, and under Peter's own hand, we have evidence of his having been in Rome.

I shall here introduce the testimony of the learned Hugo Grotius, who, though not within the pale of our communion, gave strong evidence in our favor on more subjects than the present. In his remarks upon this epistle he states:

"The ancient and the modern interpreters differ concerning Babylon. The ancients interpret it to be Rome, where no true Christian will doubt that Peter was; the moderns, Babylon in Chaldea; I agree with the ancients."

Some few gentlemen, not being able to get over the difficulties of Babylon upon the Euphrates nor of Babylon upon the Nile, have recollected that Seleucia was also called by this ominous name; but I suspect that Seleucia might have been considered as altogether placed beyond our question after the massacre of 50,000 Jews and the flight of the remainder to Neerda and to Nisibi. But a French Protestant divine, Louis Capelle, who died in 1658, not satisfied with either of the above conjectures, and of all things disliking to go to Rome, fixed upon Jerusalem as the Babylon of Peter, because there Christ was slain and the Apostles persecuted. My object, however, being only to discharge the task which I have undertaken, that is, to examine M. Blanc's dissertation, I shall not go out of it into extraneous topics to quarrel with Mr. Capelle.

VI.

I now proceed to examine the question, whether the Scriptures, as quoted by Monsieur Blanc, contradict our statement, which consists of three distinct propositions, viz.: 1. That St. Peter the Apostle was at Rome. 2. That he was Bishop of that city. 3. That he, being its Bishop, suffered martyrdom there.

This writer does not adduce any distinct passage of the Scriptures which denies or is incompatible with either or the whole of our three propositions; but he assumes, by a chronological arrangement which is unwarranted, that some Scriptural statements, whose truth we admit, are irreconcilable with the truth of our positions. It would, therefore, be well for us to have accurate notions of what we assert, so that we may be able to distinguish what we require and support, from what it is assumed we contend for. In the first place, though I believe that St. Peter went to Rome in the first or second year of the reign of the Emperor Claudius, if not in the last year of Caligula; it will be sufficient for my purpose if I prove that he was there only twenty-one or twenty-four years after, viz., in the

latter part of the reign of Nero; for if he was then put to death, being Bishop of Rome, our three propositions will stand, and his office was to be continued in that city, unless, what is not pretended, he transferred it elsewhere. What says M. Blanc?

"The best Catholic ecclesiastical writers put the martyrdom of Stephen in the seventh year after the death of Jesus Christ; in other words, A. D. 40. The conversion of St. Paul, at soonest, happened this year. Thus we see seven years already past. At this epoch, St. Peter was still at Jerusalem with the other Apostles; and not until some time afterwards, he was sent with St. John to strengthen the Samaritans, who had been converted by the ministry of St. Philip. 'Now when the Apostles who were at Jerusalem heard that Samaria had received the Word of God, they sent unto them Peter and John,' (Acts viii, 14). At this epoch, Peter was still under the authority of the Apostolical college; it was only five or six hundred years afterwards, that he seized upon the sovereign power, in the person of his successors. After the conversion of St. Paul, we find St. Peter at Lydda, where he cured Eneas, (Acts ix, 32–34); at Joppa, where he raised Dorcas from the dead, (ix, 36–41); at Cæsarea, where he converted Cornelius, (x). Upon the report spreading that Peter had eaten with the Gentiles, he returns to Jerusalem, and vindicates himself before 'them that were of the circumcision,' (xi). This journey of Peter, his preaching in the provinces of Judea, Samaria, and Galilee, his abode at Joppa, and the other events which St. Luke relates, occupy a space of three years (A. D. 43). We learn that the Christians, dispersed on occasion of the death of Stephen, had carried the good savor of the Gospel to Antioch. Thither Barnabas was immediately sent, who, seeing the grace of God, departed to Tarsus, to seek Paul (Acts ix, 25), and bring him to Antioch, where they remained 'a whole year,' (xi, 26 A. D. 44). About this time the famine predicted by Agabus should be placed, the martyrdom of St. James, the impris-

onment of St. Peter, and his remarkable deliverance (Acts xii). Thus far St. Peter is constantly found in Judea, not manifesting upon any occasion the desire of going to Rome; and why should he have gone thither, since that city fell not within his charge? St. Paul says positively: 'The Gospel of the uncircumcision was committed unto me, as the Gospel of the circumcision was unto Peter; for He that wrought effectually in Peter to the Apostleship of the circumcision, the same was mighty in me towards the Gentiles—James, Cephas, and John, gave to me and Barnabas the right hand of fellowship, that we should go unto the heathen and they unto the circumcision.' (Gal. ii, 7–9). St. Paul, three years after his conversion, going up to Jerusalem to carry the alms of the Christians of Antioch and the circumjacent places, met Peter there, with whom he remained fifteen days. (Acts xi, 30; Gal. i, 18). He went up thither a second time, fourteen years afterwards, Gal. ii, 1), and there he still met with Peter and his principal colleagues, (v. 9, A. D. 58). Behold, then, Peter constantly at Jerusalem, seven years—ten years—twenty-five years, after the death of Jesus Christ. If we read with a little attention the eleventh verse of this second chapter of the epistle to the Galatians, it appears that it was not till after this time that St. Peter went to Antioch, where, it is pretended, this Apostle occupied the episcopal chair for seven years; which would be still so many to be deducted from his pretended residence at Rome."

It is perhaps cruel to take this little scrap of chronology to pieces, but so it is, that my conviction imposes upon me the task. Now it is very well ascertained that in the various systems of calculation, there exists a difference of from four to five years between the computation of our era and the true period of the birth of our Redeemer. For this a very sufficient cause is obvious. The computation by the Christian era was not immediately commenced; indeed it was only in 527 of our common era, which was the last year of the Eastern Emperor Justin I, that Dionysius

Exiguus, a learned Scythian, who was an abbot in Rome, published a paschal cycle, in which he began his computations by taking the first of January next after the birth of our Saviour, for the commencement of his first year. The venerable Bede, who compiled a learned work, "*De Temporum ratione*," in 731, uses a different computation; for he begins his reckoning, which was continued by several until lately, from the 25th of March previous to the birth of Christ, that is, the day of the enunciation, so that what he would call the first of April, 732, would by Dionysius be called 731. Some moderns have yet more perplexed the subject by speculations which they miscall "historical philosophy." We have, however, two excellent checks in the list of consuls and in the testimony of the early Christian Fathers. By accurately examining we find, that by the computation upon those principles, our present era is, as has long been acknowledged, upwards of four years too late. According to the computation of Varro, Christ was born in the consulship of Augustus (12) and L. Crn. Sulla, or the fortieth of the reign of Augustus, A. U. C. 749; he was baptized in his thirtieth year, and was crucified on the 25th of March, in the thirty-third year of his age, of the common era 29, in the consulship of the two Gemini. Amongst other authorities for this are Tertullian, adv. Jud. c. 8; St. Augustin, lib. xviii, c. 54, "De civitate Dei;" Victor Aquitanus; the Liberian calendar, etc. This was in the year 15 of Tiberius reigning alone; which statement is also supported by Lactantius, lib. iv, c. 10, St. Prosper, etc. Having thus regulated the mode of computing by the vulgar era, I have to state that the erudite gentleman has not vouchsafed to give us the names of "the best Catholic writers." How fond he is of turning our forces against ourselves! "Who place the martyrdom of St. Stephen in the year 40." I must adhere to those whom I have read, and place it in the same year that our Saviour was crucified. In doing this, I shall be supported, amongst others, by the learned Protestant

Scaliger, and by Valesius in his notes upon the historian Eusebius, lib. ii, ch. 1. I shall also be upheld by Alban Butler, who, upon such a subject, is no mean authority. Thus, in the first four lines of this paragraph, I gain eleven years upon this most learned Theban: so that even if the rest of his paragraph were correct, he ought to write A. D. 47, in place of 58. How wretched a contrivance is the attempt to introduce a new question as decided, in Acts viii, 14, "Peter still under the authority of the Apostolical college," when the question under examination is merely as to his residence and death at Rome! With this alleged authority I have at present no concern.

A great variety of other dates are to be settled here in a very different way from that in which Monsieur Blanc touches them off. All the ancient writers agree that after the death of Stephen, that is, in the course of the year 30, the Apostles went round to the vicinity of Judea, but did not disperse into other nations until the twelfth year from our Saviour's death. In the fifth of those years, Peter fixed his See at Antioch, this would leave him more than the three years, claimed by the essayist, for the occurrences related in Acts viii, ix, x and xi. When an Apostle fixed his see in any particular city, it by no means follows as a necessary consequence that he never visited any other. A bishop's see is the principal place where he usually resides, but he is frequently absent on visitations, at councils, and on a variety of other occasions; so that the fixing of his See at Antioch is by no means a reason for assuming that the Apostle was never absent from that city. The statement of Paul's visit to Peter at Jerusalem, according to M. Blanc, will not interfere with this supposition; my object at present being, first, to take the essayist's own order of facts, which order, however, the sacred volume does not determine. I shall use the liberty which he gives me of placing the conversion of Paul in the year after the death of Stephen, or the second year after, if it pleases him better. Paul states, that "three

years after this," not his conversion, but his return to Damascus, he went to Jerusalem and stayed fifteen days with Peter (Galat. i, 18). Now according to M. Blanc this might well have occurred previous to Peter's fixing his See at Antioch, or if we state this visit to have been in the year 37, as it is made by some who say that Paul did not return to Damascus until 33, Peter, though Bishop of Antioch, might have been on a visit in Jerusalem.

M. Blanc, however, has to account in this place for a contradiction of his own to Paul, who, in Gal. i, informing us of his first visit to Jerusalem, states the object of his journey was "to see Peter," and this previously to his having been called by Barnabas to Antioch; yet M. Blanc tells us, that this is the same visit of which mention is made in Acts xi, 30, whereas the whole body of ancient witnesses as well as St. Luke in the Acts of the Apostles testify that they were different visits. Paul's object in his epistle to the Galatians was not to state all the visits which he had paid to Jerusalem, but to state those by occasion of which he met any of the other Apostles in that city; and as the object of his first journey was "to see Peter," the object of his next was to carry alms. We are not then to confound both journeys as the essayist does, but to distinguish them, as the ancients and the Scriptures have done.

But why, if his object was truth, does the writer pass over chap. ix of the Acts, in which mention is made of this first visit? Why does he at once bring us to chap. xi where the second visit is related? In his epistle to the Galatians Paul states that after his conversion he went into Arabia and returned to Damascus, three years after which he went up to "see Peter," who was in Jerusalem. In Acts ix, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, we are told by St. Luke how he went from Damascus to Jerusalem. In this same place we are informed of the manner in which he was sent from that city to Cæsarea and Tarsus; there he is left, until we find in Acts xi, 25, that he is brought

to Antioch, and then, in v, 30, he makes another journey from Antioch to Jerusalem.

But the good gentleman has so prettily attempted to interweave facts separated by years, and to transpose their order, that I must here stop to replace them. The first visit of Paul to Jerusalem was fourteen years previous to his second meeting of Peter in that city. (Gal. ii, 1). Paul was not at Antioch before his calling on Peter in the third or fourth year after his return to Damascus; neither did he go from Jerusalem to Antioch at this time, but was brought by the disciples into regions which he mentions in Gal. i, 21, Cilicia and Syria. Having tarried in those regions during three or four years, and his aid being called for in Antioch subsequently to the dispersion of the other Apostles and the departure of Peter from that city, he in the beginning of the reign of Claudius accompanied Barnabas thither; because of the necessities of that Church, arising from the large number of converts. (Acts xi, 25, 26, etc). The time is here marked by the sacred writer in verses 27 and 28. Claudius began his reign as we see in 41. There is nothing in the Bible to prevent our asserting that at this same period Peter was cast into prison in Jerusalem and miraculously delivered, as related in Acts xii, previously to his going to Rome; and that he occasionally visited the East so as to have met Paul again in Jerusalem in 51. However, I shall, instead of those surmises lay down what appears to be the general testimony of all the ancient writers, viz.: That Peter founded the See of Antioch in the year 33, and occasionally visited Jerusalem and the neighboring regions; that in 37, when he was at Jerusalem, he was visited by Paul, who went thence to Cilicia and its vicinity, and that Peter having gone to Rome in 40, Paul was about 41 or 42 brought by Barnabas to labor for a time in Antioch; that Peter, having returned to visit the East, was cast into prison by Herod in Jerusalem in 44, and escaped as related in Acts xii, and going back to Rome, remained

until the expulsion under Claudius in 49; when returning a second time to the East, he was at Jerusalem at the council in 51 (Acts xv), where Paul met him the second time, fourteen years after their first interview. But in the meantime whilst Peter was absent on his second visit to the West, in the end of 44 or 45, Paul had been to Jerusalem with the alms from Antioch and other places. (Acts xi, 30).

I am here obliged to notice another instance in which the essayist asserts incompatibilities. He states that Barnabas was sent to Antioch immediately after the dispersion of the Christians, upon the death of Stephen. I shall merely remark that St. Luke's object in this chapter evidently is to follow up the account which he had given in chap. x, and the first part of chap. xi, of the admission of Gentiles into the Church. Hence he treats the subject historically and apart, without interweaving it with the other occurrences. A single observation will show this to be a correct statement. The conversion of St. Paul did not occur until after the increase of the Christians, by reason of their first dispersion upon the death of Stephen. (Acts viii, 1 to 5). Now between the statement in this passage and its repetition, so far as regarded a particular place, viz., Antioch, in Acts xi, 19, a great many occurrences, which occupied several years, are summarily related without mentioning the exact order of their dates. It was not until some years after the death of Stephen that Cornelius was received into the Church, as related in Acts x. Peter's explanation followed this occurrence, and then the sacred historian, having mentioned this account and decision of Peter, reverts to the former period of several years previous, for the purpose of showing how the Church of Antioch had a great number of converts, and to continue therein the history of St. Paul, which occupies the chief share of his attention thenceforth. Hence it would be absurd to state that the occurrence related in the 19th verse immediately followed that whose relation had been

closed in the 18th. It is equally clear that the transactions related in verses 19, 20, 21 and 22, took up several years. In verse 19 it is plain that the first disciples preached only to the Jews at Antioch. It is obviously clear from chap. xi, 1, 2, 3, that the Apostles and brethren who were in Judea, did not look upon themselves as authorized to receive the Gentiles into the Church until after they had received the explanation of St. Peter. It is only in verse 18 we find their first recognition of the principle that they might be received. They could not, therefore, have previously sent Barnabas to Antioch, and this recognition having been some years after the death of Stephen, they could not have sent Barnabas thither immediately after his death, as M. Blanc says they did. But suppose this difficulty now removed, still Barnabas could not have found Saul in Tarsus, until after his conversion, his return from Arabia to Damascus, his journey three years afterwards to Jerusalem, and his going thence to Cæsarea and Tarsus, in which place he tarried for some considerable time. So that if Paul came to Antioch in 44, as we believe he did, and soon after the arrival of Barnabas, as was the fact, this latter could not have gone thither before 42 or 43, at which period Peter, having left Antioch, was in Rome, or on his way thence back to Asia. We shall also find time for him previously to have spent three years in his visits through the regions mentioned in Acts viii, ix, x and xi, besides seven years being permitted to elapse from his having fixed his See in Antioch, until his departure for Rome; and we can easily conceive that within those seven years he might frequently have visited Jerusalem, on one of which occasions St. Paul paid him a visit of fifteen days, in the year 37. M. Blanc, then, besides suppressing the reference to this visit, which is related in Acts ix, endeavors to confound it with that mentioned in Acts xi, and makes the statement in Galatians i, refer to the latter, when in fact it refers to the former; thus endeavoring to destroy the evidence of one of those journeys. He next,

against all the ancient witnesses, defers the martydom of Stephen full seven years, and omits to correct the calculation of the era by upwards of four years, so as to throw twelve years out of the account. Then to give a color of truth to his statements, he makes the Apostles send Barnabas to Antioch immediately after the death of Stephen, when it is evident that such could not have been their procedure for several years thereafter; and he makes Barnabas bring Paul from Tarsus within a year or two after the death of the first deacon, when it is manifest, from the accounts of Paul himself and of Luke, that this could not have occurred at the soonest before the lapse of from eight to twelve or thirteen years after that period. Again, the essayist assumes that because Peter was twice met at Jerusalem by Paul, he could not in the fourteen years which elapsed between those interviews have been at Antioch and at Rome.

You will then perceive that our distribution of Peter's time creates no difficulty in explaining all the passages of St. Luke, whilst it also agrees with all the accounts of the ancient writers. Whereas M. Blanc's mode of mixing up and confounding dates and facts makes Scripture contradict itself, and it also contradicts all the ancient witnesses.

Why Peter should go to Rome, even for the sake of the Jews, if for no other cause, I have already shown. That he went to Antioch after the Council of Jerusalem, which was held in 51, that is, fourteen years after 37, we also freely admit, and that for his imprudence he was admonished by St. Paul, I also believe, though several good critics are of opinion that the Cephas mentioned in Galat. ii, 14, and who was reproved was not St. Peter, but another disciple. My own opinion, however, is in unison with that of the great body of commentators, that it was St. Peter the Apostle who was so admonished, though in verse 8, speaking of the Apostle, the writer calls him Peter, and in the next verse he mentions James, Cephas and John, whereas it is not an unusual mode thus to write of the same person, almost in the same line, by two

different names. However, suppose it be Peter; his being now at Antioch does not argue that he had not been previously there and also at Rome; so that hitherto, as you will have perceived, the difficulties and contradictions are on the side of our opponents. I shall have to reduce his A. D. 58 to A. D. 51.

"But this is not all. St. Paul wrote to the Romans in the year 57 or 58, about twenty-five years after the death of Jesus Christ. At this very time St. Peter ought to have been at Rome, or never. Meanwhile St. Paul glories in being especially their Apostle: 'I speak to you Gentiles, inasmuch as I am the Apostle of the Gentiles, I magnify mine office.' If St. Peter had been settled and acknowledged as their proper Apostle or bishop for several years past, would it not have been great arrogance in Paul to deprive him, after some sort, of his title and character? Above all, would it not have been great injustice to say, 'From Jerusalem, and round about unto Illyricum, I have fully preached the Gospel of Christ. Yes, so I have strived to preach the Gospel, not where Christ was named, lest I should build upon another man's foundation?' (Rom. xv, 19, 20). How then should he think of going to Rome, if St. Peter had already built there the first Church of the world?"

What I have stated in my last section answers this.

"Why, in the long detail of salutations, which fill almost the whole chapter of this epistle, is there no mention made of the great head of the universal Church? In A. D. 60, when Paul arrived at Rome, he called together the principal Jews that were in the city (Acts xxviii, 17), without supposing himself to usurp the rights and the authority of the Prince of the Apostles, without even thinking of St. Peter, who beyond controversy would have been of the greatest utility to him in his bonds. (A. D. 62). St. Paul remained two whole years in Rome (Acts xxviii, 30); he wrote from thence divers letters to the Ephesians, Colossians, Philemon, and the Philippians; all these letters close

with the salutations of the principal Christians of that famous city, and nowhere do we find a single word of St. Peter. How shall this silence be accounted for (consistently with Peter's supposed presence at Rome)? Truly, I should be curious to know. 'Aristarchus' (it is said in the Epistle to Colossians, ch. iv, 10, 11), 'my fellow-prisoner—and Marcus, sister's son to Barnabas—and Jesus, who is called Justus, who are of the circumcision: these only are my fellow-workers unto the kingdom of God, who have been a comfort to me.' Mark well the words 'these ONLY.' How injurious to St. Peter, if he had been at Rome!"

To this mighty query a short reply will be sufficient. 1. That St. Peter, being frequently absent from the city of Rome, might to the knowledge of Paul himself have been elsewhere at the very time that he wrote his epistle; or that Phebe, who perhaps was the bearer of the letter to the Romans, was to deliver it to Peter, if in the city, and he was to make the salutations. The omission of the name of Peter is therefore no evidence that this was not his See. The same might be said of the omission of the names of other known prelates in other epistles. 2. That although the ordinary successors of Peter were to enter upon his full rights as head of the Church, the extraordinary mission which each Apostle had specially and immediately from Christ was not under Peter's control, but the extraordinary commission of each Apostle was to expire with himself, and the surviving pastors were to be subordinate to the successor of Peter. Such is the testimony of antiquity, and this supported by the testimony of facts, in those early days. Hence there was no necessity for any one of the Apostles to apply to his brother for a power which they both possessed in common, viz., that of preaching and administering by the commission of Jesus Christ to the whole world. 3. The Jews whom St. Paul called to him at Rome were those who did not belong to the Church, but who were in communion with those who opposed Paul himself in the East; and a very sufficient reason is

found for his not calling upon Peter, either in the fact of his absence from the city, for he spread the faith in several other parts of Italy, and in other regions farther West —or if he was in the city, in the fact of his being most obnoxious to the unconverted Jews, who and whose fathers had been banished, because of the tumults caused by his former preaching, about eleven years before. This will also account for the mighty word ONLY, without being an imputation upon the zeal of Peter.

One objection only remains.

"Arrived, for the second time, at Rome, A. D. 65 or 66, and the 10th or 11th of the reign of Nero. He was then put in so close a prison that Onesiphorus could scarcely find him (2 Tim. i, 17), and the persecution was so great, that he wrote to his dearly beloved pupil, Timothy, (2 Tim. iv, 16), that 'no man stood with him, but all men forsook him.' Would not this have been a fine eulogy on St. Peter, if he had been at Rome? Let us farther observe, that this Apostle, to whom was committed the circumcision, as we have remarked above, never wrote an epistle to the Romans; that he never speaks of them in the two letters which we have from him; and that, in writing the second, to the same Churches to which he had written the first, (2 Peter, iii, 1), he speaks to them as aware that he would shortly quit this earthly tabernacle. (2 Pet. i, 14). Let us finally remark that St. Peter although near his departure from this world, salutes the faithful only on the part of Marcus his son, (1 Pet. v, 13), without speaking of St. Paul, whose companion in martyrdom some would have him to be."

St. Peter's eulogy is found in his imprisonment; and if neither Paul nor any person save Mark could approach him, it accounts for the omission of all other names, if indeed it is necessary to account for the omission. Monsieur Blanc, who ridicules the notion of Nero's permitting St. Peter to request that his crucifixion might take place with his head downwards, would indeed have room for his

jocularity, were we to state that he permitted him and Paul, upon the eve of their martyrdom, to consult together upon the form of an exhortation of perseverance to a people whom he had doomed to extermination!

I have done with M. Blanc. Allow me to sum up my statements. I have shown that there is nothing in Scripture to interfere with the testimony of Peter's having been Bishop of Rome and suffering martyrdom in that city. I have shown that a host of ancient testimony and modern criticism of the opponents as well as the friends of the Bishops of Rome sustain the facts. I have shown that if we reject this testimony we must reject the Bible, because we receive the sacred volume only through similar, I might say, the same witnesses. I have shown that M. Blanc's theory, besides contradicting St. Paul and St. Luke, contradicts itself, whilst our statement is free from any such difficulty. I have shown numerous and important assertions of his to be contrary to the fact.

THE IRISH FRANCHISE.[1]

I.

My Dear Friend:—I have waited until the account of the failure of your hopes reached me. Having now ascertained that the British House of Lords has rejected the Emancipation Bill, I address myself to you. To you who know so well my convictions and sentiments, upon the great question of your rights, it will be subject of little wonder to learn, that I have been more gratified at the failure of this bill, than I would have been at its success. I believe you differ with me in the conclusion, although I have no doubt we agree in principle. My object in thus publicly addressing you, is to show to those who may read what I publish, in what we differ, and where I conceive you have greatly mistaken, or where I am very much in error. As regards me, placed where I now am, my views, my opinions, and my acts regarding my native country are matter of no moment, yet still I will not yield to you in love of Ireland. Not so with you; every thought, opinion, or act of yours is important, has great influence, and in a certain crisis might determine the fate of Erin. When I address you then, I have in view to rouse you, by our former ties and still subsisting friendship, to examine carefully which of us is wrong; when I call upon you thus publicly it is to induce some of our former fellow-laborers, from whose memory my name is perhaps not yet obliterated, to guard their judgments against the influence of your name, which they would be ungrateful

[1] This series of letters was addressed to Daniel O'Connell by Bishop England, who, while in Ireland, was the Liberator's right hand, remonstrating against the Irish Statesman's attitude towards the disfranchisement of the forty shilling freeholders of Ireland as a compensation for Catholic Emancipation. They were published first in 1825.

if they did not revere; but though you are my friend and their benefactor, your judgment is not infallible. And I trust I am able to say with justice of myself, "amicus Plato, amicus Socrates, sed magis amica Veritas." A further object which I propose to attain by publishing at this side of the Atlantic, is, that as the question of Irish wrongs begins deeply to interest the people of America, they may be able to learn the true state of the question, and not be misled by the garbled extracts which many of our editors make from the dishonest publications of the British press. You can have no idea of the very imperfect notions which men, otherwise extremely well informed, have of the religious and political state of Ireland.

You are fully aware that I have had equal opportunities with most others of knowing all the bearings of the Catholic question; that I had better opportunities than many others of knowing the state of the freeholders. I know their misfortunes, their temptations, and their conduct. Few could know as well as I did what sort of men were the Catholic clergy, and you and I have not unfrequently conversed upon the subject of their being paid salaries by the crown. The few years which have passed away since I sat with you at the same board, took part in the same debates, and since we both habitually made those topics the subject of our anxious thought and confidential communications, can not have produced so great an alteration in their circumstances as to have rendered me unfit to question you a little regarding their present state and your late conduct.

There are three topics of matter. 1. The relief of the Catholics. 2. The modification of the elective franchise. 3. The payment of the clergy. There are four descriptions of persons to be contemplated. 1. The Catholics of the British Empire; perhaps we had as well confine our view to those alone of Ireland. 2. The Irish nation, or rather the Irish province of the British Empire; fuimus Troes. 3. The government of Great Britain. 4. The people of the British nation.

The papers here have represented you as anxious for the relief of the Catholics; indeed it would be strange if you were not, it would be strange if every Catholic, if every lover of Ireland, if every lover of civil and religious liberty, if every just man were not. You sought it upon that principle which always led you to seek it, and were I to make an unnecessary and profane oath as did that ill-advised and infatuated Duke of York, the Bishop of Osnaburgh, I could upon the most solemn and sacred pledge aver that I have never known any Roman Catholic seek it upon any other principle. The principle is that of the great, good, venerable, liberal, and charitable Protestant Bishop of Norwich; a principle which, as you have frequently expressed yourself, would give emancipation to the Catholic in Great Britain, (let me add in North Carolina and New Jersey), to the Protestant in Spain, and to the Christian in Constantinople. The principle is that although God will in another state of existence punish the criminal unbeliever, He has given to no man, to no body of men, power to punish him in this present state of existence for mere disbelief of doctrine; but that He has left conscience free as regards society, though bound as regards Himself. This is the principle of religious liberty, not the principle of irreligious licentiousness. Persecution has frequently made hypocrites; I doubt whether it ever made a convert. Hypocrisy is a crime of the highest order, and though instances might be adduced where persecution made converts, the means should be lawful before they could be applied to produce the effect.

The relief bill brought in by Sir Francis Burdett, which was passed by the British House of Commons, and lost in the British House of Lords, was a bill which would, if carried, indeed have emancipated the Irish Catholics and brought great blessings of tranquility, contentment, industry, and happiness to Ireland; perhaps it might not have answered the purposes of the British government, but it would undoubtedly have strengthened and comforted the

British nation. Had this been the only measure contemplated, every good man would have desired its success and would have regretted its failure. But to confine our views to this bill would be looking at the question very imperfectly; it was but the first of three terms of a compound sum: To the casual observer, the parts appeared separable, but upon closer inspection the delusion was apparent and the crotchets of the statesman bound them inseparably together. We must not then view the benefits of the one without examining the evils of the others; the deduction to be made by the second quantity, which was negative, might be greater than the positive amount of benefit conferred by the first, and although the third term was positive too, when examined it might be found to result in the bestowing of positive evil. One of our American sages relates of himself that when a boy, being very anxious to procure a whistle, he thoughtlessly gave to an urchin who observed his anxiety considerably more than its value. Young Franklin was amused for a time with the sounds, but when the charms of novelty had vanished and he had made some inquiries, he discovered that he had given a great deal too much for his whistle. Believe me, my friend, Mr. Canning observed your anxiety, and he knows very well how to sell a whistle.

The newspapers stated that you were favorable to the bill for disfranchising the forty shilling freeholders in the counties, and making the lowest qualification in those counties ten pounds yearly freehold interest. What a crowd of times and places, and persons and conversations, and speeches and consultations, rushed upon my mind! I know what the British press is. I know one of its principles is to vilify, to traduce, to calumniate, and to misrepresent you, and every one who stood on the same side that you did, and to bepraise, magnify, and extol all our opponents from our positive enemies, the Duke of York, the Dublin aldermen, Lord Bandon's little corporation, and the 'prentice boys of Derry, up to our superlative enemies, Mr. Canning, and him whom it would delight to have maces laid before him

upon the Irish velvet cushion. Believe me, my friend, I felt convinced that this press, still nearly, if not altogether the same, as it was five years ago, had misrepresented you; and I almost felt warranted from my recollections, to assure the editors here, that there must have been some very extraordinary mistake. My Irish papers were due rather longer than usual; at last they arrived. I found a letter of yours, complaining that you had been misrepresented. I began to feel satisfied. I took up another paper and I found what I sought, John Lawless' letter, complaining, as I would have done, had I believed as he stated. I looked for your examination, I read your well-known principles in your answers, that you preferred universal suffrage. I have seen it in full operation; like every other system, it has its evils; but it is far better than I thought it was when I was in Ireland. The advantages are greater than we used to rate them, and the evils fewer and lesser than we used to admit into our calculation. I was pleased when I found you speak your former sentiments. Yet I found Lawless pertinaciously fastening upon you, and you endeavoring to shake him off and to keep the people quiet. Yes! to keep the people quiet. I recollected the Divan. You cannot forget the Divan. You know the prudent portion of the natural leaders induced you to join with them in close meetings, to do the people's business without the people's consent, even in a manner which the people did not like, against the people's will. But we soon brought you back to the agitators; you were too honest to remain with the natural leaders. I must inform my American readers that the natural leaders were a number of Catholic gentlemen, whose fathers had been more fortunate than some of their fellow Catholics in keeping a portion of their property, preserving their titles of nobility, or acquiring property, recovering nobility, or attaining to baronetage, whilst their less fortunate fellow-sufferers endured the loss of everything, except their religion and their honor, and perhaps their recollec-

tions. The sons and survivors of the more fortunate, though infinitely less numerous portion, formed a sort of Catholic aristocracy, and not content with being always complimented by the people with the first place in their affections and esteem, and preferred to the men of sound sense and strong nerve, whom the people made their associates, the natural leaders affected great prudence and moderation, and in proportion as they were permitted to visit the clerks of the lord lieutenant's secretary, they were observed to dislike the agitators, as they called their associates. They at length withdrew from the agitators; the government presses praised the natural leaders; their superlative enemies, that is, the *soi disant* friends of the Catholics, shook hands with the natural leaders, and were shocked at the rudeness of the agitators. A few close meetings of the seceders took place; though you, my friend, were the prince of agitators, you were induced to attend. Your motives were good. The people were astonished to see you at those close meetings which they called the Divan. Indeed, if my recollection serves me right, you told me you scarcely were conscious of your personal identity at those meetings. But you discovered that their principles and ours were essentially at variance. We both sought emancipation; this was the object of the agitator, this was the object of the natural leader. But we disagreed in this: the agitator would give nothing but gratitude and loyalty to the government which would do him justice; the natural leader would give something else. The one begged for his right as a boon, and would be grateful for what would be accorded. He said: "All is due, but I shall be grateful for anything which you bestow; you shall have my fidelity and my thanks; I have no more to give." The other asked in the same way, but added: "Besides fidelity and gratitude, I am ready to go as far as I can, in taking something from popular rights, and adding this to the prerogative of the crown."

You could not betray your country, you would not do this. One or two of our little poets sung; you recognized

the notes; your soul became enamored with the melody; you fluttered round your cage; you found an aperture, and we soon heard you warbling your harmonious effusions, full of life and joy and the pride of liberty, in our own green bower. These days, my friends, were days of trial, but they were days of pleasure, too. My eye fills, my heart grows soft, and I fancy myself thousands of miles hence, when memory brings me back amongst you. I recollect the cold prudery of the heartless Judge Downes, when he committed murder upon Irish-English, and solemnly told a jury, upon his oath, that pretence and purpose were synonymous in Ireland, and a Dublin jury swore that his lordship's inconsistencies were good grammar; though you know the jury was a selection of your beggarly Dublin corporation, who would not have committed even a venial sin, in the breach of every rule of Louth's grammar, because "nemo tenetur ad impossibile." I recollect Lord Manner's solemn visage. Even Mr. Saurin glides before my eye in the domination of ascendancy, in the semblance of evangelical meekness; but his distended bag yawns like the insatiable grave, and desires to bring down all that dared to aspire to freedom, into the same prison-house with the beggar and the vagrant, and the thief and the felon, to prove that all men are equal; and that the law is just which says, that he who will not swear what he does not believe, shall be persecuted, whilst the perjurer shall be his judge. Yes, in all this there is a comfort which no one can describe; but which the victim of such men feels. You, and I, and our associates, have felt it, when in the disquisition of our wrongs we measured how far principle extended, and drew our line beyond which no one was to go, within which no stranger was to be admitted. Each of us was to be prepared for his dungeon, because no one of us knew who would be its first tenant. And the triumvirate to which I have alluded, together with Mr. Peel, charitably intended its benefit for us all. In such a time as this, Daniel O'Connell was teaching me

the nature of feudal tenure, the origin of freehold, the mode in which it might be acquired, secured, and extended. When our vessel was just settling down upon the quiescent sea, the storm having wasted its fury, the waves having nearly subsided; when our flags and sails and smaller cordage had been torn from our masts, and those masts themselves had been kept in their place, only by the newly acquired bracings of the elective franchise, what would Daniel O'Connell have said to the man who would request of him an axe, that he might cut away some of those shrouds and stays, which had withstood the fury of the tempest, in which our royals and topgallants had been blown away?

You told the committee that you preferred universal suffrage. Granted; but when you found your superlative enemies about to give Catholic emancipation and to diminish popular rights, and when the vigilant Lawless called upon the people to protect their rights, you told the people to be quiet. I repeat, this reminds me of the Divan. I cannot reconcile it with your duty, with your character.

II.

I assume that you knew the bill to disfranchise the forty shilling freeholders in counties would be brought into the British legislature if the emancipation bill were introduced; and that if the latter was enacted, so would the former. I assume that you were not only silent yourself, but that when our friend Lawless called upon the people to resist this bill, you told the people to be quiet. I assume, therefore, that you considered Catholic emancipation to be of more value than the possession of the elective franchise in the counties by forty shilling freeholders, even as they are now constituted. In thus stating the case I give you all the advantage, because I candidly believe you did say that the forty shilling franchise as now held in the counties, was an evil; and that if no emancipation were to be granted, it would be right to change the qualification. I

differ with you upon two points. First, I believe the loss of the franchise would be a greater evil than would be compensated for by any species of emancipation, even simple repeal, which would be the most perfect. Secondly, I do look upon the possession of the forty shilling franchise in counties, as now it exists, to be a greater good than the modification to ten pound qualification.

The solution of the first difficulty will principally depend upon the decision regarding the second question. We will therefore take that question first. You know better than I can express, the vast difference between theory and practice. Originally the distinction, in Great Britain, between freehold, and chattel, and copyhold estate, had in it something intelligible to even a plain mind. The copyholder was a villain; the cultivator of the soil who, during a certain number of years, paid his rent for the leave to cultivate and take away the produce, was little better. Neither of those was the freeman of Magna Charta. The first was but another modification of what I see here every day amongst our colored population. But the man who held the benefice, during life, and by service becoming a freeman, was the freeholder. During his life he held and used his benefice.

Long since, however, scutage was substituted for free service; and as this scutage was a payment in money or its equivalent, the distinction between the mode of payment for the lands held by the freeholder, the copyholder, and the holder of real chattel, has vanished. Thus, the premises are destroyed, and Great Britain, by one of her legal fictions, lays the foundation of her elective franchise upon an illusion, an absurdity, viz., a supposition against fact. I now ask you in sober sadness, when the law is founded in such fiction, can you reconcile the consequences of this fiction to reasonable fact? You must expect practical folly to be the consequence of such fiction. Hence, you must not look for anything reasonable in the British mode of voting. The distribution of the right to vote is capricious, the result of fiction, absurdity, and injustice.

You will be able to judge how I recollect your lessons, when you shall have read my explanation of Irish freeholds for my American friends; and laying aside the legal technicality, inform them of what is actually the state of things; so that by their knowing exactly what an Irish freeholder is, they may be able to determine whether the disfranchisement of the forty shilling freeholder would be an evil or a benefit; to whom it would be useful, to whom it would be injurious.

In Ireland, formerly, lands were held by tanistry. The tanist, or chief of a clan, held all the land belonging to the clan. He distributed offices, and gave to the officers certain portions of the common stock. When the English, partly by fraud and partly by force, got possession of the land, they abolished the custom of tanistry, and held the land from the kings of England, according to the Norman fashion. This Norman fashion, which was the feudal custom of Normandy, was introduced into England by William the Conqueror in 1060. We have, then, to see its nature. All the land was vested in the king. He gave it in parcels to his dukes, marquises, earls, viscounts, and barons, upon the condition that each of those would do him a service becoming a man of his condition; and so long as he or any of his heirs male could be found who would do his duty, the freehold was to vest in such males descendant; but should there be no male descendant of the original grantee capable of doing duty, the land was to revert to the king—that is, was to be escheated or to go into his fisc or treasury, until the king should give it to another who would do that duty. The duty was such as became a man, and this was the reason that the descent was confined to the males.

Upon the abolishment of tanistry in Ireland, this feudal title was established. The possessions were generally large, and the service light; and the person holding thus was said to hold of the crown or as in fee. Thus, holding as in fee was very different from the Anglo-Saxon allodial

tenure; because the Saxon, who held by allodial tenure, was the true owner of the soil—but the Anglo-Norman, who held as in fee, was in fact a tenant of the crown, and the king was the real owner of the land. These dukes or leaders, marquises or wardens—that is, guardians—of the marches, or frontier lands, earls, viscounts or lieutenants of the king's companions, and barons or lesser lords, were called pares or equal—that is, peers. In their own right they sat together with the king in his court; they were his council. But the services required from some of them were of such a nature as to demand the united exertions of many men; and those, men of free condition. One of the principal services was that of war; and many of the warriors required were to be horsemen, equites, knights, with armigers or esquires. To insure the attendance of such persons so as to enable him to do his duty to the king, the peer divided his estate into parcels; one portion he kept for his own domain; he then had several parcels, each a knight's fee, or sufficient for the support of a knight and his proper number of esquires; their service during life was the payment for their land. Hence, they held by free service, the land was called a benefice, they were called freeholders. But if the peer wished to have his domain cultivated, in order to furnish necessaries for his castle, villani, villains, who never went to war, but who, dwelling in villages, cultivated ground, were employed to do this. The peer, not caring to be troubled with looking after them, fixed with each what yearly contribution was expected from him; the villain paid this, and all that he gained over this was his own. Sometimes a bargain was made with the villain for a certain number of years, and at the expiration of this term, his lease having run out, he had no claim to a renewal. Sometimes the sum was fixed, and to continue so, each party being bound for a certain number of years; but a copy of the forms to be gone through for a renewal was exhibited in the office of the seneschal or steward of the peer; and

the tenant conforming to the directions of that copy, was entitled to a renewal; this was the copyholder of England. The difference between the mere villain and the copyholder consisted in this, that when the villain's term expired, he had no right of prior claim; but the copyholder had a right of preference to any other, if he conformed to the customs according to the copy. Each peer made what customs he pleased, and thus the copies were always different upon different estates, sometimes different upon several parcels of the same estate.

The customs were said to be the will of the lord; and the lord's will was construed to be, whether he would or no, in conformity to the copy in the office of his seneschal, a duplicate of which the tenant held. But this could not come down later than the first of Richard I, which was fixed by common usage as the period previous to which the barrigy right of the copyholder stands good. Subsequently to this, no copyholder could establish a new claim. Thus, in Ireland, especially outside the pale, there could be no copyhold. In fact, I believe there is not, and cannot be, a copyholder in Ireland.

The other freeholder imitated the peer frequently in letting his ground, or part of it, to a villain, for a certain yearly rent. And thus we now perceive that, after some time, there were: the peer who held of the king, the knight who generally held of the peer, but sometimes of the king himself, the esquire, who generally held of the knight, though sometimes immediately of the king or of the peer. The peer was the king's hereditary counsellor; the knight and the esquire were also freeholders. Those who held as knights or esquires, held during life, and could not alienate their land, but could let it to be cultivated at a certain rent for one or more years. To hold and use the land during their lives was in them, but they had not dominion of the land. It was to them a benefice, not allodial possession. The cultivator of the soil who paid a yearly sum to the freeholder could not give a freehold

title; but he might let or sell the chattel which he had, viz., a right during a certain number of years to cultivate the soil without impoverishing the freehold, and to take away all the produce when he had paid the freeholder the sum agreed upon.

After some time, the British kings preferred raising standing armies, which they paid, to calling upon the peers to furnish men; and they commuted the service by men into a service by money. The peers also got from the knights and esquires, money instead of service. Thus, all land held by deed for one or more lives is freehold, but no land held for a term of years is freehold; for the man who holds a copy, or for a term of years, is still considered as a villain. His property, even if it should amount to £50,000 per annum, is chattel; but a freeholder has a more honorable tenure. The right of voting was, in feudal times, confined, so far as regarded landed property, to the freeholder, and so it continues. We have, my friend, often spoken of the folly and the absurdity of this custom. But we shall soon see some of its cruel injustice.

In process of time the great landed proprietors leased out the principal portion of their lands for rents in money. A peer who held perhaps forty thousand acres, kept one thousand for his demesne: his tenants occupied the remaining thirty-nine thousand acres. Much of this was leased out to rich persons, who, when the peer wanted money, gave him a considerable fine, and were charged with only a low rent. If the person who paid the fine desired, as he generally did, to have a freehold, he got a title during lives, renewable forever, upon the payment of a trifling sum at each renewal. This was equivalent to perpetuity, but it left the property vested in the peer, and gave a perpetual benefice to the tenant, who always had, by virtue of his covenant, an indefeasible claim to the renewal upon the performance of the original stipulation. Thus the quantity of freehold property in Ireland would have been im-

mense had there been no check put to its acquisition, because most all the land had been confiscated and granted, as in fee simple, to new possessors subsequently to this change of service into rent: and persons taking from those who held as in fee simple, would have preferred a freehold to a chattel interest. Besides several advantages in a pecuniary point of view, the right to vote for members to serve in parliament, and at the election of coroners, was attached thereto. You know, however, the manner in which Catholics were prevented from obtaining their fair share of this species of property; this I shall afterwards examine.

After some time freeholders were classed according to the value of their freeholds. 1. Those who had an interest worth fifty pounds a year or upwards. 2. Those who possessed an interest of twenty pounds a year, but less than fifty. 3. Those who possessed an interest of forty shillings, but not twenty pounds yearly. To these were to be added rent-chargers, that is, persons who, by a covenant, were entitled to claim a sum of money, yearly, from a freehold during a life or lives: for this, too, was a benefice, the claim must be upon the freehold, not upon the freeholder; and the amount of the rent-charge must be deducted from the value of the freehold, and the other charges to which it is liable must be subtracted before the freehold can be rated and classed. The law finally regulated that no rent-charger could vote except he possessed, at least, a claim for twenty pounds yearly; and no freeholder, except he had a clear yearly interest of forty shillings at the least, above all charges payable out of his freehold; it also required that he should produce his title in an open court of magistrates once in seven years, and that the rent-charger should produce his title in like manner, and the freeholder make affidavit of the nature of his mode of tenure, whether by dwelling upon, by tilling, or by grazing, and that he did not procure his title fraudulently, nor in exchange for a freehold in any other county. The clerk of the court endorsed the deed so produced, and registered

it, and the freeholder was not permitted to vote until after the expiration of twelve months, and he was then liable to be examined upon oath as to all the facts and the continuance of their truth, and as to his not having been bribed or led to expect any reward for his vote. Neither the twenty or fifty pound freeholders were required to produce their title-deeds, but the former should renew their registry once in seven years. They could also vote in six months after registry. You and every man who knows Ireland, knows and laments that many of the forty shilling freeholders are manufactured for elections and brought up to register without getting possession of their title-deeds: the landlord's agent takes good care to pay the fees, and to take up certificates, and exhibit title-deeds and all other documents, which he then keeps, and hurries those creatures through complex affidavits which they do not understand, and drives them up, in like manner, to vote for they know not whom. You complain of this as an evil, and think it would serve the cause of morality and of liberty to make the qualification ten pounds, instead of forty shillings. Perhaps you are right, but I believe you are not. The question is two-fold: first, as regards morality; next, as regards the purity of representation. You must forgive me for the profanation of the phrase, I shall examine the question presently. Meantime I shall describe to my American friends a scene to which I was witness on one of those days of registry.

Several forty shilling freeholders had consulted me, and I was examining their titles to know if they could, with a safe conscience, take the registry oath. Next came on the Catholic's oath of allegiance, which I had no difficulty to tell them might be taken by every Catholic who desired to maintain the constitution and uphold the king upon the throne. I observed one man, rather aged, who looked a little serious as the clerk proceeded to read that part of the oath which abjures the king-killing doctrine; which asserts that the Pope's infallibility is not an article of

faith; that no man is bound to perform a wicked act, though commanded by the Church; that no man can be forgiven his sins by any Pope or priest, at the mere will of such Pope or priest, but contrition and restitution are absolutely required; the first for all sinners, the last for those who have been dishonest. Here he looked quite religious and sentimental; at the conclusion he made the sign of the cross, took the oath, held the pen for his signature with great reverence, bent his knee to the justices, and bowed to the clerks. A friend of his asked him what he thought of the place. "I never was in a court before," said he, "and always feared to come, because I was told it was the devil's house, and that all the lawyers were his children; that the judges were great but very bad men, sent by the king to hang and transport Catholics whenever they could find any law for it, but to let all the Protestants go free, whatever they might have done. But I find it was all my mistake; a court is just as good a place as a chapel: and I cannot observe any difference in the sermons you will get here and from Father B———, except the difference between English and Irish, and between reading from a parchment and speaking without it. God Almighty bless that fine looking gentleman over; 'tis very well his gray head becomes him; why I am sure they told me he was a Protestant; but this, too, must be a mistake, because he told me how to go to confession, and to mind the priest and the bishop and the Pope; but the bishop himself never told us better things about confession, and absolution, and contrition, and satisfaction; and the justices took care the sermon should do me good, for they bid him watch to see whether I would kiss the book."

I was greatly struck at the number of mistakes which the poor man made, yet he actually spoke as he thought. Two things only he knew plainly: that by swearing the oath of allegiance he bound himself to be loyal, and that his loyalty to a Protestant king was not incompatible with his faith as a Roman Catholic.

III.

You would not convict of perjury the poor man who mistook for a sermon the abjuration of the calumnies with which we are assailed, and three good justices of the county of the city of Cork for Roman Catholics, and the respectable clerk of the peace for a preacher; and a Roman Catholic preacher too. Now I ask you which of the two is a plainer oath: the oath of the Catholic's allegiance together with its appendant declarations, or the oath of a forty shilling freeholder? I fear you will find by my last letter that I have not done my teacher much credit by my exhibition. I was a forty shilling freeholder; I believe I knew as much as most of the same class of electors respecting the nature of my title to register and to vote; yet this oath was really one of terror and of complexity. If I recollect rightly there were not less than a dozen different propositions to be distinctly sworn to by a forty shilling freeholder, and I have more than once found the gentlemen of the long robe seriously puzzled to make out the exact meaning of some of the passages. I recollect the words of one part of the oath, "nor have I procured it (the freehold) fraudulently, nor has it been granted fraudulently to me," in some few of the printed affidavits, by a mistake of the corrector of the press the words "to me" were omitted. A contested election came on in 1812; the candidate for whom I voted, lost his seat by a deficit of 30 votes. But had those defective affidavits been admitted he would, I believe, have been the sitting member. A very protracted debate took place before the assessor of the returning officer, in which it was contended that all the grants, and of course the grant to the occupant, were procured by the grantee; that if it was not procured by him fraudulently, it could not have been granted fraudulently to him by the grantor: yet the decision was against us; and I am disposed to say correctly and legally. I ask how is it possible to teach all the technical legal

distinctions of this affidavit to the general body of small farmers and laborers who are county freeholders? I have doubts but its expressions would puzzle Sir William Curtis, or even a Dublin alderman, whom it would be at least petit treason to disfranchise.

The complexity of the oath might give a well-trained, acute lawyer more exact ideas of the precise qualification; but it operates quite in a different way with the general body of the people. The multiplicity of terms and their legal precision create a difficulty of arriving at the precise meaning. Thus, a great many persons take the oath with a general impression of their right to do so, but without a special knowledge of the exact foundation of that right. Far be it from me to countenance loose swearing, but equally far be it from me to assert that all who swear thus are corrupt perjurers. Many persons who swear thus hope they are right, but fear they are wrong, and with the instinctive sagacity of their character, and in full accordance with nature, when questioned by others in an ambiguous manner, they will quibble to protect themselves; their fears increase, and they will perhaps endeavor to escape the imputation of perjury by the commission of falsehood. This is a lamentable state of things, but it is not extensive, deliberate, corrupt, wilful perjury. A great remedy would be, making the expressions less complex; a man would then know what he was called upon to swear.

Now, my friend, let me remind you of another circumstance, which will operate greatly in favor of the freeholders' integrity. Thousands of the forty shilling freeholders who scarcely, if at all, understand English, are sworn through the medium of an interpreter. Their language is not that of Lord Chatham; it is the remnant of an older and once a richer tongue, though we trace now but the indistinct shade of where two centuries since a deep shadow was distinctly marked. It is still abundantly sufficient for all the business of your peasantry, the lively repartee of their pungent wit, such as the peasantry of no other nation had.

And that peasantry is enslaved. It is, and I know it, fully adequate to the most glowing description, the most clear elucidation and the most pathetic appeals of religion. The harp can even now with its torn strings swell the terrific commands of the God of Sinai, louder than the pealing burst, which rolled in thunder round the summit of the awful mount, and imitate also with its soothing strains, the voice of Him who told His own history, when He related the parable of the good Samaritan. Yes! my friend, and well you know the truth of what I assert. It was not in Romaic that Demosthenes roused the feelings of his hearers, but perhaps a Romaic tongue now rekindles Grecian fires: it was not in Romaic that Homer sung; but perhaps some Romaic bard now feeds the sacred flame. Shall it be imputed as a crime to the Irish peasant that though stript of his franchise, he preferred the tongue of his fathers to the tongue of his oppressor, who stript him first of his lands, next of his character, then gave him the alternative of surrendering his franchise or his religion? Your ancestor and mine gave up the franchise; we regained it without injury to our religion. And will you, my friend, now ——————. No! I will not write it. Still, still, you are Daniel O'Connell; I will pledge my life for your integrity. But I will not, I cannot blind my short-sighted judgment. It is imperfect: but it is nature to prize greatly that with which we are not too abundantly gifted. Nature will excuse my obstinate adherence to my own views, and as I love the land of my fathers, I am prompted to publish my opinion to be weighed as it deserves by those who may deign to read. Forgive me this digression. You say "the forty shilling freeholder must be disfranchised, because he is a perjurer." How many chances are there of mistake in the complex nature of his affidavit; in his ignorance of the origin and nature of freehold right, and why is it privileged over chattel interest; in the medium through which he is sworn with an interpreter who understands one language imperfectly, and speaks the other worse, a sort

of hedge-attorney, perhaps, who might know how to get through the common routine of sessions' practice by his knowledge of law as trade, though ignorant of it as a science? The peasant knows that he has a deed, conveying to him ground at a reduced rent. Like the woman in the Eastern tale, who was to spurn the caliph from her feet, after she would have realized an immense fortune from her basket of glass, by multiplied sales and increasing profits, his imagination anticipates the mighty profits arising from an acre of potato ground, half an acre of wheat, half an acre of oats, a patch of flax, and the cabin. In the moment of this reverie, you would as soon lead him to swear *bona fide* that it was worth ten pounds yearly, as that it was worth forty shillings.

The landlord, while inducing him to register, is kind and indulgent, grants the leave of the bog for cutting turf, the use of a horse to assist in ploughing, and does a thousand acts of civility which are all worth at least five pounds yearly to him, should they be continued, as he hopes they would. You or I would not, perhaps, believe he has an interest in it. His state is deplorable, but he is not a corrupt perjurer. He is urged to register by his landlord, by the attorney, and by his own feelings. He persuades himself that he is fully qualified.

But I have given you the advantage hitherto. I must begin to make some entries upon the other side of the book. There is a great host of forty shilling freeholders in the towns which are in those counties. Generally speaking, they are intelligent and patriotic; they know the rights and duties of freeholders, and they love their country; they could not be ten pound freeholders, not for want of property, but for want of freehold. They have abundance of chattel, but very little freehold. Allow me to enumerate: There are thirty-two counties in Ireland; in these, there are, if I recollect rightly, but five cities which would retain, by the intended bill, the qualification of forty shilling freeholders to vote. Those cities would soon lose it by

analogy, if they would not lose it by trick, upon the third reading. In those counties, there are several large towns containing from five thousand to twenty thousand inhabitants each. All the forty shilling freeholders in those towns, containing, perhaps, nearly a million of souls, are to be disfranchised because of perjury and corruption. I assert that, as a general proposition, there is no perjury in those towns. I write from my own knowledge of several of them, and I assert that I have never known a better or more honest class of independent voters than the men whom this bill would disfranchise in those towns. Look to the registry of the county of Cork, and see how many of the honest and incorruptible men of the Cove of Cork would be disfranchised. Mallow was considered not to be sunk to the level of corruption and perjury; Youghall boasted of some honest men; Bantry was not sunk to a degraded state; Kinsale had some independent small freeholders, and I should be sorry to think Bandon is worse than when I lived in it. I have not gone through one-fourth of the towns of this one county, and there was no question but the county of Cork is one of the most degraded in Ireland in its representation; but that belongs to some future remarks. I now examine only the question of perjury and demoralization. There was much, but it was not so extensive as to require disfranchisement. In England, they would not disfranchise a rotten borough, every man of which was proved to be corrupt and degraded. We shall hereafter see why the British parliament is so well disposed to protect Irish purity. Is that parliament itself very free from perjury and corruption? I recollect one of its most upright and conscientious members, whom you well know, being in conversation with me upon the subject of your claims. I asked him whether, as a good Protestant, he did not think it would be meritorious to induce us to lay aside our idolatry. "Why," said he, "we do not believe you to be idolators." "But," I replied, "you swear it." "Pugh, pugh," said he, "you must not think

that we believe it, though we swear it; the oath is a mere form which must be gone through, to take our seats." "Let me understand you," said I. "Though every member of the House of Commons swears that we are idolators, no one of them believes what he swears to be a fact?" "Why you put it too plainly," said he; "it will sound better, and indeed be correct, if you say we must go through the form of the oath before we can take our seats." "And," said I, "the Lords must go through the same form?" "Yes." "The bishops are not exempt?" said I. "No," said he, "the bishops all go through the form." "Do the bishops believe us to be idolators?" I asked. "No, no, you wrong them," said he; "some of them, perhaps two out of forty-three, are liberal men; and I do not believe that one of the others really looks upon you as idolators." Thus, my friend, we have a British bench of bishops, who go through a form of oath which they do not believe to be true; and a House of Commons, which swears against its conviction; all shocked at a few mistakes and some perjury of your wretched forty shilling freeholders, in registering their freeholds and in giving their votes; and though Grampound and old Sarum would give godly men to this pure legislature, the great bulk of the Irish counties must be disfranchised for the mistakes of one in ten, and the perjury and corruption of one in twenty of their voters. In which eye is the beam? I look upon you to have been honest. How can I look upon the men who have corrupted their tenants and forced the perjury upon them to be so? When I hear the friends of the ministry crying out against the perjury and corruption of electors, it reminds me of the sailor and the preacher who threatened to denounce the crew to God, as violators of His law. "My eyes," said the tar, "but it is always the greatest rogue becomes king's evidence."

Some of the forty shilling freeholders are guilty of corrupt perjury; certainly the great minority; therefore, all the forty shilling freeholders ought to be disfranchised. The

British parliament, bishops, lay-lords, and commons, all "go through a form of oath," of which they do not believe the contents to be true; therefore, as guardians of morality and as men whose ears tingle at the very echo of the sound of perjury, they ought to punish those corrupt freeholders whom they have themselves corrupted, and the honest freeholders, who would not be corrupted by them. You and I were punished by those people, because we would not swear against our consciences. They told us that we were punished because we were not credible upon oath; their irony was cruel calumny, accompanied by heartless persecution. I need not advise you against persecution, for you are no bigot; but I advise you against irony. The parliament of Great Britain knows that its members are all obliged to swear what few or none of them believe, and this not in one but in a dozen propositions. Do not then insult them by saying, that they ought to disfranchise a political body, only a vast minority of which is corrupt, a majority of which, I fearlessly say, is honest. Such disqualification might have another bad effect. It might tend to encourage perjury, because, upon a knowledge of of facts, the poor people would perhaps imagine that the British parliament had despoiled them of their rights, because there was not a sufficient proportion of the constituents assimilated to the representatives, in their mode of going through the form of a political oath. Upon an abstract view of the proposal, I would say: "Do what you can to put a stop to corruption and to perjury." But, viewing things as they really are in Ireland, I say: "It is cruel injustice to disfranchise the Irish Catholic, whilst the English Protestant, equally guilty, nay, more guilty, for the British boroughs are more corrupt than the Irish counties, is left unpunished." I will clearly show, before I finish, that the correct view of this case is what I here exhibit.

Thus, I say, the perjury and corruption which, it is pretended, call for the disfranchisement, do not exist to

the extent assumed; and if their existence demands the destruction of the rights of the Irish freeholder, the same cause calls for the disfranchisement of the English electors, of the Irish freemen in cities, and of the pure British parliament; and much more cause exists in each of those latter cases, than in the former. I assert, therefore, that perjury and corruption of the forty shilling freeholder is not the cause but the pretext for depriving him of his franchise. "I am called a robber," said the unfortunate captive of the Macedonian king, "because I can command only one small ship; but you are called a conqueror, because your spoliations are more extensive, and your means of mischief greater." There is more perjury, more venality, more corruption in your parliament, in your bloated corporations, in your large freeholders, and in your miserable little protected sinks of malevolent bigotry, your small Orange freemen, in a tenfold ratio of their numbers, than in the forty shilling freeholders. If then hatred of corruption, detestation of perjury, and love of integrity, be the motives of the destroyers of the franchise, why not begin where the evil is most palpable and most desperate? I know you would, if you could. This attack upon the forty shilling freeholder did not originate with you; but you ought to have withstood it. You ought to have acted as Lawless did.

But, would not raising the qualification to ten pounds put a stop to this evil, or at least diminish it? No: I do not think it would. You are fully aware that the men who would manufacture a forty shilling freeholder, would be as well disposed to manufacture one of ten pounds; and the man who would be corrupt enough to swear against the fact that he had the value of a shilling, which he had not, would be disposed to swear the same to any amount. The perjury and the corruption do not consist in the sum but in the disposition. The only effect would be to diminish the number of honest votes, and to diminish the whole number of voters. The proportion of honest

men who would be disfranchised would be greater than that of knaves who would be kept away. This is not mere speculation.

Previous to 1793, when the elective franchise was restored to Catholics, none of the upright, conscientious Catholics could vote; but, as I am informed, a large portion of the offscouring and dregs of the body always were employed to personate Protestant freeholders, and I am told that any corruption which was known since, was purity compared to the profligacy of the preceding period. I have a very faint recollection of a contested election in the county of Cork before 1793; I recollect only two circumstances. I saw the successful candidates chaired, and I shall never forget the public and continued exclamations against the perjury, corruption, and profligacy of the agents and pretended freeholders. I have since then witnessed what was said to be the worst species of malpractices used at elections; and I uniformly heard all those who were older than me say, that they were not in any way an approximation to the corruption and crime which was usual before the restoration of their rights to Catholic forty shilling freeholders. Thus, as far as the examination of principle and of fact, and the comparison of what now is with what was before 1793, can lead me, I am decidedly of opinion that changing the freeholder's lowest qualification to ten pounds, would not benefit the cause of morality. I have no doubt that such benefit was not amongst the objects of those who proposed it.

IV.

I have shown from facts that the forty shilling freeholder has a will of his own. I wish to show, in like manner, that, generally speaking, the twenty pound freeholder has less will of his own, is more a slave to his landlord. I promised to show this by proof from facts. I shall give, in the form of a dialogue, the substance of what I have frequently listened to. A forty shilling freeholder is remon-

strating with one of Mr. Blake's men who had common decency and shame and some property in his hands, viz., a twenty pound freeholder, "a totally different class from the forty shilling freeholder."

Forty. Neighbor, why do you hold back? Why don't you come to the committee room and do as the rest of us are doing?

Twenty. 'Tis easily said; a man must consider for his family. The committee can do without me; I wish them success.

Forty. Certainly they can; and without me; but if every person gives only good wishes, there will be nobody to vote, and then we will be trodden down as they used to walk upon us before we got the freehold leases, when they used to turn us off the land, and let in the little Protestants and the bucks,[1] and we were not considered worth the dirt of their shoes; the poor Protestants and the greatest rogues among ourselves, men that would swear to lies and take bribes, were then the best men in their esteem. But we now get civility sometimes and we are courted, because the landlord knows the election will come about some time or another.

Twenty. Don't you know the landlord is against our committee? and do you want me to go and get my goods and stock distrained for the rent?

Forty. Surely I know as well as you do. Didn't his attorney send to tell me that I owed now a whole year's rent, and that he had a mind to press me for the whole, but he supposed if I went to speak to the landlord himself at the other committee room, I could get easy terms, and he wanted to know what I was doing here. You don't owe more than a year's rent?

Twenty. No, nor the year's rent in full, but you know it is easier to make up five years of your rent than one year's rent of mine; and besides, if it comes to the worst, and that you lose your little interest, it is less evil to lose a small interest than a large one; it is easier to buy

[1] Mock freeholders who swore to what they did not possess.

your stock than mine; if I was only a forty shilling man, I'd go to the committee as soon as you would. Forty shilling men can go together and help one another, but it is not so convenient for twenty pounders to do so. Besides, what is the difference to us? The three candidates all promise to support the Catholic bill. One man is as good for that purpose as another. I must go with the landlord. But if I had only your bit of ground, I would not care so much, and if you had mine, you would leave your committee to themselves.

Forty. What makes the candidates all promise to vote now for the Catholic bill? They did not promise this the last time. That time we had only one candidate in our favor and the Orangemen laughed at us. Since then we made three times as many freeholders as we had then. I'll vote for the man that was with me when we were weak. Besides, he'll not give his vote to have so much taxation on us; he won't vote for the man that let the soldiers loose upon us, since we cannot get out of the ground rent and rates and tithes and taxes more than its produce is worth; nor will he vote to take us from our little families because we happen to be too far from home to be within doors before the fall of the sun. Surely, you know there are some of our members worse than any Protestants, and this man and other Protestants are not to be sunk to a level with the landlord. Stay with us; he wants tenants as much as we want land.

I assure you, my friend, that I have frequently witnessed dialogues of this description, in much stronger language; and that, so far from twenty pound freeholders having a will more independent than those of forty shillings, I believe it is generally, in the counties, quite the reverse, because they have a greater stake subject to the landlord's discretionary harassing.

Now I come to your fifty pound freeholders. They are of two kinds: 1. Those who hold as in fee; with respect to them you know they are generally dependent upon the crown for many favors and for more expectations. Their

sons and brothers are in the army, in the navy, in the Church, in the public offices, etc. Though in the abstract they are independent, I ask you, in fact, are they not really more the slaves of their party or of the crown or castle, than the forty shilling freeholder is of his landlord? 2. The middlemen: are they not, more generally speaking, the greatest slaves, as being most in arrears; having heavy rents; having received some favors and expecting others; besides cringing to be permitted to hunt, and to dine, and to shoot with their betters? There are several exceptions in each of those divisions, but I know the general statement to be correct. In the counties, my impression is that, as time advances, the small freeholders will become more independent; and that it is the dread of this which harasses Messrs. Canning, Plunkett, etc.

The county of Cork is the worst represented that can be; yet you will tell me it has an immense registry of forty shilling freeholders, and their will and interest are opposed to the sitting members for whom many of them have voted. Therefore, you will say it is clear they have no will of their own, and that I am in error. I shall answer by facts. Mr. Ponsonby once spoke with me upon the subject; and though I made him no promise, I privately made an essay to try whether the same effect could be produced in the county, that was in the county of the city, and by the same means. I uniformly found the 40s. interest honest and ready to act. But I found the middlemen, who ought to co-operate, not only not willing to do so, but actually opposed to any such proceeding, and this, as many of them declared to me, because they were in the power of their landlords much more than the poorer freeholders were; some of those were gentlemen whom you well know, swaggering, independent gentlemen, who voted on the 3d of September, 1813, "that property was the standard of opinion," and who were then as aristocratic as Anthony Richard Blake is now. I mention but one county, because I write from my own knowledge, but I have been

told and do believe that in several other counties the case was the same. I therefore assert: 1. That the assumption that 40s. freeholders have no will of their own, is against the fact. 2. That the assumption that large freeholders are more independent of their landlords, is against the fact. Therefore the reasoning built on such assumptions is a perfect delusion.

The fact is known from experience and all the practical reasoning leads to the conclusion, that however mean his station, however apparently dependent he may be, the humble 40s. freeholder is the least corrupt part of the constituency of Ireland. Let us view that constituency. I shall give to the American to contemplate a picture which will exhibit to him the vast superiority of his simple qualification for a voter, over the complicated machinery of Gothic and Saxon and Norman institutions, subsisting in the imperfection of the blended defects of each and the combination of all rendered more intricate by fiction, so that the mind becomes bewildered, and the juggler is allowed to play with his puppets at his pleasure.

The first class of electors are the beneficed clergymen of the Established Church; they come in upon the tenure of the benefice during life, for the service which they are supposed to give in return is free and honorable. No man would presume to breathe a whisper that this parson is to be disfranchised, because he has no will of his own. Now, my friends, there are in Ireland upwards of fourteen hundred voters of this class. I put the question openly: Does any man in Ireland believe that two hundred of those parsons are men who vote independently? For my own part I do not believe that fifty of them do. I write it as a notorious fact, not as a charge, not as a reproach. Those gentlemen who have received their livings by presentation from lay patrons, consider it a compliment, which as gentlemen they owe to those who presented their livings to vote as they wish. Those who receive their livings by the gift of the crown, feel that the crown

expects their votes, and also that if the court candidate will not get it, the court will give no farther promotion to the recusant, and the crown is daily purchasing the right of patronage from the proprietors, in order to increase its influence at elections.

There are eight or nine hundred other clergymen, curates and expectants, who vote with those from whom they have expectation. They are voters by virtue of their own property or by being freemen of corporations. Now, my friend, did any person propose to disfranchise those men, though every one knows and acknowledges that not one in ten of them is an independent voter? But the aristocratic Anthony Richard Blake will say they have property, and therefore must be independent; most of the gentlemen of this last class are fifty pound and twenty pound freeholders. I care not whether a man is influenced by what he calls a gentlemanly feeling of gratitude, or by expectation of favor, or by dread of his landlord. The result is the same. He is influenced; he is not independent. Besides this, the clergymen are swayed by all the other motives which operate upon the other large freeholders. Thus, it is a notorious fact, that no person ever expects an Irish clergyman of the establishment to give an independent vote. The government, the bishop, and his patron, all exercise over him more sway than any landlord does over any freeholder. Yet it would be considered sacrilege to touch his franchise, and you would yourself be horrified at the proposal, though you did taunt my friend John Lawless for what you were graciously pleased to call his under-growl in defence of my quondam comrades, the 40s. freeholders, whom you advised to be silent, whilst Mr. Plunkett was stripping them, as he could not incarcerate you! Was this like Daniel O'Connell? Would any quondam fellow-agitator have acted so? I do not want to strip the clergy of their votes; but if the forty shilling freeholder is to be disfranchised because he is not master of his own vote, you must *a fortiori* disfranchise

upwards of two thousand parsons. Then indeed would we have a yell of "No Popery" and "Church in danger."

The next class of electors which I will exhibit, is that most highly respectable division called the men of old families and large properties.

One of those esquires could register a freeholder not only of fifty pounds per annum, but over twenty thousand pounds per annum; that is, my good American readers, about ninety thousand dollars a year. Surely the aristocratic Anthony Richard Blake will now triumph; for clearly this man must be a more independent voter than a 40s. freeholder, a fellow who is not worth a greater interest than nine dollars a year. He will tell you, by the common rule of proportion, that the former gentleman has ten thousand times as much sense, as much knowledge, as weighty an opinion as one of the mere rabble, because "property is the standard of opinion."

But who could influence such an independent man as this? I answer that there are very many men of this description who cannot be influenced by any unfair or unbecoming means. But there are several others who have less will of their own than any forty shilling freeholder has, and what enslaves their will enslaves all the others of inferior grades in proportion.

Several of those great landed proprietors have enormous rent-rolls but trifling incomes. Money has been raised to vast amount upon bonds bearing interest by their predecessors and by themselves for various purposes—for fortunes for the females, outfits and annuities for younger brothers, and extravagant expenses. How often does it happen that in Ireland a man whose estate produces thirty thousand pounds yearly, pays away more than twenty thousand in interest! The appearance must be kept up, however, to suit the rank, and the means to insure this must be had recourse to. Government has vast patronage in the Church—the bishopries, the deaneries, and a multitude of rich benefices. Here is provision for younger sons and

for sons-in-law, but there must be a *quid pro quo:* the court candidate must be supported at elections. Commands in the army and navy, distinctions, governorships, embassies, secretaryships, places in the revenue, on the several public boards, inspectorships, sinecures, pensions, and all the *et ceteras.* The bench, the chairmanship of counties, the offices in the courts, the places of high sheriff, attorney and solicitor-general, law-adviser and counsel to the several boards; the physician of the forces, surgeons of the hospitals, regiments, etc.; commissioners in the militia, etc. Here are several thousands of places all at the disposal of the crown. Viewing those, the large embarrassed freeholder says: "My poverty but not my will consents." His family, his relations, his creditors who wish to fill those places, importune him. He is exposed to temptations which never assail the forty shilling freeholder. I put it to my friend O'Connell to say, if the latter is to be disfranchised, ought not the former?

You know too well the manner in which all minor offices are disposed of. Generally speaking, they are in the actual gift of the court member, who is bound to vote for the minister, in the House of Commons; and he gives them to twenty pound and occasionally forty shilling freeholders or their relatives who will vote to send him to the House of Commons. Every person who knows Ireland, knows that to be the fact. Here is a picture for the American to contemplate! And the men who are thus returned to the honorable House unblushingly ask to disfranchise the men whom this corrupting influence can scarcely reach.

I shall now hazard an opinion and a conjecture. The opinion is: That so increasing the number of voters as to make the influenced portion the decided minority will be the most likely mode of destroying this corruption. Every increase of the number of voters will approximate to this desirable state. And every diminution of the number of voters will increase the power of the crown and of its

dependents. Suppose, against the fact, the forty shilling freeholders to be now equally influenced as the other electors, still increasing their number would be more likely to decrease the power of the crown, because a large body is less manageable than a small body; and the facts which we observe prove the principle. The crown can procure a return, with facility, in the small bodies; but, even if through its influence it should succeed in large bodies, it is always after a serious struggle. A landlord, too, could more easily influence twenty large freeholders who live upon his estate, than he could two hundred small freeholders. When the number of voters was small, before 1793, elections were easily managed by the crown and the proprietors of boroughs; but since then the number of voters has been gradually increasing, and the electors are not so easily managed. The crown and the great landlords find their influence greatly checked; the people at large find their consequence greatly increased. The extension of the franchise, in 1793, did more to rescue Ireland from degradation than any other act could have done; and my conjecture is, that now the crown and the great landholders have combined to narrow the right of suffrage, to check the progress of popular rights, and to endeavor to gain a portion of that domination which they have lost, and to secure what yet remains. I think I see the proof of this in the eagerness with which the aristocrats who used to oppose Catholic emancipation, rush forward to petition that emancipation might be granted upon the condition of their being delivered from an unmanageable body of electors, who will not permit them to make their bargains with government as comfortably as their fathers used, when the number of voters was less and the small body was more easily managed. Here was a tremendous water-spout rising in your course, and which would have inevitably swamped your vessel, had it poured upon her; yet you were displeased with the man, who, looking ahead, fired a gun to dissipate the portentous column; because, forsooth, the demon of the whirlwind

would be displeased at the report, and tell your crew that although he had them stowed under hatches and driven your steersmen from the helm, you still were agitating demagogues; no doubt the report of such a gun was an under-growl! Alas, poor Ireland! was it not an unpardonable offence in John Lawless, to have called your children to your protection, when orders had been issued not to utter a syllable until after the keeper should have had his hand upon you and was actually turning the screws of your manacles? And have I so far forgotten the land of my birth and the spirit of my former associates in a very few short years, as not to have been astounded at reading that in an aggregate meeting of the Catholics of Ireland, the man who thus protected his country was received with partial hissing? But let me congratulate him upon the occurrence. In every community there will be found men whose praise is censure and whose censure is praise; I should suspect I was a traitor to Ireland, had I been applauded by the men who shouted for the Marquis of Londonderry.

V.

I trust that it has been shown: 1. That although many of the registered forty shilling freeholders were manufactured, still the vast majority of them were and are *bona fide* freeholders. 2. That so far from being generally perjurers, they generally have a high respect for their oath. Oh, I am galled and ashamed at being compelled by any circumstances connected with you to have been obliged to write this! 3. That as a body they are less corrupt than any other class of Irish voters. No comparison can be formed between their political purity and the political corruption of the freemen of corporations. 4. That as a body they are less liable to influence and less under its operation than the clergy, the large proprietors, and the twenty and fifty pound freeholders. Remark, I compare the aggregate body on the one side to the aggregate body on the other. I make

no individual comparisons, and I also take them, in the ratio of their numbers, respectively. You may, for instance, in one barony find a clergyman perfectly independent; three or four proprietors unembarassed and incorruptible; eight or ten respectable twenty pound freeholders; and in this collection of twenty-five unexceptionable men, you have spirit, integrity and patriotism. You may in that same barony produce two hundred forty shilling freeholders, one-fourth of whom are either slavish or corrupt. Yet you will have one hundred and fifty honest men, whom the bill would disfranchise. But this view even is grossly partial, because it assumes, against the fact, that through the island all the honest votes are to be found amongst the clergy and gentry. You may recollect the homely answer of a countryman of ours to a person who told him that his family must be very bad, as there were so many who bore his name hanged, though hanging is not, in Ireland, evidence of criminality: "My good sir," was the reply, "there were more bearing my name hanged than were good men bearing your name, and there are now a greater number of good persons of my name living than ever were, are, or will be, of your name in the world." In the ratio of their numbers the forty shilling freeholders are the best and most independent voters in Ireland. Should this be ever read in Ireland, I am quite aware of the manner in which it will be received at the first reading; but the numbers who will acknowledge its truth will be continually on the increase as examination will be made.

But why not amend the system by destroying the slavish and the corrupt portion? Do, if you will; but begin where the evil is greatest. You say you cannot; the Church cannot be touched; lay but a finger upon it, and Mr. Plunkett, the worthy son of a Presbyterian clergyman, will be actually in hysterics, and the Catholic Mr. Blake will be shocked and will need the aid of thieves' vinegar to preserve him from the contagion of democracy. Well, to give Mr. Plunkett a chance of the chancellorship, and to leave it in Mr. Blake's power to climb the bench or to

creep into the Commons (is not this House too democratical for this aristocrat?) We will leave the churchmen untouched and the large freeholders unmolested. But provided always upon the condition that they leave the small freeholders unmolested, but not otherwise. There are some evils in the system, but many of these evils arise from the unreasonable mode of continuing a feudal test, to know who is a freeman in a system where freedom and independence are not now connected with feudal tenure. Every freeman ought to have a vote. This is the principle of the old English constitution. In the Saxon days, in the Norman times, there were villains and thralls; they were not freemen. Now your mode of ascertaining who is a freeman, is to ask does his foot touch the soil of Britain? He is free. I have not the spirit to transcribe nor even to allude to the description of the beautiful vision which presented itself to Curran's imagination, and which his ardor mistook for real fact: when he told us of the sinking of the altar and the god before the genius of universal emancipation. Oh, my friend, it is sickening to read so eloquent a sentence and to find how you are mocked when you come to examine the reality. True, there is no god; but there is an altar over which the demon of discord presides, grinning a ghastly smile of bitter mockery at the deluded reader of Curran's vision. This idol of my native land, begrimed with blood, surrounded with halters and instruments of torture, is raised upon the rights of Ireland as a pedestal; the yells of party orgies swell the peals of adoration; human victims palpitate, and the smoke of their carcasses rises like incense to his distended nostrils. We behold those whom pestilence and famine and desolation have prostrated, fill the temple: their infuriated relatives rush to assail those who mock their woes with hypocritical distributions of Bibles and religious tracts, and thunder out their anathemas in the shape of insurrection acts, and white-boy acts and peeling acts, and tithing acts; many of those relatives are seized

and banished, the others by the use of their franchise would indeed demolish this altar, destroy this temple, and lay this spirit, and therefore it is that they who would perpetuate the idolatry would deprive them of their franchise, because, like every other worship, the worship of this demon brings profit to his priesthood.

If every man in Ireland is a freeman, why has not every man in Ireland his elective franchise? And if this be a freeman's characteristic, why will you deprive so many thousands of my countrymen of their freedom? Or will they permit it? Mr. Shiel said you could persuade them to be content after the spoliation. Could you? Then they deserve worse than slavery. Would you? Your punishment ought to be more afflictive than theirs. If Mr. Shiel stated what was a fact, I thank God I do not live in Ireland. I thank God I live amongst men who value their rights, and will never listen to any who dares to advise about even the possibility of their retrenchment. No, no! this is one of Mr. Shiel's mistakes. He has a beautiful imagination. He sees this not in Ireland, but with his mind's eye. He sees it in that space between earth and heaven; he bodies it forth in words, and gives to airy nothing a habitation and a name.

But you would not strip Irishmen of their rights; you would give the right of universal suffrage. Why, then, did you tell them to be silent? "Qui tacet consentire videtur." Why did you scoff at the under-growl of Jack Lawless?

But you would leave a respectable constituency. You would disfranchise thousands. You would reduce men who now have a right to vote to the state of slaves who have no vote. But there would arise a substantial class of ten pound freeholders, and there would be more comfort amongst the peasantry. Do you seriously believe this would be the result? I do not, and I found my opinion upon my knowledge of the Irish landlords.

But suppose the landlord gives a tenant an interest of ten pounds instead of forty shillings. If it arises from

the landlord's generosity, the tenant will be under an obligation; if it arises from the tenant's industry and means, he has now the same industry, the same means. The change would be injurious to freedom; and this is the reason why all the tyrannical land-jobbers and the aristocratic land-owners, who detest the sound of Catholic emancipation, are ready to give even emancipation at this price. Thus they profess their opinion to be that which I have expressed; that this does more injury to civil liberty and to Irish freedom, than would be compensated for by Catholic emancipation.

But, hitherto, I have been obliged to keep one great consideration out of view, viz.: That the quantity of property in Ireland, out of which freehold interest could arise, is much smaller than is generally imagined.

You are to deduct from the surface of the island: First, all the bishops' lands, which are held by tenants for terms of years—generally with the clause of *toties quoties*, that is, the occupying tenant has, upon certain conditions, a right to get a renewal from the bishop's tenant, who is his landlord, as often as that landlord gets a renewal from the bishop. Next, the glebe land, the college lands, and those of several corporations, which are not allowed to make a freehold. I believe this would sweep away more than one-fourth of the country, upon which no freehold can exist.

Before 1778, no Roman Catholic could take a lease of a house or land for a longer term than thirty-one years, and if the land was worth more than a trifling consideration over the yearly rent, any Protestant could, upon paying that advanced sum, turn the Catholic out and enter into possession.

But when the success of the people of America taught England that prudence which is miscalled generosity, Catholics, upon swearing allegiance, were permitted to take leases at low rents and for 999 years. The first relief of the Irish Catholic from his bondage is due to America,

which may God enrich with every blessing! And, perhaps, were it given to us to see through the mist of futurity, we would discover that the ecstatic consolation of completing this work of philanthropy and charity is reserved for this land, whose soil teems with the blood and sweat of grateful Irish Catholics.[1]

The Catholics, soon after the passing of this law, began to acquire real chattel to a considerable amount; and, in fourteen years, had got into possession of a vast quantity of land, under leases for long terms of years. In 1782, they were permitted to take freehold, but not to vote, for which reason they still took chattel.

This greatly curtailed the quantity of land in towns, cities, and counties which might be made freehold, because no freehold can arise out of a real chattel. Thus, when in 1793, the French Revolution and the United Irishmen made the English goverment exhibit a little more mock-generosity, the Catholics could become freeholders, and were restored to their franchise except in the corporations; the quantity of land by means of which they could obtain the franchise was greatly limited, and had, in fact, been principally curtailed by the conversion thereof into real chattel. The wealthy Protestants had the old confiscated Catholic property as in fee simple; they were all freeholders, and freeholders to a large amount. There was scarcely a Protestant above the rank of a beggar, who, if he was a freeholder, was not so to the value of twenty pounds. But the rich Catholic had made the most of his money, by giving the Protestant a large fine to reduce the yearly rent of ground which he took for a long term of years, when he could not take as freehold, or if he had a freehold he could not vote, though he was frequently richer than his landlord, who had a freehold of perhaps two or three thousand pounds per annum. In 1793 this Catholic wished to become a freeholder, and he could with diffi-

[1] Since Bishop England's day the Irish in America have become a larger body than those at home; and it is becoming apparent every day that they will play no small part in freeing Ireland from British rule.

culty procure a forty shilling freehold, though owning real chattel to a great amount.

From those facts it is clear that there could be very few Protestant 40s. voters, and the vast majority of Catholic voters must, for several years, be persons of that description; that smallness of freehold generally would argue poverty in the Protestant, and would by no means indicate it in a Catholic; and that to disfranchise the small freeholders generally would be, however impartial in appearance, nearly equivalent to a disfranchisement of the Irish Catholics. The Catholic voters, I believe, are now to the Protestant voters through Ireland in the ratio of three to one; and by this disfranchisement of the 40s. freeholders, the Catholic voters would be to the Protestant in the ratio of one to five, if we take corporations, though the Protestant population is to the Catholic in the ratio of one to over six. Almost every Irish Protestant either is or has it in his power to become a voter. It is a matter of great difficulty to a Roman Catholic to become qualified. I have known Roman Catholics, whose property was worth more than twenty thousand pounds, during two or three years anxiously endeavoring to obtain, for more than its value, as much freehold property as would enable them to register as 40s. freeholders, and still unable to obtain it. If, then, it is so difficult to obtain a qualification of 40s., would not the difficulty be increased by making it five times as great? And if my views of the facts be correct, would not the ten pound freeholder, who would owe his franchise to the indulgence of his landlord, be a worse slave than the present 40s. freeholder? And would it not be unjust to the individuals and injurious to the principle of civil liberty and of morality and integrity, to deprive the least corrupt portion of the constituency of their right, under the false pretext of their having abused it? to take from the body of the people the characteristic of freemen, and to diminish the number of persons to be influenced, thereby creating a facility which would tempt the corrupter?

Would Ireland be compensated for these evils by Mr. Blake's aristocracy? What will you put in competition with the liberties of your country? I am sick of the subject. Amongst the several possibilities that ever rose before my understanding, the necessity of thus remonstrating with you upon this topic, was one of the last I could imagine.

Did you not see the dreadful innovation, like some dark cloud rising in the east, obscuring the sun of your hope, darkening the prospects of your country, communicating its gloom to every countenance, collecting every kindred speck as it rose, lowering upon your liberties, as it spread upon the horizon, and threatened in the zenith? Every timid man fled, every prudent man feared, every honest man bewailed, that which was likely to ensue; whilst you stood calmly descanting upon the glories of that luminary which it veiled, the innocence of its lightning, the harmony of its thunder, and the benefits which would ensue to the land after the deluge which it would pour forth should have swept away the hovels of the forty shilling freeholders and their inmates to the gulf of ruin; then, indeed, a new order of things would arise, "Jam redit Astræa." The Orange persecutor would become charitable and kind; the middleman, benevolent; the landlord would be a protector; the magistrate, impartial; the parson would be liberal; the tithe-proctor, merciful; the tax-gatherer, tender-hearted; and a happy race of peasants would enjoy the soil. Did you believe all this would happen? If you did, your hopes were greater than were those of your friend.

VI.

I shall now conclude my remarks upon the attempt to destroy the rights of the Irish Catholic electors. I call it the attempt to destroy their rights, because I believe I have fully shown, that if the bill had passed, this destruction would be its inevitable consequence. Thus it would be injuring religious liberty, without naming religion; it would be injuring civil liberty, by stripping thousands of

their franchise; it would be maintaining the Protestant ascendency in Ireland, without calling it Protestant; it would be the worst species of persecution, viz., persecution in disguise. Every person now points with reproof and scorn to your boasting masters, who assume to be most liberal, whilst they are well known to be the most persecuting government in the civilized world. The South American, just emerged from bondage, is more liberal, and when he refuses to your government the right of making religious establishments in his country, for your Protestant merchants, it is because he has been informed that those merchants petition to continue the oppression of his fellow-Catholic in Great Britain; and because he sees that those merchants will, if permitted to make such establishments, deluge his country with bad translations of the Bible, and tell the people that their priests are knaves, whose religion is a sacrilegious traffic upon dirty bits of brown paper, and who give men leave to rob their neighbors, provided they share the plunder with them.[1]

As he knows he has religion and is not an idolator, and as he knows those vile falsehoods would create mischievous irritation, he thinks it just as well to keep that Christianity which came down from the Apostles through his fathers, as to substitute any modification thereof, which Britain or even New England can bestow upon him. But he enacts no law to deprive the people of the country of their civil rights, because they will not give up the religion of their ancestors; and this is more liberality and justice than Great Britain has evinced since the days of Henry VIII. Is there in the world a parallel to British intolerance? The inquisitors prevented the people from making changes in religion, upon the ground that any essential change must destroy it. Britain persecutes them for not changing with her, though she says that they might err in making those changes. The Inquisition could keep all its victims in a few dungeons; Britain has not, in three centuries, ever had less than millions of victims at

[1] See article on "Bulls of the Crusades" in the second volume.

a time. Ireland has been one vast prison, and every member of her ascendency has been an inquisitor. I disapprove of the Inquisition. It never was a portion of our religion, as is erroneously imagined. But in the most angry times of religious acrimony, forgive me the expression, British writers have had to ransack our Church for the names of a few persecutors who filled our episcopal chairs; the world has to rest but upon very few dignified names in the modern British hierarchy, who stand an exception honorable to themselves from its bench of bishops. Britain is not insensible to this; and therefore the oligarchy which rules her is anxious to assume the appearance of a virtue which it has not. It wishes to keep the Irish Catholics powerless, but still yearns to have the semblance of being liberal, and finding that it cannot destroy the power of a Catholic nation, such as Ireland is, without destroying its civil rights, it attempts to do both by one act; and that is, by disfranchising a large body of electors, who, under present circumstances, must almost universally be Catholics, and then in return, it will dole out favors to a chosen few, and pay the clergy, that they may aid in enslaving the people. Thus Britain will endeavor to wipe away the stigma of her disgrace, and still do the very acts for which that stigma was deserved.

Look to the history of our country and decide by facts. I have been amused by what has been miscalled the philosophy of history—such is Hume's:—a mockery of reasoning not worthy of even the dignity of a sophism, which attemps to argue you out of truth, by supposing it possible that a fact which is related did not occur; and discovering possibilities that motives might have been, of the existence of which there is no proof, but evidence the other way. And then without evidence, and contrary to evidence, you are upon the philosophy of history to suppose the fact which history exhibits did not occur, or if you cannot be brought to that, you must at least believe by philosophy, that the agent had motives which are dif-

ferent from the true ones. This is one kind of philosophy with which I hope never to be imbued. Some reflection has led me to study history after a different fashion. I look upon history to be a record of facts, not a system of speculation. I examine the truth of the record by the rule of testimony; where I have evidence of the fact, I believe it; where I have not, I draw no conclusion. In like manner I deal with motives and dispositions. The object of my study of history is to argue by analogy. My conclusions from analogy in history can only be highly probable, but where I cannot be certain, I may prudently be guided by high probability. After having studied this, I give nothing for the professions of statesmen; I judge them by their acts. Our venerable friend, Bishop Moylan, of Cork, frequently told me, during his illness, and with serious emphasis and for useful purposes, how little reliance was to be placed upon British statesmen by the Catholics of Ireland. His warning was conveyed in the relation of a multitude of facts, in which he had been too well instructed, because he and other bishops had been very often artfully deluded by great and good men and by sincere friends. I shall never forget his dying injunction to me upon the subject.

Look then to Irish history. I pass over the acts of William and Mary; I pass over those of Anne; I pass over the cruel inflictions under George I; the whole period of the mean and deceitful Charleses and Jameses; the atrocious times of Elizabeth I consign also for the present to oblivion; I begin with the ascension of George II. Up to this period the Irish Catholics were not deprived of the elective franchise, though by an act, which, if I am rightly informed, can only find its parallel in the old colony of Maryland, they were in the reign of Charles II shut out of their houses of legislature, of which they were members; excluded without any semblance of law or authority, but by a simple vote of their associates; and most part of their lands having been taken away, and they

being excluded from most of the corporations, though they had the right of electors in law, they did not generally possess it in fact, for want of qualification, during the reigns of William and Mary, Anne, and George I. But when George II came to the throne, Primate Boulter, who was then the chief oligarch of Ireland, observed that the number of Catholics who by law were qualified to vote had greatly increased, and that the Clanrickarde family had been, through Catholic influence, thrown out of the representation of Galway. The family of Portumna had then become Protestant, and joined the oligarchy. But the Catholics committod a worse crime, one which Britain seldom forgives. They were then to the Protestants as five to one, and for the first time some Irish Protestants began to look to the welfare of Ireland, and to form the Irish party in support of the civil liberty of their country; against those men Primate Boulter formed the English party; the Catholics joined the patriotic Irish Protestants, and with them sought the benefit of their common country. They voted in electing the parliament of 1727. And that very parliament in whose election they concurred deprived them of the elective franchise, and this was done by the contrivance of the oligarchy, in a clause by way of amendment, at one of the late stages of a bill, without notice or debate. In what does this nefarious act differ from the late attempt, so far as principle and apparent object are concerned? The cases are very nearly parallel. Primate Boulter wanted no debate then. All was done without agitation. It is true this late bill would not make so extensive a sweep; and Mr. Anthony Richard Blake might get into the House of Commons.

The act of George II disfranchised two-thirds of the Irish electors; so would the bill of Mr. Littleton. I could insure you a pretty ascendency to plague you, did it pass.

But the analogy will hold still farther. At that time, too, there was a Catholic rent, the payment of which was prevented, and the association broken up. Whilst an act

was pending to prevent Papists from acting as solicitors, the Catholics of Dublin and Cork entered into a subscription to defray the expenses of opposing the bill. An interdicted priest, one Hennesy, became, as all such unfortunate men will become, the accuser and defamer of his Church; he informed the government that this subscription was for the purpose of bringing in Popery and the Pretender. I do not find that he added "wooden shoes." The papers of the collectors were seized and laid before the House of Commons, I know not whether in a green bag or in a red bag. After the examination, the committee reported that it appeared to them, "that under color of opposing heads of bills, great sums of money had been collected and raised, and a fund established by the Popish inhabitants of the kingdom, through the influence of their clergy, highly detrimental to the Protestant interest and of imminent danger to the present happy establishment." From the printed report of the committee of the House of Commons, it was manifest that this subscription for bringing in Popery and the Pretender amounted to the enormous sum of five pounds, lawful money of Ireland! Your late association had a purse also, and was to do great mischief; under color of procuring bills, it was to be highly detrimental to the Protestant, that is, the Orange, interest, and of imminent danger to the present happy establishment, which makes the most salubrious and fertile island in the world, inhabited by the most patient and laborious and vigorous people on earth, the most wretched spot of human endurance on the surface of the globe.

The liberal Protestants of Ireland and the Irish Catholics associated for the benefit of their country. A subscription was made; it was more than five pounds. The donation of the Duke of Leinster, one of the best of Irishmen, the mite of the laboring 40s. freeholder, the confluence of the intermediate contributions, all formed a grand national reservoir, by means of which a nation thirsting for justice might be refreshed even under the fiery ray of a consuming

oligarch. This was more than could be endured by the enemies of Ireland. Your association was put down; the payment of your rent prevented; but as you were not quite as powerless as your predecessors under George II, some cunning should be resorted to before you could lose your franchise. Kind words, soothing promises, valueless professions of patriotism and friendship, won upon you, and you were induced with the best intentions to give the worst advice. To tell the Catholics of Ireland to remain quiet, until after every hope of their children should have been destroyed, by stripping the great body of the people of the last remnant of their rights—their franchise—Oh! my friend, how could you have ever, not consented, for you did not, but permitted, whilst you had a tongue to speak, a finger to write, or a hand to raise—how could you have permitted the poor Irish peasant whom I know you love, that poor man who has so often borne you in triumph upon his shoulder; whose heart expanded when you appeared; whose first shout was the expression of your name; whose affection for you was boundless as his confidence in you; whose triumph was your fame; whose little earning was a treasure open for your application to the public good—how could you have permitted that man to be disfranchised? And this, after he placed his money at your disposal and his rights in your keeping?

If I know anything of the policy of the union of Great Britain and Ireland, it was chiefly devised for the purpose of destroying the influence of the Catholic electors of Ireland. Their influence was increasing, they would have gradually driven the Irish Commons to do them justice, there would cease to be a Catholic and a Protestant party, but there would be an Irish party, and that party would be the majority of the nation, comprising men of every belief. This was not to the taste of the British Cabinet. The Orangeman was told by the whisperer from the castle: "The Papists have the elective franchise; their numbers are great; their voters are multiplying; your Irish Com-

mons must soon emancipate them, unless you join our British Protestant House: in Ireland only the Papists are a majority; in a united empire, they are a minority: consent to the union, or you will be overwhelmed." The castle told the Catholics: "The Irish Orangemen are so corrupt that emancipation never will be granted by the Irish House of Commons in which those Orangemen are and must continue to be a decided majority, but the English Protestants are without prejudice, or if they have fears, in case of emancipation, of seeing Catholics become a majority in the Irish House, they can have no dread from admitting a minority consisting of Catholics into a united parliament; the Irish Commons are corrupt, venal and bigoted; it is only by a union with Britain that the Irish Catholic can expect emancipation." Already pensions were held out to the clergy and the nefarious and almost simoniacal traffic was commenced. Better men could not exist than the bishops whom wily statesmen deluded. The union was effected by duping the Catholic; I once thought the Orangeman too was duped, but it is now clear he was not. It was an actual disfranchisement of the Irish Catholic by leaving him an influence in choosing only about one-tenth of the British House in which his rights were to be now disposed of, instead of leaving him an influence in the election of two-thirds of the Irish House, which before the union was to decide upon his fate. The effect of this disfranchisement was in truth the same to the Irish Catholic, as if an act had passed disqualifying electors of that communion from voting for twelve-thirteenths of the members of the Common House; as it must be manifest that whether you increase in certain ratio the number of members who are returned by Protestants only, or diminish the number returned by Catholics and Protests in the ratio, the result will be the same. But by this act both ratios were combined against the Catholic; and the hopes of Ireland were given to the keeping of eleven British and two Irish members. The Catholics could

return one of the Irish and had no influence over the return of the British members.

And now the oligarchy seeks to deprive the Irish Catholic of even this moderate influence. Did not the act of union sufficiently neutralize the power restored to the Catholic by the act of 1793?

And what has the result been? You have during a quarter of a century been bowing and dancing attendance upon your masters, and how have their promises been fulfilled? But you have grown strong, and they know it. You have lately united and pressed your claims. The eye of the world is upon you and upon them. They are worried by you, but still they bid defiance to public opinion. Instead of doing you even tardy justice, they cunningly contrive to sow dissension amongst you, and endeavor to rob you of that which constitutes your strength. How often has Britain lulled you into a false security and let in the enemy upon you. But you rose in your might, broke the new cords and the ropes of sinews, and your frown terrified your foe. Your appearance was uncourtly, you were agitators, it would become you better to cast away those curling locks which indicate your barbarity and corruption. Do, pray, allow your uncouth 40s. freeholders to be trimmed off. You will then be fit to enter the royal presence of the princes of Philistia. Do you not see, the secret of strength is made manifest? You know the source of your weakness. Why will you dally in danger? Though your hair should grow, your eyes will have been previously destroyed; in your fury you may grope for vengeance, and perish together with your oppressors. But now be prudent, and you need not dread this deplorable alternative of slavery; you need neither grind in a mill, nor shake the pillars of the State. Cherish the source of your energy; guard it as the apple of your eye; reject the blandishments of your disguised enemies; this is your maxim of safety.

But, my friend, a word more with you. The examination of the effects of the union has reminded me of a

fact. When Ireland was threatened with this calamity; when terror scowled upon the visage at every satellite of the castle; when desolation swept the fields; when the streets of her metropolis were almost empty; when the widow durst not mourn; when the orphan's eye looked in vain for that father whose name his tongue could not utter; when in such days as these traffic and barter were used to despoil the people, and the Catholics were assured by men who never kept faith with Catholics, that a united parliament would grant what that parliament has repeatedly refused,—one little patriotic band had the hardihood to walk boldly to the vicinity of the castle of Dublin, that in the very hearing of the agents of their country's ruin, in the face of the country, they might at least make a protest against the destruction of the rights of their country. The formidable guard with the pointed bayonet stood to prevent this band from entering the Royal Exchange; but they gained admittance. And one young man who never did and never will yield to terror, raised his voice that day and thus addressed his fellow-Catholics:

He said, that under the circumstances of the present day, and the systematic calumnies flung against the Catholic character, it was more than once determined by the Roman Catholics of Dublin to stand entirely aloof, as a mere sect, from any political discussion, at the same time that they were ready, as forming generally a part of the people of Ireland, to confer with and express their opinions in conjunction with their Protestant fellow-subjects.

This resolution, which they entered into, gave rise to an extensive and injurious misrepresentation, and it was asserted by the advocates of union, daringly and insolently asserted, that the Roman Catholics of Ireland were friends to the measure of union, and silent allies of that conspiracy formed against the name, the interest, and the liberties of Ireland.

This libel on the Catholic character was strengthened by the partial declarations of some mean and degenerate mem-

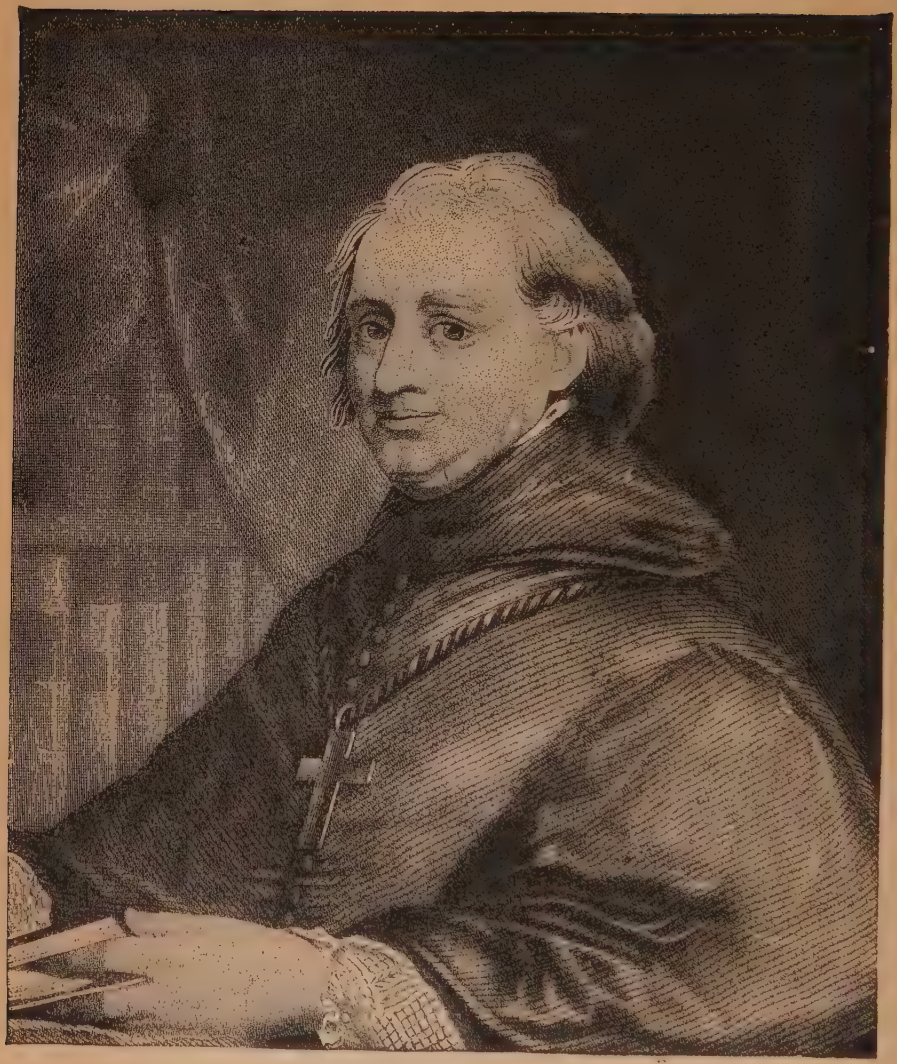
bers, wrought upon by corruption or by fear, and unfortunately it was received with a too general credulity. Every union pamphlet, every union speech, impudently put forth the Catholic name as sanctioning such a measure, which would annihilate the name of the country, and there was none to refute the calumny. In the speeches and pamphlets of anti-unionists, it was rather admitted than denied, and at length the Catholics themselves were obliged to break through a resolution which they had formed, in order to guard against misrepresentation, for the purpose of repelling this worst of misrepresentations.

To refute a calumny directed against them as a sect, they were obliged to come forward as a sect, and in the face of their country to disavow the base conduct imputed to them, and to declare that the assertion of their being favorably inclined to the measure of a legislative incorporation with Great Britain, was a slander the most vile, a libel the most false, scandalous, and wicked that ever was directed against the character of an individual or a people. "Sir," said he, "it is my sentiment, and I am satisfied it is the sentiment, not only of every gentleman who now hears me, but of the Catholic people of Ireland, that if our opposition to this injurious, insulting, and hated measure of union were to draw upon us the revival of the penal laws, we would boldly meet proscription and oppression, which would be the testimonies of our virtue, and sooner throw ourselves once more on the mercy of our Protestant brethren, than give our assent to the political murder of our country; yes, I know—I do know, that although exclusive advantages may be ambiguously held forth to the Irish Catholic to seduce him from the sacred duty he owes his country; I know that the Catholics of Ireland still remember, that they have a country, and that they will never accept of any advantages as a sect which would debase and destroy them as a people."

Those Catholics joined with that young patriot in his protest. You are that young man; fear could not operate

upon you. I have always honestly addressed you; I must have no false delicacy upon a public question, in which the dearest interests of our common native land and our common religion are deeply involved. I will use the boldness of my friendship and love of my native land and my religion, even with the pain which it gives me to say, that I believe you were seduced to hesitate, by men by whom you were surrounded, by men whom I know, by men who would not stand by you at the Royal Exchange on that day; by men who know not the meaning of the word country, but who well know the meaning of the word court. Do, my friend, let Daniel O'Connell, in 1826, upon this question, maintain the principle which he so nobly sustained in 1800; the news will cheer many an Irishman who is numbed near the pole or who glows under the equator; and the name of his friend will still be surrounded with the affection and the prayers of

JOHN, *Bishop of Charleston.*



MOST REV. JOHN CARROLL, D. D.

FIRST ARCHBISHOP OF BALTIMORE.

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THE

WORKS OF BISHOP ENGLAND.

INFALLIBILITY.

I.

Our first principle is, that man is not bound to believe any doctrine as of faith, unless that doctrine has been revealed by God. Thus, a Roman Catholic does not acknowledge any power or right in the Church, nor in any portion thereof, nor in any angel, nor in any being, except God Himself, to require his belief of a doctrine which is above his reason's discovery. When, then, he says that the Church is infallible in giving her doctrinal decisions, he does not mean to say that she can make that which God did not reveal become an article of faith. He does not mean that she can add to the revelations of God and will be infallibly correct in this addition.

But man is bound to believe what God teaches. Yet, as man is a reasonable being, and must have a sufficient motive for his assent or belief, he is not required to believe without evidence. Thus, for his faith, evidence is necessary, otherwise his belief would have no foundation upon which it could rest.

We next ask, what evidence is required? Certainly, if our reason could discover the truth of the doctrine submitted to our minds, it would be quite superfluous for God to teach what we could discover without His teaching.

Did we discover the truth of this doctrine, without the teaching of God, and solely by the exertion of our own intellect, our belief would be founded upon the evidence of reason, and further evidence would be superfluous. But, if we did not make the discovery by our own exertion—if no exertion of our minds could reach so far—and we received sufficient testimony of the truth from some persons who had seen and known and testified; and, moreover, this witness was as incapable of deceit as he was beyond its influence; this testimony would be, to us, sufficient evidence of the truth of this doctrine.

We would, then, require evidence that such a witness gave such testimony; and that evidence would be the sure foundation of our faith. Our belief would then be rational.

It will not be questioned that God is such a witness. It will be admitted that His knowledge is more extensive than ours; that His knowledge is not merely rational conjecture or high probability, but is undoubted, certain assurance of fact; and that it is unalterable; so that what He once asserts as truth will be truth—forever.

These principles are manifestly true. We come now to matter of fact and deduction. God did reveal His knowledge. They to whom He revealed it had evidence of the fact. They were bound. Why? Because they had an infallible certainty that the Lord spoke and an infallible certainty of what He said. Thus, the principle of obligation is founded in the infallible certainty of God's declaration.

From this we perceive the indissoluble connection of faith with an infallible certainty of truth. Take away the certainty, upon what will faith rest? Give the infallibility, and we see the basis of faith. Conjecture is not faith; probability is not faith; faith is certain knowledge resting upon the testimony of God. It must be founded upon an infallible certainty that God made a revelation, and upon an infallible certainty of what that revelation was. Suppose we ascertain that He spoke; and, moreover, that He revealed the contents of a certain book: but great doubts

arise as to the meaning of certain passages of that book, and learned men give to the same passage contradictory meanings; so that, of these words, "Behold, I am with you all days, even to the consummation of the world," one division asserts the meaning to be, that Christ would preserve the visible body of His Church, who were teachers of His doctrine, in His truth, all days, to the end of the world; and other divisions assert that such is not the meaning, but that, during ages in succession, long before the end of the world, this visible body would be false guides and teach the doctrines of Antichrist. Suppose an hundred such passages can be produced, upon which there are flat contradictions. Suppose the very copies were so called into question, that several passages of a most important nature are by learned men said to have been introduced in dark and superstitious times, by cunning priests, to impose upon the credulity of a besotted people, and to bring persons to believe that God had taught what He never had revealed. Suppose equally learned and equally numerous and zealous men assert these passages to be genuine. We are left without any infallible guide to give us certain evidence. Upon what will our faith rest? Thus I repeat there is an indissoluble connection between faith and infallibility.

This leads us to a correct view of what we hold, in the Roman Catholic Church, viz., that when God required man to believe mysteries upon His testimony, He furnished him with an infallible mode of knowing exactly what He taught and what man was to believe; in other words, that God gave to man evidence, as the foundation upon which his faith should rest. And if God did not furnish man with an infallible guide, it would be unreasonable to to make faith necessary for salvation. It would be as if God should say to man: "You must believe firmly all that I teach; but, although I can establish several modes by which you can know My doctrine with infallible certainty, still, I will not furnish you with an infallible

guide. I shall leave you to conjecture, to probability, to speculation, and to doubt."

Our doctrine, then, is, that God did establish this infallible guide; and that, in the new law, the great majority of the bishops who succeed to the apostolic commission, together with the Bishop of Rome, either in council assembled, or teaching in their sees, form this tribunal.

They have no authority to change what God has revealed; they have no authority to add to what God has revealed; but they will, in all cases of doubt, lead us with infallible certainty to a knowledge of what God has taught. Individuals amongst them may err, and have erred, but the great majority will infallibly guide us to truth.[1]

II.

I now proceed to show the grounds of my assertion, that the great majority of the bishops of the Church, together with the Bishop of Rome, form that tribunal which will, with infallible certainty, give to us those doctrines which are of faith.

I feel that it is unnecessary to prove that there can be no faith without having an infallible certainty of what God has revealed. We cannot have this certainty unless we can find a witness whose testimony of that revelation will be infallibly correct. Thus we are brought to the dilemma: There can be no faith or there must be an infallible witness of doctrine. Hence, we are reduced at once to total want of evidence of what God did say (for conjecture or opinion is not evidence); or, we must find an infallible witness. We must place upon the same level the Pagan, the Deist, the Socinian, the Arian, the Macedonian, the Mahometan, the Roman Catholic, the Jew, the Nestorian, the Presbyterian, the Quaker, the Methodist, the Anabaptist, the Baptist, the Sabbatarian, the Church-of-England-man, the Protestant Episcopalian, the Sub-Lapsarian,

[1] Since Bishop England wrote this, the Vatican Council of 1870 has passed the decree of Papal Infallibility. For a full explanation of its extent and limitations, see vol. ii of Newman's "Difficulties of Anglicans," p. 179 *et seq.*

the Lutheran, the Swedenborgian, the Southcothonian, the Shaker, and the thousands of others whose names and systems vary. Yet all profess to hold truth and all contradict each other; still, truth is single and not contradictory.

Has God revealed truth and commanded us to believe His Word, and yet placed it out of our power to know with certainty what He said? This clearly must be the case if we have no infallible witness to tell us what He said. However, a thousand of those divisions will arise, and with one accord say: "We have an infallible witness. God is good and wise and merciful. He has given us this witness; stand aside — move from amongst us, you Pagans, Deists, Jews, Mahometans, and Papists, you will not receive this witness; it is the Bible."

Obedient to the mandate, I move aside with my companions. I ask not how they know that Book to contain the doctrine of God to man, because the experience of centuries gives me the plain certainty of what will occur. At an humble distance I listen. One of the persons who remained now calls upon his fellows to adore the Lord Jesus; another protests against such idolatry. The Book is produced; pages are read; each explains them in contradiction to the other. Their associates interpose to allay the ire of the disputants. One voice is heard, calling on them to hear the opinion of an English bishop; another voice asks whether his ordination can be proved good; a shrill rebuke of tyranny is now issuing from another quarter; whilst another solemnly advises reference to a synod of presbyters and elders. "Why not each congregation decide for itself," cries another voice; "Scripture does not warrant the subjection of the freedom of the Gospel to such a yoke." Before the lapse of an hour there will be as many contradictions as there are individuals. All appeal to the Book; yet the Book is silent, but is made by each to speak in favor of his opinion.

The Deist calmly asks: "Is this the consistency of the Christian religion? Is this the manifestation of evident

truth? Is this the uncontradictory code to which I am to sacrifice my reason?"

"Great Allah!" cries the Mahometan, "I bless Thee for the words of Thy prophet. They are light to mine eye; they are fountains in the desert; they are wafted in perfumes from Arabia; they are lovely as the houris of paradise; they sound in my ears as the first music with which Thou wilt greet my soul, when it will be borne from the angel of death."

The Pagan looks first at the crowd in mute astonishment, and then asks whether the God of the Christians was He who sowed the teeth of the Dragon, and whether this Book partakes of the same qualities as were found in those teeth; and he runs to unlock the temple of Janus.

"Friend of the old Christianity," said the Israelite, turning to me, "when I shall be too idle to labor or poor enough to become a hypocrite and shall go to the new farm which the good Christians of America have purchased, to ameliorate my condition, which of those people shall I join?"

"None of them," was my answer.

"Then are we to give up that blessed Book?" asks the Deist, with a sneer.

"No!" was my reply.

"Shall we go and join in the fray?" said the Pagan.

"Stop!" cried the Mahometan, "there is serenity in that man's countenance: lo! he is about to speak; the multitude is appeased."

There arose, indeed, a man who stilled the tumult; and, as the noise subsided, his words were more plainly caught. The following passages I plainly heard:

"Let even the Catholic be invited to the holy work. We all agree that the Book contains the Word of God; so does he. Let each take and read it for himself; let us have no strife; let us send it to the Mahometan, to the Jew, to the Pagan, to the poor, benighted Deist. Let each read for himself; let each interpret for himself; let each

believe as he likes; we will all be Christians; we will all agree. It contains one precept which we can all practice, 'Love one another;' this is enough."

"Now," said the Deist, "there can be no necessity of a Bible. 'Love one another,' is, it appears, all the necessary part of its contents; why print any more?"

"Why," said the Mahometan, "there is the great principle of Freemasonry. I have learned this in my lodge; the Koran teaches more than the Bible. Alas! how ignorant are those Christian dogs!"

"And, brother," said the Jew to the Pagan, "you know that in our lodge we teach that Pythagoras, and Hiram, and Solomon, knew this principle as well as any sublime master since the day of Noe or even of Adam. Of what use, then, is Christianity?"

To be serious: we must choose between an infallible guide to truth, who can speak and decide, or we must give up the cause of Christianity, of divine revelation; and though it is fashionable to profess to be a Christian, we unhesitatingly assert, that a vast portion of the more intelligent and enlightened of those who make this profession cannot see their way through the difficulties which surround them, any more than could the Jew, or the Pagan, or the Mahometan, or know what sect they should join in the contest; and the peaceful plea of distributing the Scripture, leaving to all the interpretation, is but, in other words, making a very rational compact not to fight about what they do not understand. But this sentence destroys the authority of revelation.

We want an infallible guide; the Bible is not and cannot be that guide; because, although it contains the words of truth, those words are susceptible of contradictory interpretations; and, in fact, are interpreted contradictorily.

I stated that we could leave unquestioned the fact that this Book, which is thus triumphantly appealed to, was the communication of God's will to man. But why should we assume or admit this fact without evidence; and, if we have no infallible witness to testify this to be such a

divine communication, how shall we have this evidence? Several of those divisions above enumerated contend that this Book differs in several places from the original which is supposed to have been given. Several assert that it contains books never given by God. Several contend that it is quite defective. What authority have we to side with one in preference to the other unless we have some argument superior to those which they adduce? They adduce opinion. We want fact; and fact which will be fully, indisputably established by infallible authority; because, if our authority be fallible, we might be led into error; and, if we are liable to be led into error, we have no certainty that we are not so led.

This view of the want of foundation for Christianity leaves it as baseless as any chimerical vision of fancy. This view has produced, and still produces, more infidelity than any other cause that I know of. I avow, that if I had nothing more substantial than opinion to rest upon, I would not be a Christian.

What, then, is my view?

I find an unquestioned fact; and upon that fact I build.

The fact is, that there now exists in the world one very large society of Christians, spread through all its nations and forming but one body. I build upon this fact, by a series of others, equally plain. 2. That body has now a uniform code of doctrine. 3. That body has existed during several centuries. 4. All the other divisions of Christians have gone out from this body, either by separating from it or by sub-dividing from some division which had previously separated. 5. These divisions all oppose each other upon the matter of doctrine, i. e. respecting the fact of what God told man to believe and to practice. 6. Though they all agree in asserting that the great body from which the separation has been made did err in faith, no two of them are agreed as to what those errors precisely are, though many of them concur in stating that the doc-

trinal errors of this great body are, in teaching a variety of articles which they contradict; yet, one of them will always assert that what the other calls error is truth in the doctrines of the original code which God has revealed. 7. They all assert that her errors consisted in changing from what was originally given by God. 8. They have never been able satisfactorily to point out the date of those alleged changes, nor that at the period of such alleged change, there continued together any large body of Christians who condemned this alleged change and who preserved the true doctrine. 9. This great body has clearly pointed out the date of all the changes which she alleged the separatists to have made in doctrines; also, the special doctrines, the author of the change, and all the circumstances of the separation. 10. This great body traces its unbroken existence to the days of Jesus Christ. 11. Such of the separated divisions as attempt to do the same, are obliged to graft themselves upon the stock of that great body, at the time that is pointed out as the period of their sepation. 12. Those bodies have at different times since their separation changed their doctrine; that is, at one period, they stated that God did not reveal what, at another time, they stated He revealed; and no one of them lays claim to be infallible in showing what God taught. 13. This great body alleges that it has never altered its doctrine, and that, at this day, it holds to every doctrinal declaration which it has made during eighteen centuries; and that it will infallibly teach what God has revealed; and, an imputation which other divisions frequently make upon it, and which it acknowledges to be—to itself—a source of gratification, is, that it obstinately holds to what it first taught, and will make no reformation in its doctrine, to suit the change of times and the progress of science.

I next view another body of facts, which are in full evidence, respecting which there can be no doubt. 1. Jesus Christ existed, and was put to death in Judea, about eighteen centuries ago. 2. He proved by miraculous works that He

had a divine mission. 3. He wrote no book of doctrine; but He instructed a number of persons whom He had selected; and He, in a special manner, gave particular instructions to some whom He had chosen from amongst these disciples. 4. He commissioned them to teach His doctrines to all mankind. 5. They did teach; and they, too, wrought miracles. 6. They instructed vast multitudes of others; some of whom they selected and commissioned as teachers, and associated with themselves. 7. Their mode of instruction was not by giving to the people a Book, which, they said, contained God's Word, and telling them to interpret it for themselve; and that whatever they thought to be the meaning of the Book was to be followed, though that meaning should be contradictory, as the opinions of the readers might be contradictory. 8. A few of them wrote abridged histories of the acts and sayings of Jesus Christ, the copies of which were very scarce; others wrote some epistles on particular occasions; and an imperfect history of some of the Acts of the Apostles was also written; together with a long and darkly mysterious history of a prophetic vision; but of all these, the copies were very few, and the circulation very limited. 9. Several other histories, epistles, and visions, were also circulated, which have been generally acknowledged, long since, to be compilations of falsehood, and many of them of folly; and have been rejected as such. 10. During more than two centuries these productions continued to circulate, without any public distinction having been generally made between them. 11. There was a dispute amongst the early Christians, in the days of the Apostles, as to what was the doctrine of Christ, respecting the observance of the law of Moses, and several other subjects. 12. This dispute was terminated, not by referring persons to any books of authority and leaving the individuals to judge for themselves, but by the authoritative decision of the teachers, who gave a judgment, in which they asserted they had the aid and co-operation of the Holy Ghost. 13. The persons who would not submit

to that judicial decision were cut off from the Church. 14. All other disputes were terminated in like manner; and all who would not submit were cut off in like manner, and thus formed new sects, calling themselves Christians, but not recognized by the great body. 15. More than three centuries elapsed, before the books which are recognized as containing the Word of God, were separated from those which were spurious. 16. This selection was made by the successors of the Apostles and was an act of judicial, authoritative declaration. 17. Hitherto, those successors and their predecessors had been considered as the only authority, through which men could certainly know what Jesus Christ had taught. 18. Their recognition of the truth of what the selected books contained could not and did not destroy any authority which they previously had and which they and their successors were to have to the end of the world. 19. After this selection, they continued to exercise their authority as before. 20. At this period, several nations, containing several millions of Christians, had a full knowledge of the doctrines of Christ, although they had never seen a copy of the Scriptures; and then, their faith was found to agree with that of the persons who, belonging to the great or universal or Catholic body, had also the Scriptures.

From these facts I draw the following conclusions: 1. Christ did not establish as the mode of knowing His doctrines, the publication of Bibles and leaving to individuals to interpret them as they thought fit; or—what is but a modification of the same—establish those individuals as judges, to know from Bible-reading whether the teacher gave them His doctrine or not. 2. He sent teachers, to whom the people were to listen, and from whom and upon whose authority, the people were to receive His doctrine. 3. This authority of theirs was approved by miracles and therefore had the sanction of heaven. 4. It was by its exercise nations were converted and truth preserved. 5. It is only by its recognition we can know that Scripture con-

tains the Word of God. 6. Without its recognition we have no certain knowledge that the New Testament contains the doctrines of Christ. 7. If it be a fallible tribunal in what concerns faith, we have no certainty that the books which we receive are inspired and that those which we reject are not God's Word. 8. Therefore, if the great body of teachers of the Church cannot give us with infallible certainty the doctrines of Christ, we have no certainty that these doctrines are contained in the New Testament or are now taught any where in the world.

III.

We have now seen general considerations founded upon facts, which lead one to conclude: 1. That we cannot have a certainty of what God has taught, without having a witness who will give us with infallible certainty the doctrine which He revealed. 2. That we cannot have faith without such infallible testimony. And 3. That the facts of the establishment of Christianity evidently suppose the public teachers of the Church, as a body, to be a witness of this description; and that, if they be not, we have no certainty that Scripture is the Word of God; nor have we any certainty that we now find the true doctrines of Christ.

In every human society, men not only make laws; but, however plain those laws may be, a tribunal from which there is no appeal decides for all the members what is the meaning of that law. And, although this tribunal is liable to error, society causes it to be regarded as infallible. Society cannot make it infallible; but it can have it treated as if it were an infallible tribunal; otherwise, the law would be useless, if not mischievous. What would be thought of two litigants and their advocates who would come into court, and, each producing his law book, decide in his own favor, when the tribunal had already decided; the one whom the decision favored, remaining satisfied with this decision, while the other party said: "The tribunal has erred; I know the law; the judges are but men, I will not abide by

their decision?" How long could society hold together? Who would live in a country where the order of the court could not be enforced? Yet, we all agree, this tribunal might err. Still, the good of society requires that it must be treated as if infallible. Indeed, if it could be made infallible, it ought to be made so; and, in practice, it is made so. No one goes before such a tribunal merely for advice or instruction; recourse is had to it for authoritative decision. To go for advice or instruction would be giving it no power to effect the object of its creation; because, you might be unwilling to follow the advice, and might not consider the instruction good, nor the evidence sufficient. The Supreme Court of the United States generally publishes the grounds of its decisions; but the judge never asks the parties whether they consider those grounds sufficient. The decision is made by authority of the court, and not by the admission of the parties. Common sense, peace, truth, justice, the public good require this.

We have seen that the contests as to what is the meaning of passages of the Bible are as numerous as the contests about the meaning of the law of our States; and a tribunal is as necessary to give the one with accuracy and certainty, as to give the other. And, if it be important to know what God teaches, as it unquestionably is, it is important that the tribunal appointed to tell us what He teaches should not err. Why are the courts of society fallible? Because society, from which they derive their power, and by which they are erected, could not gift them with infallibility. The tribunal of the Church is erected by God, who is all-powerful. It derives its commission to teach from Him who could make it infallible; and His wisdom shows the necessity of doing what His power can effect. He must, then, have made the tribunal of the Church infallible in testifying what He has taught. Single individuals are liable to err in their decisions; but the tribunal is infallible; not because composed of a number of infallible individuals, but because Almighty wisdom saw the

necessity and Almighty power can effect the great object. Now, this tribunal consists of the Church, i. e., of the teaching portion which succeeds to the Apostles—viz: the Bishop of Rome and the great majority of bishops in his communion. These successors of the Apostles have always formed this tribunal. Infallibity is then not a raising of these individuals as tyrants over their brethren, but the Providence of God securing to their united testimony shall give us a certain knowledge of what God has proposed to us as doctrines of faith.

I shall conclude this portion of my remarks by stating another fact, which I can prove, but which might not be so easily admitted by our opponents as those unquestionable ones which I laid down before, viz., that from the beginning the great body of Christians testified that this tribunal was infallible. The doctrine is, that the Church is an infallible, authoritative tribunal, which herself examines and decides upon the evidence, and then declares to man the fact, by the authority of God, who made her infallible, and who gave to her the authority. But this authority extends only to matters which have been revealed by God; it does not reach to mere concerns of this world.

Let us take another view of facts: 1. There was a Christian Church before there was a Christian Bible. 2. That Church was organized and perfect, and widely spread abroad, before one particle of the Christian Bible was written. 3. It was upon the authoritative testimony of that Church that the Bible was received. 4. If that testimony had not been given, no person could have any certainty that this Book, which was selected from several scattered writings, contained the revelation of God to man.

Whence we conclude: If that Church was not infallibly correct in giving this decision and testimony, we have no infallibly certain foundation for our faith. Therefore, if the Church is not infallible, the Christian Scriptures are not a certain rule of faith. And when Luther asserts that the epistle of St. James is a book of no authority, and does

not contain the Word of God, perhaps he is right; and the Church of England, which receives it as the Word of God, perhaps is in error. How are we to know which we should believe? The Presbyterian Church gives to us, as the Word of God, the seventh verse of the fifth chapter of the first epistle of St. John;[1] and a great many learned men and whole congregations tell us this is an impudent forgery which contradicts the Word of God. How are we to know which of them to believe? The Roman Catholic and other Churches tell us that, of the Old Testament, Baruch, Tobias, Judith Wisdom, Ecclesiasticus, and the two books of the Machabees, contain the Word of God; the Church of England and several others tell us they are apocryphal and of no authority. Which are we to believe?

In the days of St. Jerome, that is, about fourteen hundred years ago, several persons rejected the last chapter of the Gospel of St. Mark; and now it is received; but an entire sentence which it then contained has been omitted. Upon what ground was this chapter received? Upon what ground was this sentence omitted? In the same age and the previous one were to be found several copies of the Gospel of St. Luke, which omitted two entire verses of the twenty-second chapter and one word of the nineteenth chapter, all which are most important and are in all the modern Bibles. By what authority were they introduced? Which held the true doctrine, they who omitted or they who inserted those passages?

The principal portion of the eighth chapter of the Gospel of St. John, as now found in the Protestant and Catholic versions, is said to have been taken from an old and rejected Gospel, which no one now pretends to be the Word of God.[2] How are we to know whether this is God's Word or a fable? Marcion, Arius, Luther, Brentius, Kemnitz, and their followers all assert that St. Paul never

[1] And there are three who give testimony in heaven, the Father, the Word, and the Holy Ghost. And these three are one.—1 Ep. John, c. v, v. 7.

[2] The Gospel used by the Nazarene Ebionite heretics called the "Gospel according to the Hebrews."

wrote the epistle to the Hebrews, and that it does not contain the Word of God. Calvin doubts if it was written by St. Paul, but asserts that it does contain the Word of God, and is a part of Holy Scripture; and that it is in error in the Lutherans to reject this canonical book. The Church of England puts it into her canon. Which of these are we to believe? Luther and his early adherents asserted that the epistle of Jude was undoubtedly not the Word of God. He also rejects the first epistle of St. Peter, but receives the second, and has great doubts as to whether the second and third epistles of St. John contain the Word of God. Calvin receives the two of Peter, the three of John, and that of Jude, as undoubtedly the Word of God. So, too, does the English Church. Which are we to follow? The Marcionists, the Alogians, the Theodocians rejected the Apocalypse or Revelation of St. John, as a forgery and not containing the word of God. Luther, in his first preface, rejects it as not the Word of God, nor the production of an Apostle. Brentius and Kemnitz hold with these; but, in his second preface, Luther doubts upon the subject. Calvin has no doubt whatever; he is certain that it is the Word of God; and so are the Centuriators of Magdeburgh, who were Lutherans; and so is the Church of England, which received it as one of which there never was question. Yet strange as it might seem there is not in the entire canon a book upon which there was longer and more serious question in the Church. Now, take away an infallible tribunal which is to give us a decision, and what are we to do? How is a question to be decided where the litigants not only cannot agree in the interpretation of the book which contains the law, but cannot even agree as to the precise passages which are of authority? Of what value is a book said to be authority upon any subject, which book has been collected from amongst many rejected documents which were at one time in equal circulation with the selected portions; and the collectors of which book neither had any authority to make the collection nor any author to point

out with certainty what was a document of truth and what was a fabulous composition? Such a collection could be no evidence—no authority.

The Church existed before the Scriptures. The Church had authority to teach before the Scriptures were written. The Church did teach before the Scriptures were written. If the Church was not then infallible, she might have taught error for true doctrine. When the Scriptures were written, it was by the teaching of the Church that writing which contained the Word of God was separated from that which did not contain it. If the Church was not infallible in distinguishing the truth from the error, she might have given to us error for truth. If we do not follow the distinction of the Church, we, who are not infallible, may take what is not God's Word for that which really is His Word. Thus, if the Church is not infallible, we have no certainty what God has taught; we cannot know Scripture from foolish and blasphemous forgery.

To this reasoning, I humbly apprehend, there can be no alternative by which the conclusion can be combatted, except by saying that every individual will infallibly discover that which the whole body of the Church cannot. Thus, instead of having an aggregate body infallible, we shall have every individual infallible. And those infallible individuals will have a thousand contradictions, and all these contradictions will be true. Now, upon our doctrine, we have an aggregate body, which has existed in unbroken succession from the days of Christ to the present day, testifying to us with infallible and authoritative certainty what are the doctrines which He taught, and in what books they may be found, and what is the meaning of the doubtful and obscure passages. And this body has not, in any one of those cases, during eighteen centuries, contradicted its testimony upon any of those heads. I further humbly apprehend that we have no choice left between embracing this doctrine, and asserting that we cannot now know with any

certainty what are the doctrines of Christ, nor where they are to be found.

But, does not this monstrous and arrogant doctrine of infallibility enslave mankind? No. Suppose we were to go into any court of the United States, and say to the presiding judges: "You shall not sit here, because we are a free people. You are arrogant tyrants, who presume to tell us that we shall not quote the statutes of Congress, until you will please to recognize their authority. Ambitious, haughty fools, will you presume to set yourselves over Congress, and say that those laws shall not be pleaded before your honors, until they shall receive the fiat of your ephemeral omnipotence? Are you not the creatures whom the law has formed? Are we not the source of that power from which the law emanates? And yet, you tell us that we shall not plead that law before you, who are equally subject to it as the meanest of those over whom you are elevated, until you shall have examined and told us whether you will recognize the fact that it is the law of the nation. But, mark! what is more intolerable than your proud and insolent monopoly of the gifts which heaven has freely bestowed upon us all? You vouchsafe now to tell us that this book contains the law. Admirable condescension! As if it was not equally law before you said so! Surely, you will not pretend that it was your nod which made it binding? No. If you never saw it, still it would be law. But we must not interpret it, except according to your good will and pleasure! What! Have we not eyes to read as you have? Are we more dull than you are? Will you deny to us what God has given to us, perhaps with less stinted measure than to yourselves—intellect? So forsooth it is law, but you alone are to expound its meaning and to apply it to our several cases. Why then was it printed? Why are we called upon to read it? Is it to be to us a closed book, a sealed volume? You insult the legislature by supposing they cannot write or enact laws which can be understood by

those for whom they are to be a code of instruction. You arrogate to yourself a dominion which we will not submit to; a power to say that the law means what you please to say is its meaning, and that we must submit to your caprices. We want no well-paid arrogance such as yours, to intervene between a Congress which writes plain English and a people to whom that language is most familiar. Your law-craft has created artificial difficulties. We can understand the law of God. Shall we be unable to understand the laws of men who live amongst us? The despotic arrogance of Romish infallibility has been annihilated; why should yours survive? The principles of Popery and all courts of law are the same. One has fallen; the other must follow. The march of mind has commenced. The mariner's compass and the art of printing, the Reformation and the blow-pipe, calorics and gases were unknown to the ancients. Despotism must shrink back to its congenial darkness; truth is effulgent; Gothic barbarism must give way. Leave those seats, from which you darted the lightning of your threats and hurled the thunder of your despotism! Man must be free."

What would be thought of us should we make such an address to the supreme court of the United States of America?

Are our citizens enslaved?

IV.

I now take up another view of this subject. It is possible to discover the doctrine of Christ or it is not. Shall we assert that it is impossible to discover now with certainty what the Saviour taught? Then we must say that Christianity has been lost. Revelation is now of no use. For, if we cannot know with certainty what God has revealed, of what use is it to know that He did formerly make a revelation? If we find it impossible to know with certainty what Christ has taught, Christianity has been lost. We assert that it is possible to know with certainty what

our Saviour has taught. It must be by testimony, not by any new revelation. What is that testimony? The Roman Catholic says it is the testimony of all Catholic nations informing us what has been preserved by all the Christian Churches, through all ages, since the death of the Saviour.

The separatist says this will not infallibly lead you to truth. Then we are without any certain and assured mode of knowing truth; and therefore it is impossible to know for certain what is truth. We can only have conjecture. Faith is built upon certain knowledge, not upon conjecture; therefore we cannot have faith.

But another person says: "We may receive with infallible certainty what the Bible contains; and thus we, by that blessed Book, are brought to a certain knowledge and to faith."

Our answer is very short. First, that any particular portion of that Book contains God's Word will, upon the principle of the separatists, depend only upon the opinion of one or more persons who are individually and collectively liable to err. And, next, the meaning of the passages of that portion will depend only upon the opinion of one or more, who, taken individually or collectively, are liable to err. But opinion of persons liable to error, as well in their aggregate as in their individual capacity, is not a ground of certainty. Thus, there can be no faith. In order, then, to be certain, we must either admit the whole body to be infaillible in its testimony or we must assert that a portion of that body is infallible. The Roman Catholic says that the whole body is infallible, but the authoritative testimony is given by the established tribunal in the name of the body. That tribunal is the head and the great majority of the commissioned teachers, speaking in the name of the whole body. I now ask, which is more arrogant — to make this assertion or to claim infallibility for every individual who says: "I know this Book is canonical; and I know this is its meaning; and I am right, and all who differ from me are wrong?"

Yet must we take up one or the other of the following propositions: 1. It is now impossible to know with certainty what Christ has taught. 2. It is from the Catholic Church we will know with infallible certainty what God has revealed. 3. Every individual who reads the Bible with good dispositions will infallibly know that his dispositions are such as will insure to him a knowledge of truth; also, he will be infallibly correct in ascertaining what books contain the Word of God and also the full meaning of all the passages of those books. 4. Although the Roman Catholic Church may err, and individuals may err, yet a particular body will give us with infallible certainty a knowledge of what God has revealed, and that body is ———. Each reader is at liberty to fill the blank as he pleases.

If we support the first proposition, we destroy faith. If we maintain the third, we shall have to reconcile myriads of contradictions. I do not know any one who will maintain the fourth. Therefore the second must be true, or our distinctive proposition is inaccurate. I shall believe it to be accurate until it shall be amended by giving me some fifth proposition.

Arrogance, tyranny, superstition, priestcraft, and some other words of this kind used in these States, have no definite meaning. The ear is accustomed to the sound; those sounds are declaimed against and written at. The perpetual playing upon them reminds me of the music of a drum, where there is great noise and great vacuity; but yet this noise excites to arms. To me the whole of what is thus written appears to mean as much as the philosophic question: "Utrum chimæra, bombilians in vacuo, potest comedere suas primarias intentiones?" or as the following definitions: "A covenant is a cord to tie us to God; and now God hath made an iron whip of these cords, which we have broken asunder to whip us withal." "The Gospel to a nation is like the Book of Canticles, which begins with a kiss and ends with spices."

Let us examine facts. The object is to discover what

has been taught by an Individual who has plainly taught what it is necessary for us to know. He wrote nothing; He commissioned a number of Apostles; they associated a number of others to their commission; they and their associates spread those doctrines through the world. In the course of nature they and their associates gradually died; but new apostles arose in their stead, who, by the survivors, were duly instructed, and by the faithful were fully recognized; and whose doctrine, given in public, was, by all those who had heard the original Apostles, declared to be the same which they had from the beginning. The body of teachers and of hearers is thus continued, like the human frame, continually changing by loss and increment, but still always the same, though always in process of insensible change of the particles of which it is made up. The body of the Church pervades several nations, sometimes at war, sometimes at peace, having conflicting interests, discordant tastes, mutual prejudices, tongues generally unintelligible to each other. In every place persons separate. The separatists are condemned by those from whom they first went out. Their allegation is, that the great body changed the original doctrine. They cannot say who was the author of the change; they cannot tell the time when it took place; they find no body which they can point out as holding their new tenets; they succeed to no body; they build upon their own opinion of the meaning of a text. Their neighbors inform the whole body, which has subsisted from the beginning, that these men have made an innovation. This great body, so divided by worldly distinctions, and yet united in faith, examines what was given by the Founder of His Church; what has been held from the day of the foundation to the day of the examination; every record is searched, every monument is examined, every document is unfolded. The meaning which those alleged texts had from the beginning is established. The vast majority of the bishops from every nation, perhaps the whole body without an individual exception, all concur in stating

that these innovators have made a mistake; that they have erred; that man has no authority to change what God has given. Rome—which possesses the original documents of centuries, collected from every Church which now exists and from thousands now no more; Rome—where Peter established his tribunal, presiding by divine appointment in the midst of his brethren, and whose successors, as history demonstrates, have always sat at the head of this vast society; Rome gives the testimony and the assent to this decision.

Yet, this is arrogance; this is presumption; this is priesteraft; this is tyranny. But it is no arrogance for the innovators to declaim against this universal testimony! No presumption for one or two men and their adherents to call this assembly the synagogue of the devil! No priestcraft can be where there is no priesthood; nor is it tyranny to oppose common sense, common order, every principle of reason, every principle of law.

I would put one plain question. Which is more arrogant, the man who says: "If certainty can be had, it must be obtained by such evidence as this; it is impossible that there could have been so extensive a conspiracy against truth, and yet no one to discover it; it is impossible that all these documents could have been fabricated, and yet no one to detect; it is impossible that God should have given man a revelation, and yet have provided no mode for its certain transmission; that certain mode cannot be by a book which He never wrote and which can be interpreted into contradictions; about the meaning of which millions are disputing; and whose meaning will never be settled but by authoritative explanation; it is impossible, if this Church has perished, that it could be re-established, except by Himself, or by His commission sufficiently attested. We have no such testimony; but here is evidence of succession; here is evidence of consent; here is evidence that there could not have been conspiracy or fabrication; here are congregated millions, on one side, following up their

predecessors; and on the other, here are a few bold men, following no person, and opening a new path, from which, they assert without any evidence of the fact, that those millions, and the myriads of their predecessors, have deserted. I will submit to this authority." Or the other side which exhibits some men, who tell us: "Let every man judge for himself, and though we should contradict each other, we are all right." Or, perhaps: "Take and read; but follow our interpretation or you will be in error."

Is there common sense in the assertion that contradictory propositions are true? Is there no arrogance in saying: "Though the Catholic world did mislead you, yet we cannot; hold to us, for we alone are right?" This leads to my former conclusion: Without infallibility there is no foundation for faith; and if infallibility exists any where, it can only be found in the Roman Catholic Church.

The distinction between anarchy and government consists in the subjection of individual will to law, in government; and the absence of law and the licentiousness of individual will is anarchy. If we have no rule to which the will is to be subject in religion, it is a state of anarchy. If we have a rule to which individual will must be subject, we have order and government in religion. If Scripture is said to be that law, the first question is, which books of Scripture are that law. If every man is free to accept or reject any book he pleases, this is anarchy. If man's individual will is regulated by any law upon the subject, what is that law, if the Church has no authority? If the Church has authority, but may err, in giving those books which do not contain God's law, or in withholding those which contain it, we are reduced to a complete uncertainty of what the law is; we are left in a state of anarchy. Nothing short of infallible authority can relieve us from this state.

Suppose this difficulty got over. Scripture is now the law to which individual will must submit. Two individuals read the same passages. One believes their meaning to be

that Christ is God, and that if man refuses to adore Him, he will be punished eternally; the other believes their meaning to be that Christ is not God—that if adores Him he will be guilty of idolatry, and will be damned for the breach of the first commandment. Thus, private interpretation is subjecting the law to the will of the individual, and not subjecting the will of the individual to the law. This is anarchy. If God gave a revelation to man, it certainly could not be upheld by anarchy.

Despotism is where one master acts without any fixed rule to control his will; where the will is restrained by the necessity of having the previous consent of others, there can be no despotism; and where this consent must be given in a particular manner, well known and clearly ascertained, the persons who are guided by a council of this description are under a government of law, and not under the sway of a despotism; and where this body is restrained to pass its judgment upon only one or a few ascertained subjects, and to make its laws only upon given and defined topics, so far from being a despotism, it is an extremely limited government of ascertained law and a defined constitution, which is the more likely to be free from cabal and intrigue and faction, as the members of that council reside in different nations, have conflicting local prejudices and local partialities, are wedded to distinct theories and forms of human government, belong to States which have no common language, recent common origin, or common interest, but are frequently in open hostility with each other. As I find all these characteristics in the government of our Church, I must call it anything but a despotism; and will presume to say, that when such a body of teachers, together with their head, unite in deciding, after the examination of evidence, that those are the doctrines which God revealed to their predecessors, they will be infallibly correct in their decision; and, that if the decision is opposed or impugned, the arrogance is more likely to be upon the side of the opponent, who, upon

the strength of his opinion or that of a few of his companions, would say: "I am right, and all these are in error." If there be despotism, it is more likely to be the despotism of the individual, who, bloated with his self-opinion, tells his followers: "All these have erred; the millions who adhere to them err; I am right; follow me."

I do not think the doctrine of Church infallibility is a doctrine of despotism or arrogance.

The Apostles framed a creed, that is, a form of doctrine to which they required implicit assent to be given. Was this a piece of advice or a recommendation? No; it was an act of authoritative decision; and no person was permitted to join the Christian body until he gave his assent to this; and, if a Christian doubted of the truth of any of its propositions, he was to be separated from the society. This document contained the following as one of those indubitably true propositions: "I believe in the Holy Catholic Church." The meaning is obvious, that there was but one Church; and that this Church was Catholic or Universal; and, for a very plain reason—because God Almighty gave but one set of doctrines. They were the same for the whole world. He did not tell the people of England one set of propositions and tell the people of Rome another set, which contradicted those which He revealed to the English. Of all the extravagant notions that ever were admitted into the human mind, none is more puerile than that which is thoughtlessly cherished by many persons, viz.: "There can be two or more true Churches." The true Church teaches the true doctrine. God has revealed the true doctrine. Let us suppose we were to say: "God has told the Unitarians that He is but One person. God has told the Trinitarians that He is Three persons. He has told the former that Jesus Christ is not God and is not to be adored; He has, however, told the latter that Jesus Christ is God and is to be adored." Is this not absurdly puerile to make God guilty of ridiculous contradiction, because we desire to yield

to our prejudices and to assume the appearance of liberality? God reveals to the Episcopalian that bishops are a different order from priests and priests different from deacons. But He reveals to the Presbyterian that all this is perfect delusion. God revealed to the Church-of-England-men in the first days of the change of religion under King Edward's protectors, that the sick were to be anointed; but in the reign of Elizabeth, He revealed that there was to be no anointing, and yet He left the injunction in the epistle of St. James. Are we then to say all those and a million more of contradictions are the "Holy Catholic Church?" Yet, every division of these makes its "Confession of Faith," or its "Articles of Religion;" and it tells us: "This is the true faith; yet I may have erred; still, it is true; and you must believe it, though I am not infallible."

I can understand how an infallible Church might feel warranted in drawing up a formulary to be received; but I am totally at a loss to know how a body which claims no infallibility can presume to say: "Though we are fallible, yet we are so certain that we give you what God has revealed, that unless you receive it, you are in gross error." If one could be amused at so melancholy an exhibition of inconsistency, this is indeed ridiculous. Nothing but a consciousness of infallibility could warrant such an act. Yet, from the days of the Apostles to the present, it has been done, but with this essential difference, viz.: all the Catholics, whilst they laid down the doctrine, claimed to be infallibly correct; all the separatists laid down the doctrine with equal precision, and said: "Neighbors, we are certain we are right, though we say not that we are infallible; and we are quite certain that Rome is wrong; and we are quite certain that all other separatists are wrong. We alone are right."

Thus, they condemned each other and inveighed against the great body; each proclaiming that he was certainly right and that his neighbor was certainly wrong. The

world could not tempt them to say that they were infallible; but they always acted as if they were, and they killed more Catholics for not yielding to their infallibility than Catholics killed separatists for denying theirs. The Catholic Church always said she was infallible; and acted in full accordance with the principle. The separated Churches say they are not infallible; but they act as if they were. Thus, if we view the acts of all Christians, we shall find their conduct exhibiting the doctrine which only the great Catholic Church professes to believe, and has always professed, and upon which she and her opponents have always acted; and, without holding which we could never know what was inspired Scripture or the doctrine of God.

V.

Let us keep our principles in view. Faith is the belief of what God has revealed: to believe what God has revealed, we must certainly know what it is: to know with certainty what God has revealed, we must have infallibly correct testimony: infallibly correct testimony cannot be given by a fallible or by a fallacious witness. Therefore, if my witness be not infallible, that is, one that cannot be deceived, and—not fallacious—or incapable of deceiving me, I can have no faith in God's revelation. Now, the Bible can give no testimony of itself; but suppose we have it testified to. One fact is indisputably clear, viz.: all those who assert that the Bible is plain differ with each other in its interpretation, and they contradict each other as regards the plain meaning of several of its passages, and those contradictions are of such importance that they have caused them to break off communion with each other. For instance:

The Episcopalian says: "It is plain from the Scriptures that God revealed that bishops, priests and deacons are necessary in the Church; and that priests have not the same power as bishops have; and that priests cannot ordain a bishop nor ordain another priest."

The Presbyterian says: "It is plain from Scripture that your prelacy is arrogance and impious domination; the word 'priest' is Jewish and heathenish; presbyters and bishops are but two names for the same description of persons, and the laying on of the hands of the presbytery is Scripture ordination."

The Methodist says: "It is plain from the Scripture that bishops and presbyters and deacons are distinct orders; it is not true that bishops and presbyters are but the same name for one class of persons—they are different classes; but, though the Episcopalian is right in this, he is wrong in asserting that bishops only can ordain. Nay, even presbyters can ordain a bishop; John Wesley was only a presbyter, and he ordained a bishop, and when that bishop was ordained, it became his usual duty to ordain other bishops and presbyters; but there was plain Scripture for the act."

All these will tell us that there is plain Scripture for baptizing infants. The Baptist will say there is plain Scripture against baptizing any who have not been taught and converted to God. Here, then, are four divisions, each claiming plain Scripture for what he says is essential, the others asserting that Scripture is plainly against what, his opponent states, it plainly alleges. These four agree that there is plain Scripture for the divinity of Jesus Christ. The Unitarian alleges that Scripture is plain in condemnation of this error. They all agree that upon this point it is essential to be correctly informed. We have now five divisions forming a Bible Society, giving us a Book which, they say, is so plain that it may be safely put into the hands of all persons, that they may form their faith from its contents; that it contains only plain truth, and will infallibly lead us aright; and yet they contradict each other and refuse to be of one Church, of one communion, because this plain Book has taught them those contradictions, by plain texts, upon the most essential doctrines. I might bring five hundred sects in lieu of five,

if necessary. This is to me a greater mystery of the constitution of the human mind than many that we meet with.

Thus, we can have no faith without an infallible witness; and yet, the simple view of an obvious fact convinces us that the Bible cannot be this witness

Before the Bible was written such a witness was necessary; even if this Book, when it should be written, was to become what we see it could not. Faith was necessary as soon as God spoke to man. Now, we know as matter of history, that God made some promises and declarations to Adam. Promises and declarations were made known to his children; sometimes by special revelation of God, sometimes by other testimony. These were not written; God did not reveal them specially to each individual. Yet, these persons had faith, founded upon these promises and declarations; and of these they had abundant evidence to create an infallible certainty. There was no public tribunal; but there was public testimony as to the special facts. And there was special and renewed and frequent revelation to a well known public character, whose communication with God was matter of public and important notoriety to all concerned; not mere fanaticism of the imagination. Thus, from the days of Adam to the days of Moses, no generation passed away without such evidence; and this evidence gave infallible certainty of what God told man. Man was not left to conjecture. He had an infallible witness; and a witness who could not deceive him. Upon this he believed with certainty. This was faith.

The people in Egypt and at Sinai had undoubted evidence of the fact that God spoke to Moses, and commissioned him to write His communication. When written, it was read for them. God again gave them evidence that it contained the communication of His will. By the direction of God Himself, several tribunals were established, and the individuals to form them were selected and placed in office, and their administration was commenced.

Let us now view this matter historically. Before the law was given at Sinai, Moses had received the evidence

of God's law by the tradition of his nation; and had also had several special revelations. His authority had been attested by evident miracles; and he was now at the mountain, where a new revelation was to be made in presence of the people. Before this period several questions concerning the law of God must have arisen. It will be right to see how they were decided.

We find that Moses himself sat every day to judge and to decide, because the people came to him to inquire of God; and he made known to them the statutes of God and His laws. But as this was a laborious and too heavy a duty minor tribunals were appointed by Moses, in which all minor cases were decided. But there lay a right of appeal to the chief, to whom God had given His manifestations; and he decided all the hard and difficult questions. Thus decisions were made by authority,[1] not by conjecture, and there was a tribunal from which the law of God was promulgated; and in this tribunal authority existed to apply the principle to the special case.

The high priest of the Jews was appointed by God and derived his authority immediately from heaven. He was to be consulted in all religious matters as a tribunal of the last resort; and in solemn cases he took the seventy elders as his advisers. He frequently, in cases of great difficulty, went specially to consult the Lord at the Mercy-Seat,[2] and God promised to answer him. The history shows that this promise was frequently fulfilled; and, indeed, it would be very extraordinary presumption and blasphemy to say that God would not or could not fulfill His promise. The decorations of the high priest, which were minutely prescribed by the great legislator of Sinai, were not without their meaning. Upon his breast-plate was judgment and truth, for God had appointed him the judge to decide and the witness to testify the true doctrine. His authority was not only respectable, but ultimate and conclusive, and bound under the penalty of death every man in Israel. All the historians of the nation concur with Josephus that the high

[1] Exod., c. xviii. [2] Ib., c. xxv.

priests of the Jews were their judges of controversies,[1] and this by virtue of their office, which, we see, was of divine appointment. Certainly a person does not come to a judge in his official capacity for salutary advice as a respectable character, but as an authority to decide. Liberty is preserved by law; and law is valueless without authority for its administration.

The authority of this high priest was what enabled the Jewish nation to discover the books which were written by inspired men, and which contained the communications of God to man, from those which did not possess this authority. In many instances the writers of the divine Word, wrought miracles, and thus attested their mission; the recognition of the standing authority was also given. The Book was entrusted to the keeping of the priest; and in all cases of doubt it was explained by his judgment. Amongst the Jewish people what we call the right of private judgment was not known: and they who used this privilege did so against the express provision of their law and disobeyed the command of God. They were the schismatical and heretical sects who introduced most of the corrupt doctrines and practices against which our Saviour so pointedly inveighed. But He respected the authority, although it had fallen into bad hands, and drew near the term of its limitation.[2]

It is very plain that in the old law there was a living, speaking tribunal, to which, by the positive ordinance of God, every Israelite was bound, under the most severe penalty, to submit in religious concerns. I would ask two questions: 1. Could a God whose essence is truth command this people, under the penalty of death, to pay implicit obedience to a tribunal which could lead them from truth into error? 2. Could not that God, who commanded this obedience and who loves truth, make this tribunal infallibly correct in its decisions regarding any doctrine?

We feel the evidence of the fact that He gave the command; and the knowledge of His power leads us irresistibly to the conclusion that in hearing the decision

[1] Deut., c. xvii. [2] Matt., c. xiii, v. 2, 3.

of that tribunal, we listen to the voice of God Himself; and as God cannot lead us into error, that the decisions of this tribunal must be, inevitably, conformable to divine truth.

Is it presumable that God did more to preserve a knowledge of true doctrine in the Jewish Church than in the Christian Church; the institutions of the former being only the shadows and figures of those of the latter? Dr. Whitaker, a respectable Protestant divine, gives a very simple and sufficient reason for the law of Deuteronomy. "It was not lawful to appeal, for otherwise there would have been no end to contentions."[1] And to whom would the appeal be made? From the tribunal created by God to the litigant who stood before it! Would it not be evidence of folly to create such a burlesque of a tribunal? And shall we say that the conduct of God is manifest folly? Core, Dathan and Abiram did not like to see Aaron clothed with this power.[2] Human pride revolts at the existence of any tribunal not occupied by itself or subjected to itself.

I presume I shall be permitted, now, to quote the prophecy of Isaias, as divinely inspired and containing the Word of God. I shall make my quotations from the Protestant version. The thirty-fifth chapter is a prophecy regarding the Christian Church: "And a high way shall be there, and a way, and it shall be called the way of holiness; the unclean shall not pass over it; but it shall be for those: the way-faring men, though fools, shall not err therein"[3]

I ask whether all those persons who hold contradictory opinions, upon the most important doctrines derived from their interpretation of the Bible, are free from error? How will a way-faring man, though a fool, be able to find exemption from error, where so many otherwise great and good men have exhibited themselves so weak, and so bewildered, and so inconsistent even with themselves? The Roman Catholic Church, (if we believe a standard book of a respectable denomination of Protest-

[1] De Sac. Scrip. [2] Num., c. xvi. [3] Is., c. xxxv. v. 8.

ants,)[1] i. e., all Christendom, was, during eight hundred years and upwards, buried in the most profound idolatry; and the people had no way of extricating themselves therefrom. And the vast majority of Christendom is still in the same state. I cannot, then, recognize the truth of this prophecy with the facts that I see, even to-day; for, if the Roman Catholic Church leads to error, many persons who are wise, and many who are fools, not only can but do err. And Protestants have made but little progress to abolish the difficulty, because they give us only a rule, (if rule it may be called),—a principle—which has made serious divisions amongst themselves, and must, in the nature of things, not only perpetuate but multiply those divisions.

If, however, there is, in that Church which has existed from the days of the Apostles, a tribunal, whose decision will infallibly preserve us from error; even a fool may learn what that decision is, and the prophecy will be manifestly fulfilled.

In the fifty-fourth chapter the same prophet gives to the Church, amongst other promises of God, the following declarations: "For thy Maker is thine Husband, the Lord of Hosts is His name. . . . . In a little wrath I hid My face from thee for a moment; but with everlasting kindness will I have mercy on thee, saith the Lord thy Redeemer. . . . . For, as I have sworn that the waters of Noe should no more go over the earth, so I have sworn that I would not be wroth with thee, nor rebuke thee. For, the mountains shall depart and the hills be removed; but My kindness shall not depart from thee, neither shall the covenant of My peace be removed, saith the Lord that hath mercy on thee. . . . . And all thy children shall be taught of the Lord. . . . . Whosoever shall gather together against thee shall fall for thy sake. . . . No weapon that is formed against thee shall prosper; and every tongue that shall rise against thee in judgment thou shalt condemn."[2]

[1] "Hom. of Ch. of Eng. and of the P. E. Ch. of U. S." Hom. on Peril of Idol.

[2] Is., c. liv, v. 5, 8, 9, 10, 13, 15, 17.

God does not make an eternal union with what might become the mother of error; yet, here He makes Himself the Husband of the Christian Church, to which He promises everlasting kindness; a covenant of peace more stable than the mountains, and to the observance of which He swears; as He did, that He would not destroy the world by a deluge; and He bestows upon this Church the privilege of condemning in judgment every tongue which will rise up against her. If this Church, then, can err in those judicial condemnations, God has, by an oath, bound Himself to a covenant with error

In his fifty-ninth chapter we have the Redeemer's covenant with the Christian Church in the following words: "My spirit that is upon thee, and My words which I have put in thy mouth, shall not depart out of thy mouth, nor out of the mouth of thy seed, nor out of the mouth of thy seed's seed, saith the Lord, from henceforth and forever."[1]

Upon this passage I think no comment is necessary: "I will make thee an eternal excellency. . . . Thy sun shall no more go down, neither shall thy moon withdraw itself; for the Lord shall be unto thee an everlasting light."[2]

The reader will recollect that these are prophecies, to the complete fulfilling of which God has irrevocably bound Himself; that they are made to the Christian Church; and that if this Church can lead us into error, or herself be in error regarding God's doctrine, not one of those prophecies has been fulfilled; and that the Roman Catholic Church is the only portion of the Christian Church which now exists without having come away from some other division; and that every division now in existence is but a portion which has separated from her, either in itself, or in some one from which it sprang; and, that the plea for this separation always was, that this Church did err, and did lead others into error; and that every such division formed a new Church upon the plea that there was not, at the

[1] Is., c. lix, v. 21. [2] Ib., c. lx, v. 15, 20.

time of its secession, any Church in existence which was free from error, and therefore, that the covenant which God made was not at that time fulfilled by Him.

VI.

By looking a little closer into some other prophecies of the Mosaic Church, we shall find the principle which I contemplated in the last section greatly supported. I shall give but one more of this description.

In the prophecy of Daniel it is stated concerning the Church of Christ, that "the God of heaven shall set up a kingdom which shall never be destroyed;" which "shall not be left to other people;" which "shall stand forever." But, if this Church can err in teaching the doctrines of God, it can be destroyed. If truth shall leave this Church to go to other people whom this Church condemns, this kingdom, then, will be left to those other people. If this Church has fallen off and not stood in truth, and no society was found at that time preserving the purity of doctrine from the beginning, then this kingdom did not stand. If, therefore, the Church originally established can lead men into error, the prophecy of Daniel has not been accomplished.

The Church of the old law was to last until the coming of the Redeemer, who was promised. The high priest and the council of the Sanhedrim were to be, until His arrival, a supreme, earthly tribunal, from which there was no appeal in matters of religion. From various events it was believed that if the time of redemption had not already arrived, it was at hand. Inquiry was made of the chief priests and scribes, and explaining the prophecies, they distinctly told where the Redeemer should be born. At that period there was born in that place Jesus of Nazareth. His works and His declarations proved His commission and His nature. The Aaronite commission became now superseded, and Jesus was to give a new one, of which the former was only typical. He did give this commission to the Apostles. We

find them, too, prove their commission by miracles; we behold them exercise their power. We believe that man is now to know what God has said in the same manner; that is, upon the same principle that his ancestors were formerly to have known it. The Aaronite assembly was the court of final decision by which, under the appointment of God, all were bound in matters of religion. The Apostolic assembly succeeds to this tribunal; the commission is extended; decisions are given; they are obeyed; the Apostles assert that the Holy Ghost presides and aids them; they refer to their appointment by the Saviour; to the miracles wrought by themselves; they command the Christians to hold to the testified doctrine, even in opposition, if the case were possible, to the testimony of angels; they condemn all who separate from them; they charge their followers to avoid heretics; that is, choosers, persons who, instead of receiving the testimony of the authorized body, select, according to their own judgments, their own opinions. Their new associates—their successors—follow the same line of conduct. They require their decision to be received as final, because they will give, with infallible certainty, those doctrines which God revealed. They do not refer the persons to the Scriptures, saying to them: "Here is what God taught; read and judge for yourselves; let every man follow his own opinion;" but they say: "We teach you what God has taught to our predecessors and what we have received from them; it is not in our power to alter it; it is not in your power to reject it."

Writings were found which contained statements of the acts and doctrines of Jesus Christ. Some of them were generally known to have been the authentic works of the Apostles; others manifestly were not; others were of doubtful authority, whose readings were not alike. Of what use were they? Plainly, whatever contained the Word of God derived its authority from God. But the knowledge of the fact that this was God's Word, must depend upon testimony; and as we before saw, this infallible certainty must rest

upon the authority of an infallible witness. We, then, want the aid of an infallible witness: first, to tell us the fact which book is God's Word and which is not; and next to tell us the meaning of the doubtful passages in the book so found. If the Church is an infallible witness of the fact and of the meaning, the revelation is from God, the testimony from the Church; as, on Sinai, when God spoke to Moses and Moses reported to the people, the authority was that of God, the testimony that of Moses. None would hazard the assertion that Moses thus became the master of God. No person would say that the high priest and the Sanhedrim were the masters of God, because they explained the hard and doubtful expressions of the revelation which He made. No person would presume to say that the judiciary of the United States rules over Congress, because it explains the meaning of laws made by that body. No one will presume to say that it is from the judiciary the legislature derives its authority because the explanation of its authoritative acts is given to the judiciary. In like manner, the Church is not the mistress of the Word of God, because her testimony is given to establish the fact that "He said this," and the other fact that "this is the meaning which God always intended by this expression." Though I should, then, find it necessary to have the testimony of one infallible Church, to give me a certainty of what is divine Scripture, and what is its meaning, this does not set the Church above the Scriptures.

By the facts which we historically know, we see that Jesus Christ was God and that He established a Church. We see what that Church did; and we see, from its acts, that it claimed to be infallible in deciding religious controversies. We see that some such infallibility was always necessary and did always exist; and we, further, cannot understand how, if it did not exist in the Christian Church, the old prophecies could be accomplished; (yet we know them to have been divine;) and, without this infallibility,

we cannot discover how to discern the genuine from the spurious books; nor how to be certain of the meaning of any passage of Scripture. We, therefore, upon these grounds, believe the great body of the bishops, in union with their head will, with infallible certainty, testify to us the doctrines of God. It is not, therefore, from the New Testament in the first instance that we derive our grounds for the belief of Church infallibility; neither is the New Testament necessary to establish our conclusion. Yet we shall see that it is useful. We may view the Gospels either as uninspired histories or as an inspired work, containing the revelation of God. In the former case, we do not need the authority of the Church to inform us that they contain the Word of God; because the question in that case would not be concerning their containing the revelations of God, but merely regarding their general truth. Their general truth is perfectly consistent with some trivial errors, as to circumstances and opinions. This general or historic truth might be established without the aid of an infallible witness.

Viewing the New Testament in this way, I could deduce from its facts and from passages contained in it abundant evidence of Church infallibility. But I prefer viewing the Gospels and the Acts of the Apostles and the other parts as an inspired work, containing the revelation of God. For this purpose we do need such a witness as we have shown the Church must necessarily be.

This witness tells us that the books which we usually denominate the New Testament contain the Word of God. We now come to examine that book, not to learn what we have before known, but to add to our stock of knowledge, either by finding more ample evidence of known facts or testimony for new facts or doctrines. We believe the doctrine of infallibility; we look for testimonies to confirm us, not to give us any new doctrine on this head.

I open the Gospel of St. Matthew, where I read these words of our Lord to St. Peter: "Thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build My Church; and the gates

of hell shall not prevail against it."[1] Now, if this Church can teach erroneous doctrines instead of God's truth, it will be a prevailing of the gates of hell manifestly. Therefore, either Christ did not make this declaration, or that Church cannot teach error. Again: Christ says of a man who having been admonished in vain, is to be denounced to the Church; (and Christ gave the Church no authority except in matters of religion); "But, if he neglect to hear the Church let him be to thee as a heathen man and a publican."[2] This regarded religion; and nothing is of more vital importance in religion than to know what God teaches. Now, God would never have bound man to such obedience to a Church which might tell him that God did not say what He said: or that God did teach what He contradicted. That God imposed the obligation is clear: therefore, God is chargeable with the error if the Church leads me thereto. Again, it is written: "And Jesus came and spake unto them, saying, All power is given unto Me, in heaven and on earth. Go ye, therefore, and teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost; teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you: and lo, I am with you, always, even unto the end of the world."[3] I merely ask, who are to teach the teachers? Is it the persons who are to learn from them? The text tells us that He who commissioned them remains with them to preserve them fit to teach; and this, not for a short time only, but always, even to the end of the world.

To omit several other passages, I shall confine myself to a few. "But the Comforter, which is the Holy Ghost, whom the Father will send in My name, He shall teach you all things, and bring all things to your remembrance, whatsoever I have said unto you. . . . . But when the Comforter is come, whom I will send unto you from the Father, even the Spirit of Truth, which proceedeth from the Father, He shall testify of Me. And ye, also, shall bear witness, because ye have been with Me from

[1] Matt., c. xvi, v. 13. [2] Ib., c. xviii, v. 17. [3] Matt., c. xxviii, v. 18–20.

the beginning."[1] We here perceive two sorts of knowledge: 1. That which was to be brought to their memory; this they were to be enabled to testify by the aid of the Comforter, and because they were witnesses from the beginning. 2. The new knowledge which the Holy Ghost was to give them at His descent. Hence, our Saviour promises of this sacred Spirit: "When He, the Spirit of Truth, is come, He will guide you into all truth."[2]

In accord with this is the prayer of the Saviour: "Sanctify them through Thy truth: Thy word is truth. As Thou hast sent Me into the world, even so have I also sent them into the world. And for their sakes I sanctify Myself, that they also might be sanctified through the truth. Neither pray I for these alone; but for them also which shall believe on Me through their word."[3] It was of this Spirit He spoke, when He said: "But ye shall receive power after that the Holy Ghost is come upon you: and ye shall be witnesses to Me, both in Jerusalem, and in Judea, and in Samaria, and unto the uttermost part of the earth."[4] Thus they were to be a permanent body of witnesses to testify the doctrines of God to the whole world, and to the end of ages, always, to the end of the world; and to aid them in this, the Holy Ghost was to be sent; who was to remind them of what might have escaped their recollection, and to lead them generally into all truth that they might be able to teach those to whom they were sent, and who were commanded to hear them as being sent by God to teach the things which He commanded. Hence, the Apostle St. Paul calls this Church "the Church of the living God, the pillar and ground of the truth."[5] We have seen that the Apostles declare "it hath seemed good to the Holy Ghost and to to us," where they plainly inform us of the fact that this sacred Spirit was present with them: and we see how long He was to remain—"that He may abide with you forever."

[1] Jno., c. xiv, v. 26; c. xv, v. 26. [2] Ib., c. xvi, v. 13. [3] Ib., c. xvii, v. 17, 18, 19. [4] Acts, c. 1, v. 8. [5] I Tim., c. iii, v. 15.

Thus the Word of God confirms what reason showed to be necessary, and what the prophecies led us to expect; that the Church will, under the guidance of the Holy Ghost, infallibly lead us to a knowledge of what God has taught; and that God commands us to listen to her voice, and to receive her testimony.

The history of the Church is filled with the most authentic and clear words, which are sufficient to make it manifest that such was the Christian doctrine and practice from the beginning to the present day. To use the figure of a good writer on the subject: This accumulation of evidence stands like one of the great pyramids of Egypt, a monument of antiquity upon the sandy plain. Nor time nor the rage of elements can make any impression upon its durability; like the Arab who lifts his spear against it, is the sectarian who assails our Church; the mighty dead of ages repose within its capacious walls; its living inmates are protected from the fury of the Bedouin rover, who shivers his weapon into atoms at its base. After an hour of impotent fury he rides away and scarcely leaves a trace of his assault; perhaps enough to mark the record of his folly; another and another at intervals succeeds, each, like his predecessor, to pass in defeat away. Ages have rolled along; heresies have risen and died; the names of some survive the latest relics of their dissolved bodies; the assailants vary; their boasts, their efforts, their failures, are alike; whilst the mighty work reared by a heavenly hand remains still settling in solid permanency upon a base to which the promise of a God has secured unimpaired existence, till time shall be no more.

ON INTENTION.

I.

I HAVE received a pamphlet of about 70 pages, purporting to be letters of Mr. Thomas Waddell. The letters are five in number, and they are followed by an appendix of two pieces. The subjects of the letters are exceedingly various, and would require many more letters to answer the charges than were required to make them.

First, I have to thank Mr. Thomas Waddell for the very great courtesy of his manner. He and I, in all probability, never met, and certainly do not know each other; I had never written any thing to him or of him, when he vouchsafed to state that I "slipped off by a beggarly evasion from a subject on which I pretended to refute Bishop Bowen." And not content with paying me this as an incipient compliment, he kindly designates me "that scribe," who makes a "barefaced denial" of what is "fairly stated and applied" on "the doctrine of intention," and one whom he is not surprised at seeing in the use of "mean artifices," one of which is making "a false and impudent charge of misrepresentation" with a "shabby appearance." For these and sundry such compliments, he has my due acknowledgments and proper estimation.

He has required me, "that fox, to come out from his retreat and finish his work on that subject, by stating that doctrine fairly, and defining our theological meaning of the word intention, not by his *ipse dixit*, but from the standard books of Rome." I am perfectly at a loss to know upon what score Mr. Waddell could have made the above charges. In the first place, I never undertook to state in my remarks upon the Protestant catechism what the Catholic

doctrines were; I only stated that I would point out where the passages of the catechism were misrepresentations of those doctrines. I not only did not undertake to refute the prelate to whom I addressed the letters, but I distinctly stated in Letter I: "I seek no controversy upon the doctrinal differences of the two Churches. My object is to show that the Church of which I am a member has been misrepresented, villified and insulted." Thus, Mr. Waddell states the thing which is not the fact, when he asserts that I published my letters in the *Miscellany* for the purpose of a pretended refutation.

Again, he has, in other places, thought proper to charge me with denying the doctrine of the Church to which I belong.

I could not indeed expect to be treated otherwise by a writer who in the fifth page of his introduction says of such Roman Catholic priests as "have studied," as each of them is obliged to do, "the Scriptures, the Fathers, history, and general councils;" "neither can I acquit any of them from willful fraud and corrupt perjury, who deny any of their doctrines, which they are sworn to confess till the last breath of their lives. How awfully, then, do the general body of the Papal priests trifle with their consciences, whenever they are assailed with inquiry, and find it necessary to deny their doctrines! In these fraudful artifices they succeed amazingly in perverting the weak and ignorant and in keeping their deluded people from ever knowing the blessed doctrines of the glorious Gospel; or even their own creed, which they are sworn to teach them. Surely the Papal clergy are the most complete tools Satan has in this world; and the Papal system, besides being the most pernicious, is the most degrading to the human mind that Satan has ever contrived."

I am not astonished at finding that the editors of the *Miscellany* have no ambition of Mr. Waddell's farther acquaintance, and can easily account for it, upon the same principle that creates the practical classifications and inter-

course of society. Happening to believe that it is possible for me to answer him without adopting his style, I shall endeavor to show that he is incorrect in stating as he does in p. 46:

"Your correspondent could not possibly expect to satisfy Bishop Bowen and other Protestants by this ridiculous conjecture; it is nothing more or less than a cunning fetch to deceive the ignorant and unwary by casting a cloud of darkness upon the plain word; so that his simple readers would think that when used by such profound theologians as Popish priests it was some technical scholastic term of deep theological import, too profound for simple readers ever to understand, even though Peter Lombard or Thomas Aquinas should attempt to explain it for them. When he would thus set them a gazing at the word with wonder and delight, he might escape from it to some other subject and dazzle their eyes with sophistry.

"Now, I put him and his brethren to the test, and defy them to show me that his Church attaches any meaning to the word different from that which it has in common acceptation. Whatever, therefore, his theological meaning of the word intention may be, the overwhelming conclusion must be admitted, if it be intention at all, in any sense of the word, which a school boy can conceive.

"I have long wished to see an explanation of this term, and I have been truly sorry that B. C.[1] has not favored the world with it. I have often been at a loss to know whether it be the virtual or actual intention, which is by his Church supposed to be necessary to the validity of her sacraments. If we could ascertain this, I think we would then be able to calculate, to some degree of certainty, the danger to which he says he is exposed by the occurrence of this defect. As he has never given us anything upon that subject, though he says the *Miscellany* is intended for the simple explanation of Catholic doctrines, and as we may rest assured that he never will, I have to enter upon an inquiry into the meaning of this important word myself—or rather into the meaning of

[1] One of Bishop England's favorite signatures.

the whole canon, that I may, if possible, ascertain what intention is required—whether the virtual intention, which consists in being free from a malicious or wanton design, or the actual intention to administer the sacrament aright, and confer the necessary grace. If I can thus arrive at his theological meaning of this word, I may then, it seems, be wiser, perhaps, than Bishop Bowen."

There is one reason which has frequently induced me to avoid giving to catechists of Mr. Waddell's description any reply to several of their inquiries respecting the religion which I profess. I had reason to believe that instead of seeking honestly for information they only sought an opportunity to dispute, and though Mr. Waddell may possibly question my veracity, yet I imagine, if I am not conscious, that I am averse to wrangling disputation. I believe there is good reason to question that a man who writes as he does seeks for information. He knows not whether I am a layman or a clergyman. In p. 8 he states: "I have never yet known a Romanist amongst the laity who knew their own doctrine of intention." He could not seriously ask me for information, then, upon a subject on which he boasted superior knowledge. If I am a clergyman it will be seen from his published sentiments how completely it would be wasting my time to undertake giving him any explanations. Hence all his appeals to the charity, the zeal, the information of our members, whether lay or clerical, are too plainly seen to be mere flourishes, which have only the unmeaning appearance of desire for information. The editors of the *Miscellany*, well aware of this, felt no disposition to permit Mr. Waddell to indulge himself at the expense of their space, their money, and their readers.

But he has charged me with denying our doctrine and its consequences, and he has kindly furnished me with what I wanted before I could undertake to justify myself. In pp. 47–48 he gives me his notion of our doctrine. The little catechism did not give any description of what it imputed to us; but it asserted that certain consequences

which it enumerated necessarily flowed from our doctrine. I perceived that no such consequences could follow, and therefore I stated that there must be a misrepresentation or misconception of what we held. The catechism did not give the description which he does, and therefore I could not examine what was not produced. He, however, says that being perhaps wiser than Bishop Bowen, he can go through the process of arriving at our theological meaning of the word "intention," and he lays out the following process, p. 47:

"This intention, the Catholic canon says, is the intention of doing what the Church does. Here arises a question: What does the Catholic Church do? She consecrates and administers her sacraments effectually, and confers grace by them. The minister, then, must have the actual intention to do what the Church has power to do, and what she actually does—he must actually intend to consecrate and perform the sacraments truly and effectually and to confer grace by the work. If he does not believe he can do this, or if he does not think of the work and actually intend to do it, he has not the necessary intention, and the work is still undone. Should he, then, at the critical time, happen to think of something else and permit his thoughts to wander from his work, he would then fail of having this intention and all would be null and void. That it is this actual intention which the Catholic canon intends is evident by the existence of the canon itself; for it was certainly formed with a view to guard as much as possible against the danger of this fatal occurrence, by informing the priest of the necessity of intention, that he might be upon the watch lest the defect should occur through his carelessness or inadvertency; and that he might have his thoughts exercised about his work, to exert this good intention at the critical time. The Church surely could not have formed this canon with a view to prevent the occurrence of a malicious intention to spoil the sacrament; for she would, by telling a malicious priest that the efficacy of the sacraments depends

upon this intention, inform him of the evil he had power to do, and would thus put him upon destroying, by wholesale or retail, the people who had offended him, if he only had malice enough. We see, then, by the language and manifest design of the canon, that the Church insists upon the actual intention of her priests, in order to the validity of her sacraments. But let us consult the Rubric of the Missal upon this point, which is intended as a golden key to let every priest into the meaning of this canon, that he may see what this intention is, and how he may fail of having it.

"And, first, we may see that the want of this intention, by being placed in the class of defects occurring in the Mass, must be the want of the actual intention: for a positive, malicious intention is not a defect, but a property, arguing indeed the want of an actual good intention, which may or may not occur without this malicious design. But the Rubric furnishes plainer language than this upon the subject; so plain that any novice, I think, can understand it very clearly whether Dr. Bowen does or not. Thus speaks that form of sound words: 'If any one intend not to consecrate, but to cheat or banter; also if any wafers remain forgotten on the altar, or if any part of the wine or any wafer lie hidden when he did not intend consecrating but what he saw; also if he shall have before him eleven wafers, and intended to consecrate but ten only, not determining what ten he meant; in all these cases the consecration fails, because intention is required.'

"In the case of the wafers remaining forgotten on the altar, it appears evidently the actual intention is required. For as these wafers get mingled with others which the priest lays upon the altar for consecration, without being noticed by him, he has not his thoughts exercised about them when he proceeds to consecrate, and so they miss of being consecrated through the want of his actual intention, which was exerted only to consecrate the wafers he had noticed. The other case of the eleven wafers is exactly

parallel; and, if possible, more conclusive in favor of my opinion; for if he should by misreckoning, or any other way, think he had but ten wafers on the altar when there were eleven, his thoughts would be exercised only about ten, without determining what ten he meant, and so they would all fail of being consecrated through the want of his actual intention, which was exerted upon none of them: not because he had a wanton, wicked design to spoil the work, but because he did not think particularly of the wafers he virtually meant to consecrate. Should anything therefore distract his attention from his work, he would fail of having the necessary actual intention.

"Thus Dr. Bowen or any other man, whatever station he occupies, whether a bishopric or a barn, may easily see the theological meaning of the term, and that it is the actual intention that is required by the canon.

"The other case of a defect, in which the Church supposes the priest may intend not to consecrate, but to cheat or banter, may very readily occur without a wanton, wicked intention. Suppose the priest should happen to think within himself, that Christ's humanity, which has now existed for 1800 years, and His divinity, which has existed from everlasting, cannot by any power whatever begin now to exist; and yet go on buzzing, crossing and mumming through the whole form of the Mass, pretending to consecrate; he then cheats; for he cannot intend to do what he knows or believes cannot be done."

Now, the question is reduced to very narrow limits, and all will be resolved by merely ascertaining whether he has stated our doctrine correctly. If he has, I deserve his censure, and I was wrong when I stated that the catechism was a misrepresentation.

II.

The question between us is very simple; it is whether Mr. Waddell's description of our doctrine of intention is correct. That description he gives in page 47 of his pam-

phlet, in the phrases which I have copied. Upon the ordinary principles of testimony, it would be easy to arrive at a decision; but, as if aware of the facility to convict him in this manner, he at once impeaches the integrity of the witnesses. I need only refer to one passage of his as a sample of several. In p. 44, speaking of our doctrines, he asks how Protestant authors could learn them, and he answers:

"For these doctrines they could hardly learn from Roman authors. We might as well, indeed, expect to find wealth in a poet, sincerity in a lawyer, or truth in a gamester, as integrity and honor in a Roman writer in a Protestant country. Such writers are generally too near of kin to B. C. himself and his quondam brethren. To Roman Catholic priests, when stating their doctrines in Protestant countries, where they apprehend danger from investigation, the complaint, I think, of Shakespeare, may very fitly be applied:

> "'Why seek we truth from priests?
> A lawyer's frowns, a courtier's smiles,
> And mourning of an heir,
> Are truths to what priests tell.
> Oh, why has priesthood privilege to lie,
> And yet to be believed?'"

Thus he will not allow me generally to produce Roman Catholic witnesses to state what are our doctrines. However, in p. 13, he quotes Cardinal Bellarmine as upholding his cause, and the cardinal was not a Roman Catholic writer in a Protestant country. I shall therefore take the witness whom he produces against me as my authority, and shall leave to his testimony the decision of the case between Mr. Waddell and B. C. Mr. Waddell says of him and of Gabriel Biel, p. 13:

"Thus writes Bellarmine, that most able and steady supporter of the papal cause; and none of the Catholic writers can invalidate the conclusion which he deduces from their doctrine, which is necessary, and is admitted by a greater authority than Bellarmine or Biel, even by the

Church herself, as is manifested by her consistent practice at the fountain head of Popery, where she can have her will, being there free from all control of the secular power."

Now I shall take Mr. Waddell's description of our doctrine, clause by clause, and compare it with the statements of the cardinal. He says, p. 47:

"This intention, the canon says, is the intention of doing what the Church does. Here arises a question: What does the Church do? She consecrates and administers her sacraments effectually and confers grace by them. The minister, then, must have the actual intention to do what the Church has power to do, and what she actually does—he must actually intend to consecrate and perform the sacraments truly and effectually and to confer grace by the work. If he does not believe he can do this, or if he does not think of the work, and actually intend to do it, he has not the necessary intention, and the work is still undone."

He very correctly states that the canon requires that the celebrant shall have "the intention of doing what the Church does." But as soon as he proceeds to reason upon this statement, he draws a conclusion of his own, which is not contained in the premises that he has laid down He extends the meaning first to "doing what the Church has power to do," and he has thus changed the terms by substituting the phrase "has power to do" for the word "does." Mr. Waddell ought to know that a man who gives only one dollar might have power to give a million; that a governor who has power to pardon does sign a death warrant. Having made this false step, Mr. Waddell goes on to make another error by a similar process, against the principle of that philosophy which warns him not to conclude that all which a person has power to do is done by him.

Mr. Waddell says: "The minister, then, must have the actual intention to do what the Church has the power to

do and what she actually does." I now quote from Bellarmine:

"Thirdly. An actual intention is not necessarily required, nor is an habitual one sufficient, but a virtual one is required, although persons should try to have an actual one. It is called actual when the minister has the intention with the very act: which intention indeed is not required," etc.

Now in the appendix Mr. Waddell had under his eye the very words of Bishop Hornihold.

"Q. How many kinds of intention are men capable of?

"A. Chiefly three, viz.: Actual, which is accompanied with an actual attention of the mind to the thing we are about. A virtual intention is when the actual intention is judged to remain in its force, by not being expressly retracted, or interrupted by too long a time. An habitual intention is the faculty of performing a thing, obtained by a habit or custom, without any actual reflection or vital influence upon the work."

Mr. Waddell is also pleased to say that actual intention and virtual are perfectly synonymous. I can only say that divines are all in the habit of admitting the distinction; and if he pleased to say that by what we designate brown he means white, it is useless for us to converse, for our words only mislead. He can only find safety in confusing terms that he might be able to confound things and thus escape in the confusion; but this is a privilege which he cannot be allowed.

Mr. Waddell, then, is contradicted not only by Bellarmine and by Hornihold, but by all our divines, when he says, "the minister must have the actual intention." Nay, even Bellarmine refers to a passage of St. Thomas of Aquin, which would appear to require still less than he and Hornihold correctly state to be necessary.

Mr. Waddell says: "He must actually intend to consecrate and perform the sacraments truly and effectually and to confer grace by the work."

He is by no means the first who made this statement; some generations have passed away since Cardinal Bellarmine, writing upon the subject, stated of Tilman and Kemnitz, in the chapter quoted before:

"Each author, in the cited places, says, that the Council of Trent had defined, that the sacrament was not effected unless the minister should intend not only the act, but also the end of the sacrament, that is, should intend that for which the sacrament was instituted; which certainly differs very much from our opinion."

Hornihold has the same in the appendix which Mr. Waddell has given; he had there under his eye the following contradiction to what he asserts:

"Q. Is it necessary to intend the effect of the sacrament?

"A. No, otherwise heretics and pagans could not baptize validly. It is sufficient to have an intention of doing what the Church of Christ does, without considering which is the true Church."

Bellarmine is quite unceremonious in the epithet which, in the fashion of his day, he bestows upon the assertion which Mr. Waddell repeats:

"But this is a mere lie. Because the Council, through the entire 11th canon, makes no mention of the end of the sacrament; nor does the council say, as they would appear to have understood, that the minister ought to intend to do that which the Church intends, but that which the Church does. Now that which the Church does signifies not the end but the action."

Bellarmine then proceeds to show that the Church considers valid the baptism conferred by several who err greatly concerning the end, to attain which this sacrament is conferred, and who of course have no intention of producing an end which they look upon to be unattainable.

Thus, Mr. Waddell is again contradicted by both Bellarmine and Hornihold. He proceeds farther in his description. "If he does not believe he can do this, [confer grace by the work,] and actually intend to do it, he has

not the necessary intention, and the work is still undone." In page 48, he again describes this defect. "Suppose the priest should happen to think within himself, that Christ's humanity, which has now existed for 1800 years, and His divinity, which has existed from everlasting, cannot by any power whatever begin now to exist." I shall observe that he would think very correctly; and if he were to imagine that what has previously existed and continues to exist, commenced only just now to exist, he would imagine an absurdity. When Mr. Waddell put this absurdity as the Catholic doctrine, he was grossly ignorant or grossly criminal. I should hope it is the former. Catholics say and believe that what previously existed might become present at a point where it previously was not. And this they believe to be common sense, not contradiction. Mr. Waddell's object is to show that if a priest loses his belief he cannot intend to do that which he does not believe possible; and that, of course, want of faith or of correct belief in the minister argues want of sufficient intention and destroys the sacrament. In p. 49 he states: "As therefore this actual intention may be wanting through unbelief, carelessness or inattention, we may, I think, ascertain pretty nearly the degree of the danger to which the Church says her children are exposed, by the fatal occurrence of this woful defect; for how easily may it thus occur!" In his description of intention, then, he says, that we require in the ministry correct belief respecting the sacrament or its effects.

Let us have recourse to Cardinal Bellarmine, to see how he agrees with Mr. Waddell in attributing this doctrine to our Church. In chap. xxvi of the book previously cited, he states the question for examination thus: "Whether either faith or charity is to be necessarily required, so that heretics, infidels, schismatics, or wicked Catholics cannot confer sacraments, ... if that which faithless or wicked men do be invalid, though otherwise they be lawfully ordained priests or bishops, and do not omit any of those things which belong to the essence of the sac-

raments." Upon this question Bellarmine states that there appeared to be scarcely any, if at all any, difference between Catholics and Luther and Calvin, etc., for that they all appear to be agreed that neither faith, which is correct belief, nor morality, is required in the minister, in order to the validity of the sacraments. It is true that Luther writes in his book, "De Mis. Priv. et Unct. Sacerd." that if the devil came in human shape and was ordained, the sacraments conferred by him would be valid. I trust Mr. Waddell will not require of Roman Catholics to go so far.

In the same chapter, Bellarmine proceeds to state not only the Catholic doctrine; that defect of faith or of correct belief in the minister does not injure the sacrament which he administers; but he gives the catalogue and history of those condemned by the Church at several periods for teaching that such faith was necessary to the validity of the sacrament. He mentions some Asiatics in the third century, of whom Eusebius informs us in book vii, of his history; they are also mentioned by Denis of Alexandria. Some Africans in the same century whom the same historian mentions, and of whom St. Augustine relates in chap. 7, of his book ii, on Baptism, that they received their opinion from Agrippinus, the predecessor of St. Cyprian in the see of Carthage. The Donatists also fell into this error, and were combated upon that as well as other points by St. Augustine. St. Jerome counts it amongst the errors of the Luciferians. It was condemned by several Popes, amongst whom are Stephen I, who died about the year 258, Siricius, who died at the close of the succeeding century, Innocent I, who died about twenty years later, Leo I, about the middle of the fifth age, and Anastasius II, at its termination. Mr. Waddell might also have found upon inquiry that it was condemned at the first Council of Nice in 325, as well as the first of Carthage in 348. The first Council of Arles held in the year 314 made a decree against the principle in its eighth canon. My object not being to prove the correctness of our doctrine, but its

misrepresentation by Mr. Waddell and Mr. Waddell having made an effort to deprive me of the benefit of my witnesses as well as having denied my own competency to testify the doctrines taught by my Church, I have used against him the only witness to whom he appeared not to object, and upon whose works I could lay my hand. I have no access to those of Biel. I believe, I have then established by this testimony three substantial errors in Mr. Waddell's description of our doctrine of intention. It will also be seen that Bishop Hornihold in Mr. Waddell's own appendix contradicts Mr. Waddell here also, because he admits, as every Catholic must, that the baptism conferred by heretics and infidels is valid, provided they observe what Christ instituted, though neither of them has correct belief or faith. Thus Mr. Waddell not only attributed to us, as our doctrine, what our Church condemns as gross error, but he did so with the evidence of its contradiction under his eye; and he very fortunately published that evidence.

He makes a fourth assertion equally incorrect, p. 47: "Should he, then, at the critical time, happen to think of something else, and permit his thoughts to wander from his work, he would then fail of having this intention, and all would be null and void." He then asserts our doctrine to be that the existence of distraction or inadvertency would destroy the sacrament by destroying the requisite intention. He therefore charges us with holding: 1. That actual advertence and attention are required for a sufficient intention. 2. That consequently where the minister acts without this actual attention, the sacrament is not conferred. If I prove the second or consequential proposition to be untrue, the first will necessarily be untrue. I shall, however, first show that I do not overstrain his meaning. Immediately after the passage above quoted he continues to develop his meaning.

"Should he, then, at the critical time, happen to think of something else, and permit his thoughts to wander from his work, he would then fail of having this intention and

all would be null and void. That it is this actual intention which the Church's canon intends, is evident by the existence of the canon itself; for it was certainly formed with a view to guard as much as possible against the danger of this fatal occurrence, by informing the priest of the necessity of intention, that he might be upon the watch lest the defect should occur through his carelessness or inadvertency; and that he might have his thoughts exercised about his work, to exert this good intention at the critical time."

Now, having previously shown Mr. Waddell's assumption "that it is this actual intention which our canon intends," to be not only arbitrary but untrue, and the actual attention or advertency not being required except for actual intention, it necessarily follows that its absence will not be fatal, because the virtual attention which is not destroyed by a little distraction or inadvertency will be sufficient for the virtual intention that suffices in the minister of the sacraments.

Allow me here to exemplify. I shall at present confine myself to the definitions which I find in Mr. Waddell's own pamphlet. In p. 46 he states the common meaning of the word intention; but I presume there is an error of the press. He writes of Bishop Bowen thus: "For he could not without doing the Catholic Church an injury, suppose for a moment that she means by the word intention, something quite different from design or purpose, which is the meaning the word always has in common acceptation." Johnson gives three meanings in which the word might be used, the second of which is design: purpose. I now accept the word purpose as expressing the correct meaning of the word which has so much perplexed Mr. Waddell. In Mr. Waddell's appendix he inserts Hornihold's definition of actual intention as distinguished from virtual; in this distinction we must find the character by which they are to be discerned. Hornihold says that "the actual intention is accompanied with an actual attention of

mind to the things we are about." And this alone is the characteristic by which it is distinguished from virtual intention: as long as this actual attention or advertency exists, so long does the actual intention exist, and no longer. This attention or advertency ceases, but the purpose or "intention is judged to remain in force by not being expressly retracted or interrupted by too long a time." Here then is what Hornihold calls "virtual intention," which clearly exists without any actual attention or advertency of the mind at the present moment. We may easily suppose that a slight distraction of the mind from contemplating its original purpose, to the contemplation of some other object caused this want of attention. Yet the agent is fairly judged to retain his original purpose, because it has not been expressly retracted nor too long interrupted. There is therefore no actual attention where there exists only a virtual intention, as our doctrine is that if virtual intention suffices for the validity of the sacrament, it necessarily follows that actual attention is not necessary, though desirable and becoming in the minister.

Yet Mr. Waddell is good enough to tell us that "actual and virtual intention as used here by the bishop are precisely synonymous." I am to suppose that he thinks so, and of course I can easily know the value of his arguments.

I shall now examine what a few of our divines say respecting the necessity of this actual attention for the validity of the sacrament. Bellarmine informs us (in cap. xxvii, lib. 1, "De Sac. in Gen.") treating of actual intention: "It only requires that a man be present with his mind and do attentively what he performs, for that is called intention in act, as Cajetan says; and as we have said, it is not necessarily required, because it is not in our power, but that our thoughts might sometimes be distracted even when we perform most holy things."

Thus Bellarmine gives us actual attention as the character of actual intention, and states that it is not required. Respecting virtual intention he writes: "It is called virtual,

when because of some wandering of the mind, an actual intention does not now exist; yet it was in existence a short time before and the act is done in virtue thereof; and all agree that if an actual intention does not exist this is required and suffices."

Thus Bellarmine distinguishes what Mr. Waddell confounds and contradicts Mr. Waddell's assertion that actual attention is necessary for that intention which suffices for the validity of a sacrament.

Mr. Waddell has asserted that according to the doctrine of the Roman Catholic Church sacraments were not validly conferred if the minister had not an actual intention of conferring them at the very time of the administration; or, if having such intention, he did not intend to confer grace by the work; or, if he was at the time an unbeliever in the doctrines of the Church regarding the nature or effects of the sacraments conferred; or, if through carelessness or inadvertency he at the critical time permitted his thoughts to wander from his work. His assertions are altogether untrue, and each of them is contradicted by every Catholic writer upon the subject. He has chosen Bellarmine and Hornihold, and I have confined myself to them; but they agree with all the others in contradiction to Mr. Waddell. Yet Mr. Waddell modestly informs us at the conclusion of his fifth letter to the editors of the *Miscellany:*

"I could, indeed, detect you on any point in the controversy, so as to know whether you stated your doctrine fairly or unfairly, or whether you denied it or not without a book at all. But this would not be sufficient in controversy to expose or silence you, or to convince others that you dealt unfairly; for it would be necessary in such a case to quote your authorities verbatim. For this purpose I would require more books of the kind than I have at present were I engaged to go through the whole course of the controversy with you; but I have no occasion for any books to instruct me in your doctrine; for I know every point of it as well as you do yourselves, and this knowl-

edge I have at present by a certain faculty called memory. This you very well know might be the case when you made the above ungenerous insinuation; for I did not say that I had no books of the kind, or that I had never read any. All your italics heretofore and your three little capitals amount to nothing, and serve no other purpose than to satisfy your simple readers. Since you have made this foul insinuation, however, I shall shortly let you know whether I have detected your misstatements or not; for however indecorous it may seem to address you again in the way of controversy, after your refusal to meet me upon any subject, I cannot let you escape with this foul insinuation and your false statements. I shall cite you before the public again and make the charge good; and then you may answer for your conduct if you can, or suffer judgment to pass against you by default.

"It is however, after all, no disparagement to your parts or learning that you have fallen before the fatal touch; for who can contend with fate and unanswerable questions? But truly your honor and honesty must be called in question. You must know that you are laboring by foul means to support a bad cause and to deceive unwary souls."

I would advise Mr. Waddell in future to have a little less confidence in his memory and more recourse to books. I might here close my case, satisfied that I have proved all that I cared to accomplish, which is, that Mr. Thomas Waddell misrepresented our doctrine of intention. But I shall examine a little farther into the contents of his very extraordinary pamphlet.

III.

Having shown that Mr. Waddell misrepresented our doctrine of intention, I now state what I believe to be the fact, that he did not himself understand it. I also admit that the consequences which he drew from his misconception would generally flow from such a principle as he attributed to us; but as the principle is not ours, neither can the con-

sequences be, on that account, charged to us. I might, as I before stated, here close my case. But there are a few other passages in Mr. Waddell's production which it will not be amiss to notice.

He states in his "Introductory," p. viii:

"I have often thought that the argument of uncertainty drawn from the doctrine of intention has not been so generally and so exclusively urged in the controversy as it ought to have been. It had indeed been sometimes called in as an auxiliary, when the arguments were sufficient without its aid. I have never before seen it used as a principal except once, when it was tried upon a renegade missionary sent from Rome to Ireland in consequence of a challenge which he offered to all Protestants, ministers especially; and, like the heroes of the *Miscellany*, he stood dumb before it. It is an argument with which few Protestants are acquainted, and I have never yet met with a Romanist amongst the laity who knew their own doctrine of intention."

Indeed, Mr. Waddell's reading upon the subject cannot be very extensive; for a great many Protestant writers have, without as much boasting as his, put forward the argument with far more ingenuity than he has done; and I have seldom found a Protestant even tolerably imbued with the spirit of controversy who has not been as fully acquainted with it as he appears to be; that is, he mistook its nature and urged his argument as unanswerable because of his mistake. I have met several of this description, and I do not recollect one of them who did not, as Mr. Waddell has, when I endeavored to disabuse him, assure me that he knew the doctrines of my Church better than I did myself, or if I knew them as well as he did, that I disguised or denied them. Will Mr. Waddell blame me when I assure him that after such a declaration I leave the field to the hero who makes it, unless there should be some weighty and sufficient cause upon other grounds for my continuing therein? Perhaps the editors of the *Miscellany*

have similar feelings, and it would argue some charity in Mr. Waddell to attribute their silence, as well as that of the gentleman whom he calls "a renegade," rather to this than to the cause which he has assigned.

"I was, indeed, in my early days, brought into doubts and difficulties by them; but I soon learned to see through their sophistry, and by degrees detected the various knavish tricks resorted to by the Popish sons of imposture to deceive the ignorant and to save their cause from destruction. I afterwards made the Popish controversy my study, and found upon trial it was a quick and easy piece of work to silence Roman gainsayers. I therefore determined, upon seeing the *Catholic Miscellany*, which contained nothing but the old silly arguments and wretched dogmatisms, to pose the heroes of it in short metre. As the distance was great, I made choice of an argument which I knew would gag them immediately. They trifled at first, and afterwards declined my invitation; the reasons they gave for declining the combat show clearly that the work is impracticable and their cause untenable."

"To pose the heroes of the *Miscellany* in short metre," Mr. Waddell has quoted Bellarmine. Will he excuse me for stating the grounds of my belief that he never read Bellarmine's works? I do not wish to come unnecessarily to the conclusion that he printed a deliberate falsehood; if he read that author he would have seen in the places quoted by me before, and in other places of his work, that the argument founded upon misrepresenting the doctrine of intention was used as a principal by several Protestant writers. I can as easily conceive that his imagination deludes him regarding the extent of his theological acquirements as it does regarding the nature of our doctrines.

I shall now take up the quotation which he makes from the cardinal; and it is somewhat curious to observe that one should not be produced from those books where he was writing expressly upon the subject, but one garbled from the midst of a paragraph upon another question in another book;

the isolated piece becomes thus ambiguous. He refers to Bellarmine, Lib. iii, de Justificatione, cap. 8. His reference is imperfect for he omits the book, and his quotation is but the tail of a sentence, and he gives the original of only a piece of that tail; however, this is the place in which the words are found. Bellarmine's third book is entitled "Qui est de incertitudine, mutabilitate et inæqualitate justitiæ," which means, "concerning the uncertainty, the changeableness, and the inequality of righteousness."

The cardinal was defending the doctrine of the Church on those points, which doctrine is: 1. That no individual can be certain, without a special revelation, that he is in a state of righteousness. 2. That a righteous man might fall into sin again and become a reprobate. 3. That there are various degrees of righteousness, at the same time, in several just persons; as also that there might be various degrees thereof, at different times, in the same individual. In the eighth chapter of this book he is arguing in support of the first of these doctrines, and answering persons who asserted that, even besides the case of special revelation, a man can know with the certainty of faith that he is in a state of righteousness.

In the fifth paragraph of the chapter an argument is taken up by him, which might be thus condensed: "You have the certainty of faith that God gives His grace and justification to those who receive the sacraments with proper dispositions. But you can know when you have so received the sacraments. Therefore you can have the certainty of faith that you have been justified and are now righteous." In his answer to this, Bellarmine first denies that any man can know, without a special revelation, that he has received the sacraments with proper dispositions; and next says that he cannot have the certainty of faith that he has received a true sacrament; and thus, although the first proposition be known with the certainty of faith, the second has not the evidence required as a basis for faith, and the man who imagined himself well disposed might have labored

under a delusion; thus there was not a certainty of faith. In the second paragraph of the chapter, the cardinal had thus stated what is required for such a certainty:

"Nothing can be certain with the certainty of faith, unless it be either immediately contained in the Word of God, or be deduced therefrom by evident consequence: because it is not faith unless it rests upon the authority of the divine Word."

Now, we are not to confound the certainty of faith which requires the basis of the Word of God, or revelation, with every other description of certainty; and in ascertaining the meaning of any author, we must use his words in the sense which he attaches to them himself. Bellarmine, in chap. ii of the same book, gives us six descriptions of certainty, under two classes; one class is under the head evident, which arises from either mental or sensible perception; the other obscure, which arises, 1, from divine revelation, 2, from human testimony, and 3, from circumstances. Thus, besides faith, the author gives us five other grounds upon which we might build our certainty. Seeing his object and his language, let us now look to the quotation:

"But perhaps Catharinus might answer, that perfect conversion and penance are not necessarily required, except without the sacrament; but that, together with the sacrament, it is sufficient if no obstacle be placed. But neither can any one be certain, with the certainty of faith, that he does not put an obstacle, for by reason of his gross ignorance, he might bear an affection to sin; neither can he be certain, with the certainty of faith, that he receives a true sacrament, since the sacrament might be without the intention of the minister, and no one can see the intention of another."

I have here given the passage at length; the object of Bellarmine was to prove as I before stated, that no man can without special revelation, which would, as being the Word of God, give him a ground for faith, know with the certainty of faith that he was righteous. We know by

faith what things are required for the existence of a sacrament; but it is not by faith, but by other motives of credibility, that we are assured of the existence of those requisites. Intention is one of those requisites; we do not know of its existence by faith, but we can have that certainty by circumstances, which is according to Bellarmine a good ground of certainty, but not of the certainty of faith; because founded upon revelation. In denying then that we have the certainty of faith, he is far from asserting that we have no certainty; yet this is what Mr. Waddell has assumed, p. 13—he draws an universal conclusion from particular premises:

"This uncertainty, the inevitable consequence of Catholic doctrine, is admitted by some of their most celebrated divines. 'No priest that celebrateth can know evidently whether he be a priest, because he cannot know evidently whether he be baptized or lawfully ordained.' And Cardinal Bellarmine tells us why: 'No man,' says he, 'can be certain, by the certainty of faith, that he receives a true sacrament; because it depends upon the intention of the minister, and none can see another man's intention.'"

Mr. Waddell, then, must feel that he has given to Bellarmine a meaning which Bellarmine never intended. The cardinal does not say, that the sacrament "depends upon the intention of the minister." When he uses the words "intentionem alterius nemo videre possit"—"No one can see the intention of another," I apprehend Mr. Waddell does not give to the word "videre," "see," the meaning which the cardinal did. In the sixth paragraph of his chap. ii, he explains himself thus: "Certitudo evidens est earum rerum quæ aliquo modo videntur"—"Certainty evident is of those things which are in some manner seen." In this class he places: first, principles; next, the evident consequences of first principles; lastly, that which is under the cognizance of well regulated senses. "Certitudo obscura est earum rerum quæ sola fide, vel opinione nituntur"—"Certainty obscure is of those things which rest only on faith

or on opinion." In this class he places: knowledge derived first from the testimony of God; next from human testimony; then, from circumstances. This explanation is the key which he gives to the meaning of his words throughout the book; "evidens" and "videre," "evident" and "see," then regard only the first class but not the second. We cannot see the intention of another person, for it is not a first principle, nor a consequence of that principle, nor does it come in its own immediate form under the cognizance of our senses. Neither can we know it generally from the testimony of God, but from the testimony of men and from circumstances. Hence though a person cannot see the intention of another, he might know its existence with certainty; though neither with the certainty of faith, nor with the certainty of evidence. Thus, neither Bellarmine or Biel would admit the assumption, "That we are uncertain of the existence of our sacraments;" because we have two grounds, either of which will assure us of their existence, though the special fact in each particular case is not an article of faith. Every reasonable man is perfectly certain of the truth of hundreds of facts, which, though neither first principles, nor their evident consequences, nor having come under the cognizance of his senses, nor yet having been revealed by God, still are sustained by motives of credibility which produce infallible certainty.

When Mr. Waddell adds this to the four egregious blunders which he made in his description of the meaning of the word intention, as described before, probably I may leave to himself to appreciate the value of his compilation.

I stated that I accepted the English word "purpose" as expressing the meaning of the Latin technical word "intentio," or that which in our language is more equivocal, intention. In Mr. Waddell's pamphlet, p. 12, he states that a canon is found upon the subject in the proceedings of the Council of Florence; his words are: "This canon is found in the Council of Florence and that of Trent." The canon

of which he makes this statement, he describes thus, p. 11: "According to a certain canon, Catholics are bound to believe that 'the efficacy of every sacrament depends upon the intention of the officiating minister;' so that if he should fail of having this necessary intention, the apparent sacrament is null and void." Now, perhaps Mr. Waddell will think it, to use his own polite language, "knavery," "a pious fraud," "a shameful denial," when I inform him that the Council of Florence made no such canon, nor is any canon of our Church couched in such phrases, though he was so accurate as to place them between inverted commas. The Council of Trent indeed made a canon upon the subject which Mr. Waddell quotes accurately in a note to p. 12, but the Council of Florence did not. However, Pope Eugenius IV, who remained at Florence after the departure of the Greeks, together with some of the cardinals and bishops of the Latin Church continued the sessions in 1439, for the purpose of receiving into communion some of the Armenian Eutychians, and upon their reconciliation, the Pope in his decree of instruction did, in treating of the sacraments, mention the necessity of the intention of the minister, besides the matter and form, to constitute a sacrament. I state this, not charging Mr. Waddell with being guilty of misrepresentation in this place, but merely to show him that besides "a certain faculty called memory," a certain quality called information is necessary for a person who undertakes to write upon these subjects. His appendix even would have taught him this. But perhaps he does not know the difference between a decree and a canon.

"Q. What are we to believe as to the matter and form of the sacraments, and how they are to be conceived?

"A. Eugenius IV, in his decree, in the Council of Florence, which was held in the year 1439, declares that every sacrament requires matter, form and intention of doing what the Church does."

I now come to the "simple explanation" of our doc-

trine which Mr. Waddell has so completely enveloped in his effort to show it sustaining his conclusions.

The whole doctrine may be thus expressed: "It is required that in the creation or administration of the sacraments the minister shall use the elements and the words in a reasonable manner, for a Christian purpose."

I shall take one sacrament as an exemplification, baptism. Pope Eugenius states that three things are necessary, the matter (water), the form (the words), and the intention of the minister (the purpose). I shall now give a few instances where the matter and the form would be applied to the proper subject, and yet no sacrament be conferred, because of the want of intention or purpose.

1. A priest desires to show the sponsors how they ought to attend, and tells them that he will rehearse the ceremony, but not baptize the child at present; he then uses the water and repeats the words for the purpose of making them acquainted with the manner of proceeding, but not for the purpose of conferring the sacrament.

2. One minister is desirous of teaching another how to confer the sacrament; and for this purpose, but not for the purpose of conferring the sacrament, he seriously and deliberately goes through the whole rite, using the elements and the words.

3. A person undertakes to mimic the ceremony, and uses the water and the words to amuse those present, but not for the purpose of baptizing.

4. At a theatre a baptism is to be represented; the matter and the form are used, but not for the purpose of doing what the Church does, that is, conforming to the institution of Christ, but for the purpose of representation.

5. A person intends to administer the sacrament, and actually commences, but is requested to defer it for a few hours, consents, but still, for the purpose of instructing the sponsors or others, goes through the remainder of the ceremony.

6. A person during his dream, or a somnambulist, uses

the matter and form upon an unbaptized subject which is near him.

7. A person stupidly drunk.

8. A person who is an idiot or crazy.

9. An ignorant person might use the matter and form for the purpose of procuring the bodily health of a child without even knowing that it was ever a Church ceremony.

In these and a variety of other cases there are the matter and form but there is not the intention; the sacrament is not conferred, hence it has always been held in the Church that the existence of matter and the intention of doing what the Church does are necessary. And Mr. Waddell had under his eye, in his appendix, the very words of Hornihold, to show what our meaning was.

"Q. In what cases is there a defect of a sufficient intention?

"A. If a minister performs the work in a ludicrous manner; if he is asleep, drunk or mad; he has either no intention or only an habitual one."

All that we require is that it shall be a reasonable act done for the purpose of religion, that is, for the purpose of doing what the Church does. This also Mr. Waddell saw in his appendix from Hornihold.

"Q. What intention is required in the minister?

"A. In the first place, intention in general is a volition or act of determining of a thing by the means; it is requisite to every rational action, and much more to every religious action."

Mr. Waddell gave the canon of the Council of Trent, in p. 12, pretty correctly. He only omitted the words "at least." "If any man shall say that when the ministers make and confer sacraments the intention, at least, of doing what the Church does, is not required; let him be anathema." I cannot conjecture what his object in omitting those words "at least" could have been, except to destroy the distinction which we admit between two persons who both validly confer sacraments, viz.: The minister who knew

and believed and gave actual and willing attention with a desire to procure grace for the recipient; and the careless infidel who looked upon the ceremony to be idle and vain, but who nevertheless went through it for the purpose of religion, or of doing what the Church does. Our doctrine is that each of those persons confers the sacrament, but the Church exhorts her clergy and others to have the first and better disposition. There are several intermediate dispositions of mind between those two; it is useless to describe them. These are the two extremes, and in each, as well as in all the intermediate cases, there exists a sufficient intention for securing the validity of the sacrament, because in all these cases the minister acts for the purpose of doing what the Church does, that is, for the purpose of performing a Christian rite. All our authors agree that it is not necessary for the minister himself to believe the rite holy, or efficacious, or even useful; but that it is sufficient if he should do the act for the purpose of administering a rite which Christians consider holy.

I shall now suppose a man who has even a malicious disposition called upon by a parent to baptize his child. The parent believing the rite to be of divine institution and destined to remove original sin, beseeches this person to administer that baptism which Christ instituted. He is answered by the person to whom he applies that the whole is an idle and useless ceremony, and the person strives to dissuade the parent from its performance; the parent answers that he is otherwise convinced, and entreats this person to perform it. Thus urged the infidel complies, uses the water and pronounces the words in accordance with the request of the parent. Is it not manifest that whatever his own private malice might be his act was in compliance with the parent's request, and that the purpose was to perform the Christian rite? I may be told that in his soul he wished to prevent the effects of the rite. My answer is, that his act was for a purpose which was determined by the circumstances, and he had no control over them; he might have

desired to destroy the effect of the Saviour's institutions, but the providence of God saved them from the power of his malice. The mercy of heaven is not made subject to his indiscretion, but is administered according to the institutions of the Saviour; of them he is a minister but not a despot. He may refuse to act, but if he acts for a particular purpose it is impossible that he should not act for that purpose; to suppose otherwise would be to suppose a contradiction. The matter and the form of the sacraments might be used for a variety of purposes; but when used for the purpose instituted by Christ, then and only then they form a sacrament. This is the language of our Church, and I believe it is the language of common sense. In this view, though we have not the certainty of faith, or that which arises from divine revelation, for the existence of a sacrament in each special case, nor the certainty of evidence in the scholastic meaning of the word as before laid down, we can have what is usually called evidence, in the ordinary use of words, for we can have that certainty which arises from human testimony and from circumstances.

Mr. Waddell will then perceive that it was from the want of knowing our doctrine of intention he charged upon us that state of uncertainty, in the consequences of which he triumphs.

"Such then being their state of uncertainty and misery with respect to their sacraments, how can they possess peace of mind for a moment? And how can we look upon a Church as infallible, and a sure guide to heaven, which involves all her children in such miserable circumstances, that they can never know whether they be Christians or whether the clergy be true priests or Christians at all? How deplorable and miserable must their condition be if this doctrine be true! And how poor must be their chance for salvation! What an awful amount of sin and damage may one of their 'lay priests' be the cause of to thousands, who may attend upon him continually! All his

consecrations so many nullities, causing the continual practice of idolatry by himself, and the unfortunate creatures who attend upon him; all his absolutions so many deceptions, leaving the people still in their sins. And how much damage may be done even by a true priest through the want of due intention in his ministrations, none of them can know. Through the fatal and frequent occurrence of this woful defect, many of his apparent marriages may be mere nullities—states of licensed concubinage; many of his apparent baptisms may be mere nullities, leaving the poor children in a state of something below the level of heathenism, out of whtch they can never rise. And these children, by getting into the priesthood in their turn, may be the ministers of damnation to thousands and tens of thousands, who may have the misfortune to attend upon them. And suppose some of these blank priests should get into bishoprics, how much more sin and destruction might be caused by them! No mind can conceive half the amount; for they might send out a number of sacrilegious pretenders, to deceive the multitude, who would be lost by hundreds and by thousands, by worshiping false Hosts and receiving false absolutions, from their pretending priests, who would fall and perish with their people, all through the occurrence of this fatal defect, in some careless or dishonest bishop, priest, doctor, old woman, or some other person, in the long lapse of eighteen hundred years. Thus the devastation once commenced by one blank bishop might proceed with the celerity of geometrical progression, and in a few generations might unpriest a whole nation. Thus the Church in the plenitude of her infallibility, has plunged her children in an awful abyss of uncertainty and misery, and so their infallibility has undermined itself, and ruined its advocates. Live as they will, they can never know whether they be Christians or not, or whether their practices be lawful, or wicked and ruinous. How melancholy and distressing must the consideration of these doleful and fearful truths be to every thoughtful, feeling heart!

"But their priests and people, notwithstanding this awful uncertainty and danger, seem to be quite easy in their minds and talk as confidently about their absolutions, baptisms, marriages, oblations, ordinations and consecrations as if the above canon had never existed. How shall we account for this stupid inconsistency! Only by the fact that they do not sincerely believe this doctrine and attentively consider its import and ruinous consequences."[1]

Mr. Waddell has here some semblance of correct reasoning, for we do not believe in the doctrine which he describes as ours.

IV.

I shall now examine how far Mr. Waddell was accurate or correct in his extracts from the Rubrics of our Missal and his comments upon them.

He says that it was not a malicious intention to spoil the sacrament the canon which required intention regarded. To sustain this position he asserts that a positive malicious intention is not a defect but a property, and as the Rubric of the Missal treats only of defects, it could not mean malicious intention, for that would not be properly considered a defect. Now, his translation of the words of the Missal will, I apprehend, be sufficient to correct his mistake: the words of the Missal are, "Si quis non intendit conficere, sed delusorie aliquid agere"—"if a person do not intend to make (a sacrament,) but to do something in a delusive way," or as he translates it, "If any one intend not to consecrate, but to cheat or banter." In all these expressions we have the defect of a proper intention, viz.: "If a person do not intend to consecrate," i. e., not purpose to do what Christ instituted and the Church does; but we have also the positive purpose of cheating or bantering, which on such an occasion must be positively malicious. Thus, where a man instead of doing an act of religion, intends to cheat or banter, he has a malicious intention. It was on Mr. Waddell's part a mistake to say that he had not.

[1] Pp. 14-15.

In the case of wafers forgotten upon the altar, he tells us "for as these wafers get mingled with others which the priest lays upon the altar for consecration, without being noticed by him, he has not his thoughts exercised about them when he proceeds to consecrate, so they miss of being consecrated through the want of his actual intention, which was exerted to consecrate only the wafers he had noticed."

Mr. Waddell again asserts here, as if upon the authority of the Missal, that it is because of the want of actual intention the consecration failed. This is another mistake; I shall help Mr. Waddell's "faculty called memory," by quoting from the very head of the Rubric which he garbles:

"4. If the intention be not actual at the very consecration because of some wandering of the mind, but virtual when the person going to the altar intends to do what the Church does, the sacrament is produced, yet the priest should carefully endeavor to bring with him an actual intention."

Mr. Waddell is very unfortunate in conceiving wrong notions of our doctrine and making very unwarrantable conclusions, because of his mistakes. He speaks of "one forgotten particle which is mingled with those placed for consecration," and seen amongst them, which of course every priest intends to consecrate according to the direction of the Missal, which he is so careful as not to notice: "Every priest ought always have such intention, viz., that of consecrating all those which he has placed before him for consecration." The direction follows immediately after the passage respecting eleven Hosts, where he imagined there were only ten. The case which Mr. Waddell imagines of a forgotten wafer mingling with the others is not in the Missal.

The case there described is that of particles which are not so mingled and which do not at any time become mingled with those placed separately for consecration; but

which in the preparation of the altar might have been laid aside upon some part of it, different from that where those for consecration are placed; and which it was intended to remove, but which through forgetfulness had not been taken away. If previous to the consecration they did get mingled with the others which the priest laid for consecration, they would be consecrated, for they would be seen with others, and his purpose was to consecrate all which he saw in that place, but if they were forgotten on a remote part of the altar, they would not be consecrated, upon the same principle that those lying hidden would fail of being consecrated.

They who are in the habit of officiating at the altar could inform Mr. Waddell that there are a variety of cases in which a Host might be hidden. I shall give one instance which shall be sufficient. The particles to be consecrated are laid upon a small cloth called a corporal, because the corpus or body rests upon it; in preparing the altar and placing this cloth some particles might lie hidden under it and not be noticed by the clergyman, having fallen there without being observed, and as not being known could not be forgotten. The plain purpose of the priest is to consecrate all that he placed upon the corporal; to this his ministry is directed, he has no farther object. He has performed this duty, he has given communion, he has removed the remaining particles from off the corporal, if any be there: he now proceeds to fold the corporal itself and finds that some unconsecrated particles lay under it, others lay at a distance from it, forgotten and overlooked; he never proposed to consecrate any of them, he knew nothing of them. The Missal says they are not consecrated: it is only the language of common sense; for when a religious act is to be performed it must like all other acts be done in a reasonable manner. When anything is to be consecrated it must be designated, and the effect of the consecrating process does not go beyond the boundary of the designation. Suppose a clergyman is

asked to baptize two children; they are presented him, pointed out, designated and named; he proceeds to the baptism, and without any intimation to him, altogether without his knowledge, a third child is placed so as that the water shall flow upon it from the body of one of those whom he intends to baptize; the water flows whilst he uses the words, without any reference to this child, of whose presence he is perfectly unconscious. I hope Mr. Waddell would not say religion requires it is reasonable to assert that this third child was validly baptized. Suppose this child, so surreptitiously introduced, dies immediately; it is now too late to administer a sacrament. Had the clergyman known of the existence of the concealed child, he would have baptized it; it was the child of a dear friend; one of those baptized was the child of an enemy, to whom he bears a deadly malice, whose child he would keep from heaven if he could. Now, we would say that his affection cannot supply to the dead child what it has not received, nor can his malice prevent in the living child the effects of that ministry of divine institution in which he has officiated.

I trust Mr. Waddell will perceive that this is only the language of common sense which the Missal uses, when it states that a clergyman does not consecrate particles which he either removed from those selected for use but forgot to remove from the altar, nor particles of whose existence he knew nothing, because of their being hidden under the cloth, or the book, or in any other way.

But let us see Mr. Waddell's object. It is to infer that because these are not consecrated, therefore we cannot be certain that the particles upon the corporal are consecrated, because as the clergyman did not intend to consecrate the forgotten and hidden, it is also possible that he did not intend to consecrate those which he saw, and to which he referred his acts. We have, as in the case of the children, the certainty arising from all the circumstances, of the intention to act, and of the actual agency in the one case, whilst

we have upon the same grounds the certainty that he had no purpose of acting and no rational agency in the other. And yet Mr. Waddell would expect, with this evidence of a difference between the two cases, that we should not draw any distinction between them!

I now come to the last case which Mr. Waddell takes from our Missal: "If he have before him eleven wafers, and intended to consecrate but ten only, not determining what ten he meant, consecration fails, because intention is required." He states: "If he should by misreckoning or any other way think he had but ten wafers on the altar when there were eleven," etc. Now, it is impossible that Mr. Waddell could have read the Missal when he makes the assertion, that this regards a case of mistake by misreckoning, because the next paragraph, 2, which he does not quote, takes up the very case of such a mistake, and informs us that the consecration is valid. The case is thus described: "If the priest, thinking that he held only one Host, should, after consecration, find that there were two joined together, let him receive both together," etc.

Here we see that the mistake regarding the number would not invalidate the consecration. What, then, is the former case? It is what Mr. Waddell says it is not. He says: "They would all fail of being consecrated through the want of his actual intention, which was exerted upon none of them; not because he had a wanton wicked design to spoil the work, but because he did not think particularly of the wafers he virtually meant to consecrate." Such, as we have repeatedly seen, is not the fact. The case would be exactly parallel to this: Eleven children are placed for baptism; a person pours water on all the eleven, saying, "I baptize ten of you," etc. The act is not that of a rational being, it is not a consistent, it is a foolish, or a wanton, or a wicked one. Could Mr. Waddell point out any of the children that was baptized? From the circumstances, it is plain that the man's purpose was not to baptize but to banter. There is no consecration in the other case, as there is no baptism in this case.

I have to remark, that in the appendix No. 2, which Mr. Waddell gives as an extract from the Roman Missal, he has indeed given, not a continuous extract, but a number of pieces selected from different parts of the Rubrics, in such a manner as to favor the view which he takes of our doctrine, but which would no longer support his position if he were fairly and fully to give the whole context. However, as he proceeds by "a certain faculty called memory," he has been rather fortunate in recollecting even so much.

Another ground upon which he assails our doctrine of intention, is thus described by him in pp. 13 and 14:

"If a husband or wife at Rome should declare solemnly that he or she had not the intention to be married when the nuptials were solemnized, the apparent marriage is then pronounced a mere nullity; the parties are separated. We have this account from Bishop Burnet, who, in Rome, obtained full and satisfactory information on the subject, and perhaps was an eye-witness to the practice. He says, also, that such divorces are very frequent there. Nor is the fact incredible, but highly reasonable and feasible; for the practice is justifiable and even necessary, and ought to prevail in all places, amongst papists, if their doctrine of intention be true. For, if the validity of the sacrament depends upon the intention of the receiver, as well as of the intention of the minister, there can be no sacrament, and therefore no real marriage, unless the priest, man and woman all exert their intention to accomplish the work. According to this doctrine, we may reasonably suppose that vast numbers of their people are living in concubinage, who are apparently married. I think, then, it would be a fair question to ask, why does not this good practice prevail amongst them in all places? And why are the people not exhorted to consider and inquire whether they have had, on their part, the necessary ingredient in their marriage; that if upon fair inquiry, it could be found they had it not at the critical time, they might be separated and delivered out of a wicked state of life, that would lead to

everlasting ruin. Many would then no doubt join their Church, with a view to accomplish fraudulent purposes, under the sanction of their new law, which ought thus, by the rule of consistency, to open a wide door to perfidy, knavery, and other evils. Query: Is this practice, which they observe at Rome, and which, according to their doctrine, ought to prevail in all places, one of those laws which has descended in their Church by oral tradition?"

Now, there is a little difference between Bishop Burnet's statement, such as it is, and Mr. Waddell's assertion: He states that "solemn swearing" is required. Mr. Waddell makes him say that "solemn declaration" is sufficient. However, even both are under a mistake. Again Mr. Waddell leads us to believe that Bishop Burnet "was perhaps an eye-witness of the practice." The bishop says nothing to warrant this supposition. As the bishop is just as much in error as Mr. Waddell is, I might as well give his text and Mr. Waddell's at once to my readers. Writing of marriage, he has the two following paragraphs, Art. xxv:

"The matter assigned by the Roman doctors is the inward consent, by which both parties do mutually give themselves to one another; the form they make to be the words or signs, by which this is expressed. Now it seems a strange thing to make the secret thoughts of men the matter and their words the form of a sacrament; all mutual compacts being as much sacraments as this, there being no visible material things applied to the parties who receive them; which is necessary to the being of a sacrament. It is also a very absurd opinion, which may have very fatal consequences and raise very afflicting scruples, if any should imagine that the inward consent is the matter of this sacrament; here is a foundation laid down for voiding every marriage. The parties may and often do marry against their wills; and though they profess an outward consent, they do inwardly repine against what they are doing. If after this they grow to like their marriage, scruples must arise, since they know they have not the sacrament; because

it is a doctrine in that Church, that as intention is necessary in every sacrament, so here that goes further, the intention being the only matter of this sacrament; so that without it there is no marriage, and yet since they cannot be married again to complete or rather to make the marriage, such persons do live only in a state of concubinage.

"On the other hand, here is a foundation laid down for breaking marriages as often as the parties, or either of them, will solemnly swear that they gave no inward consent, which is often practiced at Rome. All contracts are sacred things; but of them all, marriage is the most sacred, since so much depends upon it. Men's words, confirmed by oaths and other solemn acts, must either be binding according to the plain and acknowledged sense of them, or all the security and confidence of mankind is destroyed. No man can be safe if this principle is once admitted; that a man is not bound by his promise and oaths, unless his inward consent went along with them; and if such a fraudulent thing may be applied to marriages, in which so many persons are concerned, and upon which the order of the world does so much depend, it may be very justly applied to all other contracts whatsoever, so that they may be voided at pleasure. A man's words and oaths bind him by the eternal laws of fidelity and truth: and it is a just prejudice against any religion whatsoever, if it should teach a doctrine in which, by the secret reserves of not giving an inward consent, the faith which is solemnly given may be broken. Here such a door is opened to perfidy and treachery, that the world can be no longer safe while it is allowed; hereby lewd and vicious persons may entangle others, and in the meanwhile order their own thoughts so, that they shall be all the while free."

I assure Mr. Waddell that I am quite at a loss whether most to admire Bishop Burnet or him in comparing their productions. Allow me, however, as Mr. Waddell is now my principal object, to get rid of the bishop as quickly

as possible, for though he had been in Rome, he has made some sad mistakes. 1. He gave us a mere school opinion for a Catholic doctrine. 2. He distorts the opinion from its natural shape, giving us only its caricature. 3. He thus argues against a phantom of his own creation. 4. He confounds what the Church distinguishes, viz., the matter and the intention. 5. He mistakes the nature of intention itself. 6. He asserts a gross theological absurdity in stating that "if there be no marriage they cannot be married again." 7. From this false position he draws a false conclusion. 8. He states what is not the fact, where he asserts that a foundation is laid down for breaking the marriage where the parties or either of them solemnly swear that they gave no inward consent; if by laying a foundation he means that this is considered sufficient evidence of the fact, as his words and context seem to imply. 9. All his conclusions, of course, drawn from this assumption are unwarranted imputations against the Roman Catholic Church.

Mr. Waddell, then, has built upon the authority of Bishop Burnet the assertions: 1. "That if a husband or wife at Rome declare solemnly that he or she had not the intention of being married when the nuptials were solemnized, the apparent marriage is then pronounced a nullity; the parties are separated." Yet Bishop Burnet makes no such assertion, and if he did, he would have asserted an untruth. The principle of the Church is: 1. That when there is no circumstance at the time to create a reasonable doubt of the consent being freely given, no examination shall be subsequently permitted, and under any circumstances, the oath of either party is the most suspicious testimony that could be adduced: because there is the prior and the more solemn evidence of the party itself given to the contrary assertion at the time of the marriage. 2. Mr. Waddell asserts that the bishop obtained in Rome full and satisfactory information on the subject, and was perhaps an eye-witness to the practice. The bishop does

not appear to say any such thing, but merely states in a note that he took the doctrine concerning the sacraments from the work of a well informed divine with whom he conversed in Rome. 3. Mr. Waddell states that the bishop asserts such divorces to be very frequent in Rome. The bishop, I think, makes no such assertion; he merely says, "the swearing is often practiced at Rome," and for which we have only Burnet's mere assertion. All that Mr. Waddell adds about the doctrine of intention respecting marriage, is totally at variance with the statement of the doctrine as laid down by Burnet, who makes the parties and not the priest the ministers of the sacrament, by rendering their words the form, whilst Mr. Waddell requires the intention of the priest and thus makes him the minister. His object is to show that we cannot know when marriages are good. The answer is, that which our practice exhibits: that is, we have the evidence of circumstances to show the intention of contracting; this produces certainty, and unless there be at the time of the contract some very suspicious circumstances, no declarations nor oaths of either or both parties will be considered equivalent to the evidence of the solemn contract of their marriage. Thus the statements put forward are palpable misrepresentations and the conclusions drawn from them must partake of their nature.

V.

Having shown Mr. Waddell's misconceptions of the authors and documents which he adduced to sustain his notion of our doctrine of intention, I shall take the liberty of inserting a few other passages of his letters for the purpose of more clearly and fully exhibiting his mistakes.

In my remarks on the Protestant catechism, I stated the consequences of the doctrine which is imputed to us, in the following words which Mr. Waddell gives in his letter, p. 38: "Roman Catholics cannot be certain that the Eucharist is duly consecrated, neither can they be certain of receiving any sacrament, and must at least be in a

state of doubt and anxiety about all their sacraments, as the effect depends upon the secret and concealed intention of the priest." Upon which Mr. Waddell remarks: "This proposition does not differ from the statement and conclusion of the catechist, except in the adjectives secret and concealed, which are not in the catechism, though they must be implied if the observation of Bellarmine holds good, 'that none can see another man's intention.' The conclusion, also, that 'Roman Catholics must at best be in a state of doubt and anxiety about all their sacraments,' I believe is not in the catechism, though it is also implied: did they sincerely believe their doctrine, which if we can credit their most eminent writers, is not the case."

I have already shown that he mistook Bellarmine's meaning, and that Roman Catholics had every reasonable certainty, in the testimony or circumstances which removed the doubt here assumed to exist. In reference to the doctrine imputed to us and its consequences as described in the above paragraph I had written: "This is a very serious misrepresentation of our doctrine of intention. I could scarely believe it was an innocent mistake, but that I have lately discovered, that the whole mode in which the general body of Protestant writers learn what Roman Catholics teach is not by reading the works of Roman Catholic authors. Hence, I do admit, that even you, Right Rev. Sir, might possibly, notwithstanding the station you occupy, be yourself under a very serious mistake upon this head, and that you perhaps do not know our theological meaning of the word intention; at all events, your little tract is egregiously incorrect upon this head."

Mr. Waddell took the liberty of introducing the word "whole," which I disclaim; and alluding to this paragraph of mine, he had the kindness to write: "Against this proposition, however, is raised the following piteous outcry, which is indeed something like the bold beginning of a good reply, but as it wants the trifling particular called proof, is only like a piece of half begun work,

which serves no other purpose than to show it can never be finished in such a way that the end will accord with a bold beginning."

Full of his anticipated victory, and under the impression that he was not only right but unanswerable, he thus commenced his fourth letter: "In my second letter I requested to inform B. C. that he was required to resume his work upon the doctrine of intention, or rather upon the statement of that doctrine, in the Protestant catechism, and the consequences deduced from it by the catechism, for which he holds Bishop Bowen accountable. As he has given us nothing in support of his charge of misrepresentation, I have thought it necessary to enter upon an inquiry into the theological meaning of the word intention, that I may repel the heavy charge which now stands against my letters on that head, as well as against Bishop Bowen, the catechist, and the general body of Protestant writers; and that I may ascertain in some measure the degree of danger in which the Catholic Church says by this doctrine her children are exposed in the worship of the Host and through a failure in her other sacraments by the want of this necessary intention."

Alluding to my declaration that our doctrine was misrepresented, he wrote:

"What a bold beginning is here! When I first saw it, I expected something very clever would follow, and I prepared my mind to examine and study it very attentively. How great was my surprise when I saw the whole affair end in a pitiful, broad assertion, just where it began? Must it not be disgusting and mortifying even to his own bigoted admirers, with whom every unsupported dogmatism and every beggarly sophism passes for a demonstration? One who was not thoroughly acquainted with their credulity and stupidity would be disposed to think they could not but see the difficulty in which their favorite champion was involved, and his knavery to deceive them, that he might seem to deliver himself and his wretched cause from con-

fusion. Must they not know it was incumbent upon him to state his doctrine fairly and to institute a comparison, that the very serious misrepresentation might appear to the confusion of the catechist and Bishop Bowen; and also to explain his theological meaning of the word intention, that his doctrine might be delivered from the consequences deduced from it by the catechist and many other Protestant writers, as well as by some of his own doctors of the first rate? But why need I ask such questions, for the poor deluded people are too simple and credulous to see anything that makes against the doctrines of Rome? But did he think Bishop Bowen and other Protestant readers were fools and blind and capable of being satisfied by the *ipse dixit* of such a writer? This indeed would have been a poor subterfuge for any man to fly to who even belonged to any honorable tribe of writers.

"How can this be accounted for? Only by the deplorable distress and confusion of the writer. What could he do in such a desperate case? If his doctrine can be neither explained away nor maintained, it must be denied if possible."

I am very far from imagining myself to be as favorite a champion of one side as probably Mr. Waddell esteems himself of the other. I have not rejoiced at the resuscitation of controversy, I did not feel confident that I could overthrow my opponents, nor did I find upon trial that, although I believed myself upon the side of truth, it was a quick and easy piece of work to pose the heroes of the opposite party. I was reluctantly dragged forth; I was taunted by Mr. Waddell with cowardice and inability; I was threatened with a gag; I was sneered at and held up to ridicule.

"When I first heard of these proceedings, I rejoiced very much that the long dormant controversy was about to be renewed; for I felt confident that the papal system would quickly be overthrown by being brought to a public investigation. The weapons of warfare used by the Roman-

ists are nothing but frivolous sophistry, subtle distinctions, barefaced denials and forgeries, and inconclusive, plausible arguments. By these they may indeed do incalculable mischief amongst the silly and thoughtless; but if they can bring nothing more powerful against us in controversy, then let no man's heart fail because of them. I was, indeed, in my early days, brought into doubts and difficulties by them, but I soon learned to see through their sophistry, and by degrees detected the various knavish tricks resorted to by the Popish sons of imposture, to deceive the ignorant and to save the cause from destruction. I afterwards made the Popish controversy my study, and found upon trial it was a quick and easy piece of work to silence Roman gainsayers. I therefore determined, upon seeing the *Catholic Miscellany*, which contained nothing but the old silly arguments and wretched dogmatisms, to pose the heroes of it in short metre. As the distance was great, I made choice of an argument which I knew would gag them immediately. They trifled at first, and afterwards declined my invitation; the reasons they give for declining the combat show clearly that the work is impracticable, and their cause untenable."

Yet, when Mr. Waddell forced me to come out, have I not shown from his own selected authorities that he misrepresented our doctrine? In p. 51 he asserted:

"But of all the doctrines calculated to favor them most and raise them to their highest wish, the doctrine of intention appeared foremost. This doctrine showed the great power with which the priest was invested over the sacraments and over the souls of the people. Except he possessed the actual intention in his consecration, there should be no sacrament; it would be null; then, though apparently married, baptized, etc., yet would they nevertheless be unmarried, unbaptized, etc., so would they be in a state of heathenism and concubinage; their penances, confessions, and absolutions, would be of no avail! the worship of the Host would be wicked idolatry: and so they would be all damned together.

"To prevent all this, and seeing their salvation depending almost entirely upon the intention of the priest, they must feel it necessary ever to be attentive to him, and to endeavor to please him upon all occasions, that he might be always careful to have and to exert this good intention."

I have shown that we do not require this actual intention; Mr. Waddell draws his train of consequences from the false assumption that we do. All these assumed or fancied conclusions are then baseless visions. I have stated our doctrine fairly, I have instituted a comparison between what we hold and what he imputed, and I have brought the testimony regarding our doctrine from the very authors which he pointed out, from Bellarmine and the Missal. Yet I am far from thinking that though I have delivered myself from what he is pleased to call the difficulty and the knavery and the confusion of my wretched cause, that he is either satisfied, or "posed," or silenced; and when I undertook to write these letters, I had no hopes of attaining this object.

However, before we separate, and probably forever, I shall take the liberty of instituting a few more comparisons; the result may be useful to others, if not to Mr. Waddell.

In his p. 8 he informs us, "I have never yet met with a Romanist amongst the laity who knew their own doctrine of intention." Really this appears a little strange since in p. 12, he informs us:

"This canon is found in the Council of Florence and that of Trent, and teaches the doctrine thus: 'If any man shall say that when the ministers make and confer the sacraments the intention of doing what the Church does, is not required, let him be anathema.' Reily's catechism teaches the doctrine in much the same phraseology. That the intention insisted on by the above canon is in order to the efficacy of the sacrament, is manifest, by the sense which is attached to it in other books of equal authority. 'The Abridgment of the Christian Doctrine,' a book publicly authorized and of general use in Ireland, as a book

of instruction for the common people, teaches it in the following plain, unequivocal language:

"'Q. Is the intention of the minister to do what Christ ordained a condition without which the sacrament subsisteth not?

"'A. It is, as also the intention of the receiver to receive what Christ ordained, if he be at years of understanding.

"'Q. Why do you say if he be at years of understanding?

"'A. Because for infants in the sacrament of baptism, the intention of the Church sufficeth.'"

Reily's catechism was then generally used by all the Catholic children in Ireland, and if the doctrine was taught therein it must have been taught to all the children who learned their catechism. Strange that the laity did not know the doctrine which they were taught!

"The Abridgment of the Christian Doctrine," publicly authorized and in general use for the instruction of the common people, teaches the doctrine in plain and unequivocal language, and yet Mr. Waddell never met with a Romanist who knew what he had thus been taught!

But it seems that although they had been thoroughly instructed in those doctrines of their Church, yet they did not know them; for in p. 45 Mr. Waddell informs us:

"The general body of their priests are poor theological cowards, liars and deceivers, who know their cause would soon go to destruction if it were fairly exposed to the light. By thus raising the outcry of misrepresentation against Protestant writers and aspersing their characters, they succeed admirably in filling the minds of their bigoted adherents with prejudice and hatred against them and against the truth which they teach; so that Satan himself is supposed to be a far more harmless creature than a Protestant writer: if he has got one cloven foot, be sure a Protestant writer has got two. This piece of Popish policy succeeds so well in deceiving the sons of papal delusion, that I have never yet conversed with one layman of their communion, whom I could not teach the doctrines

of his Church, and who would not raise the outcry of misrepresentation against me like B. C. when I would state the naked truth. Thus they conceal many of the absurdities and abominations of Popery, and daub the faces of Protestants and their doctrines so notably, that the minds of their deluded adherents are quite inaccessible to the light of the Gospel, and even to their own doctrines, which they conceit they know thoroughly, although they are generally ignorant of the worst parts of their system."

To me it appears very strange that those Catholics should have in their hands the very books from which Mr. Waddell makes his quotations, should have in their childhood been instructed in their doctrine from those very books, and yet not understand them. Some of them, as for instance, Mr. O'Connell, Mr. Shiel, Mr. Wyse, Mr. Coppinger (for Mr. Waddell seems to confine himself to Ireland), might be supposed to have as much understanding as Mr. Waddell, and have, we should suppose, at least as much information as the common people who learn the abridgment. Really, it is difficult to suppose that there are not laymen amongst the Romanists who do know their own doctrine of intention, though they might not have the honor of Mr. Waddell's acquaintance. Now, there is only one circumstance which I shall state hereafter which prevents me from asserting that Mr. Waddell contradicted himself when he asserted they did not know their own doctrine, and yet that it was contained in the books from which they were taught.

Mr. Waddell has charged our laity with stupidity, ignorance and carelessness. It would indeed almost take a reprint of his whole production to exhibit the manner in which he libels our clergy. The following extract respecting the venerable Doctor Challoner, Bishop of Debra, and one of the most eminent, learned and pious of the English Vicars-Apostolic, may be taken merely as a specimen. It is found in pp. 15 and 16 of his production:

"But this magic charm, whatever power it may possess in laying their difficulties and doubts asleep, has never yet

been sufficient to enable their writers to maintain their cause by giving a fair and solid answer to those who have not tasted of the powerful opiate. To illustrate the above remark, that their priests and people overlook the import of this doctrine and are blind to the danger implied by it, I shall produce the opinion of their great Dr. Challoner on this subject, who sings one note with his brethren.

"'Q. Is there no danger of idolatry in this practice (the divine worship of the Host)?

"'A. No, certainly; because this honor is not paid to the outward veil or the sacramental signs, but to Jesus Christ who lies hidden there. Now Jesus Christ is no idol, but the true and living God.'

"'Q. But if the doctrine of the real presence and transubstantiation should not be true, should we not then at least be guilty of idolatry?

"'A. We are as positively certain, by divine faith, of the truth of the doctrine of the real presence and of transubstantiation, as Protestants can be of the divinity of Jesus Christ; and therefore we are as much out of the reach of the danger of idolatry, in worshiping Christ in the sacrament, as they are of worshiping Him in heaven.'[1]

"Throughout the above questions the writer pretends to justify the worship of the Host only by the doctrine of transubstantiation; and argues that as that doctrine is true, he is as far out of the reach of the danger of idolatry in the divine worship of the Host, as Protestants can be in worshiping Christ in heaven. Now, if he does not overlook the above canon, he tells a willful falsehood: and if he does not contradict his Missal, there is no contradiction between the Council of Trent and the articles of the Church of England; for the greatest of books asserts positively that 'Mass may be defective.'

"Thus Dr. Challoner and the general body of their authors write, speak and act as if this canon had never existed. It is only therefore by this fact that they do not sincerely believe this doctrine of intention that I can

[1] "Catholic Christian Instructed," p. 77.

account for their inconsistency, and the honesty and sincerity of their conduct in the worship of their Host, and in speaking with such certainty of their consecrations, absolutions, etc., and for their stupidity in being blind to the danger to which they are exposed from all quarters if the above be not true. Nothing but a fond conceit in their infallibility can make them capable of thus receiving the doctrines implicitly without attending to their obvious, plain import. As, therefore, they do not sincerely believe this doctrine, we charitably hope their practice may be sincere in the divine worship of the Host, if they believe in the doctrine of transubstantiation; and that as their mistake extenuates their guilt, the Lord will forgive them, 'as they know not what they do.'"

It is in perfect keeping with this that Mr. Waddell had previously asserted: "But their priests and people, notwithstanding this awful uncertainty and danger, seem to be quite easy in their minds, and talk as confidently about their absolutions, baptisms, marriages, ordinations and consecrations, as if the above canon had never existed. How shall we account for this stupid inconsistency? Only by the fact that they do not sincerely believe this doctrine and attentively consider its import and ruinous consequences."

Hence he asserts in p. 39, that we do not sincerely believe the doctrine: "The conclusion also, that Roman Catholics must be at least in a state of doubt and anxiety about all their sacraments:" I believe is not in the catechism, though it is also implied: "Did they sincerely believe their doctrine which, if we can credit their most eminent writers, is not the case." I could continue extracts of this description as I pleased; but I am disgusted and tired, and hasten to an obvious conclusion, which is this: Mr. Waddell declares that he never yet met a layman of our Church who understood his own doctrine of intention; and that our most eminent divines do not sincerely believe our doctrine. It is clear that a man must believe his own doctrine and that another might mistake it. Mr.

Waddell and other Protestants impute to us a doctrine which is not ours, by giving to the doctrine of intention a meaning which our most eminent divines do not admit; which our laity do not know, which our Missal contradicts; and from this imputed doctrine they draw consequences which do not follow from what we believe; and when they impute the consequences to us and to our doctrine, we complain that they do us injustice and misrepresent our tenets. I leave to any rational being to decide whether this is not a more natural conclusion, than to assert that our laity do not know a doctrine which they are taught and that our clergy do not believe the truth of what they profess and teach. Nor is this a singular instance of the pertinacity with which men like Mr. Waddell will endeavor to fasten upon us follies which we disclaim. All the religious papers of the different Protestant Churches continually bear false witness thus against us. And when we complain of the calumny, like Mr. Waddell, they call us knaves, poor theological cowards, liars, deceivers, and every other vile epithet which the decorum of society would not permit in any other case; but here, unfortunately, the public taste is vitiated, and public justice has yet to awake in these United States, to protect the feelings of a large body of citizens who have been the unpitied butt of every drawcansir, whose ambition for polemic fame urged him to pick up and use the poisoned arrows which defeated men of prowess had cast away, when they left the field with blushes other than those of honor and of fame.

PENANCE AND CELIBACY.[1]

I.

"Our Lord enjoined no austerities. He not only enjoined none as absolute duties, but He recommended none as carrying men to a higher degree of divine favor. Place Christianity, in this respect, by the side of all institutions which have been founded in fanaticism, either of their author or of his first followers; or rather compare, in this respect, Christianity as it came from Christ, with the same religion after it fell into other hands; with the extravagant merit very soon ascribed to celibacy, solitude, voluntary poverty; with the rigors of an ascetic, and the vows of a monastic life; the hair shirt, the watchings, the midnight prayers, the obmutescence; the gloom and mortification of religious orders, and of those who aspired to religious perfection."[2]

I must premise that frequently a short objection requires a long answer, and Dr. Paley's charge upon the Church, in this paragraph, though comprised in a few words, contains a great deal of matter; it will necessitate many paragraphs in return. I do not recollect to have seen any work by a Catholic divine in answer to the doctor's charges. I have not for the doctor all the respect which some persons appear to feel. But the question for examination is not, whether Paley did or did not know the practices of our communion — nor whether the Church of England or the Protestant Episcopal Church of America is more rational, more pious, more sober than ours: the only question to be examined, I believe, is, whether the doctor's assertions are true in fact. To that I shall confine myself.

[1] This essay was written in reply to a letter from a Protestant correspondent requesting an answer to the reasoning of Dr. Paley, in his "Evidences of Christianity," respecting austerities.

[2] Paley's "Evidences of Christianity," part II, c. ii, division 3, paragraph ii.

I take Dr. Paley's first assertion, "Our Lord enjoined no austerities," to be so extremely vague that I must lay it aside for the present, until I shall come to its precise meaning, after having examined other portions of his sentence. I then proceed to the second assertion: "He not only enjoined none as absolute duties, but He recommended none as carrying men to a higher degree of divine favor." These two assertions are all that he has regarding our divine Lord. Now, my object is to inquire what the doctor means by "austerities." I believe I am correct when I say that he ranks "celibacy," "solitude," "voluntary poverty," etc., under the head of "austerities." Let me then ask, did our blessed Lord not recommend celibacy to some persons? I take the doctor's own version of the Bible—that is, King James' version, as it is usually styled—and I may say that it puts me upon very inferior ground, on account of the imperfection of its translation, especially in those very passages which I now want. Still I will not shrink from using those very passages, incorrect as I believe the translation to be.

In chap. xix of St. Matthew's Gospel, the Pharisees consult our blessed Lord upon the subject of marriage. After His answer we read: "His disciples say unto Him, if the case of the man be so with his wife, it is not good to marry. But He said unto them, all men cannot receive this saying, save they to whom it is given. For there are some eunuchs which were so born from their mother's womb; and there are some eunuchs which were made eunuchs of men; and there be eunuchs which have made themselves eunuchs for the kingdom of heaven's sake. He that is able to receive it, let him receive it."

Now, I believe the meaning of the passage to be this: Our blessed Lord had brought back marriage to its original state, the indissoluble union of one man with one woman. Upon which some of His hearers said this was so difficult a situation from its bond, that it would not be good to marry; of course whoever remained unmarried was

to continue in a state of celibacy. Our Lord proceeds further, and shows that some persons are obliged to remain in this state for natural causes, some from their defective birth, others from subsequent injury. Thus, He shows that it is not an unusual nor, perhaps, an unhappy state. But He had already informed them that all could not or, as our translation has, would not enter upon this state in preference to a married state, which was not only lawful but sanctified. There would be exceptions, and the exceptions would consist, amongst others, of those who would remain in as perfect a state of celibacy as they who had been previously alluded to; but would, themselves, voluntarily choose this state for a special reason, viz., the kingdom of heaven's sake; and He recommends it in these words, according to that version, in stronger according to ours: "He that is able to receive it, let him receive it."

Thus, it is clear that our Lord did state, without condemnation, the fact that persons did, for the "kingdom of heaven's sake," that is, for a high degree of divine favor, place themselves in a state in which others were not placed. There was a distinction drawn by our Lord between two classes: "All cannot receive this saying;" that is, all cannot do this which He speaks of. He does not say, "no one can do it," but He says, "all cannot do it." Then some can do it; yes, for He shows the exception—"save to whom it is given." Then some can do what all cannot do. What is it they can do which all cannot? V. 10 informs us: "It is not good to marry." Yes, says the Lord, all cannot avoid marriage, but some to whom it is given can avoid it; the distinction is then clear. But why will they refrain? V. 12 informs us: "There be eunuchs which have made themselves eunuchs for the kingdom of heaven's sake." Thus, these persons do not abstain from such causes as the other two enumerated before, but voluntarily "they made themselves so;" not by unjustifiable injury to themselves, but by voluntary abstinence, for obtaining a higher degree of divine favor. If they were

not to obtain a higher favor for a higher sacrifice, the act would be irrational. Our Lord distinctly approves and recommends it by His permission, I would almost call it a command, to those some to whom it is given. V. 12: "He that is able to receive it, let him receive it." Let those who feel that it is given to them to abstain from marriage, live in celibacy; all cannot, some can. Let those who can do so remain in that state, for the kingdom of heaven's sake.

With respect to translation, I feel the objection much stronger in the next passages which I shall produce, but I shall waive that. The public will not, I trust, think that I go too far in saying, that I have reason to believe our Lord did recommend to some persons, though not to all, the state of celibacy—nor will it think me unreasonable, I presume, in my belief, that when to those He held out a special prospect, the kingdom of heaven's sake, it was to carry them to a higher degree of the divine favor, without undervaluing the state of marriage.

I purposely abstain at present from adducing many arguments from various other topics which would, I have no doubt, materially aid in establishing the fact that our Lord did recommend celibacy to some persons upon the very ground that the doctor writes He did not, as I wish to be as concise as possible. But I shall adduce one from the first Epistle of St. Paul to the Corinthians.

The doctor informs us in his "Horæ Paulinæ," chap. iii, No. 1: "It appears that this letter to the Corinthians was written by St. Paul in answer to one which he had received from them; and the seventh and some of the following chapters are taken up in resolving certain doubts and regulating certain points of order concerning which the Corinthians in their letter had consulted him." I differ with the doctor in the exposition which I next quote, but shall suppose him to be perfectly correct. Enumerating the doubts, etc., he writes: "The rule of duty and prudence relative to entering into marriage, as applicable to virgins

and widows." I merely beg leave to observe what, if the doctor could answer, I believe he would admit, that the context makes it plain, virgins of both sexes are meant.

Now, it will be admitted that St. Paul knew the spirit of our Lord's precepts and advice. Let us then hear what he answers: "Now concerning virgins I have no commandments of the Lord; yet I give my judgment as one that hath obtained mercy of the Lord to be faithful."[1]

Upon this I shall merely remark that it is plain the Apostle testifies that there was no command to marry. Hence that entering the marriage state or leading a life of celibacy are equally within the free choice of every Christian. This, I believe, is the meaning of the Apostle: "But, and if thou marry thou hast not sinned, and if a virgin marry she hath not sinned."[2]

And also of the following: "But if any man think that he behaveth himself uncomely towards his virgin, if she pass the flower of her age, and need so require, let him do what he will, he sinneth not, let them marry. Nevertheless, he that standeth steadfast in his heart, having no necessity, but having power over his own will, and hath so decreed in his heart that he will keep his virgin, doeth well."[3]

Thus, I say, the Apostle distinctly informs us that there is no command of the Lord for celibacy; no command for marriage. Therefore a life of celibacy is not forbidden by the Lord. Indeed, unless I mistake, I have before shown from His own words, that He recommended it to some, not to all. But the Apostle now proceeds to give his "judgment," and in what capacity? We see that he gives it as one that hath obtained mercy of the Lord to be faithful. That is, as a public interpreter of the divine will, who, through the mercy of God is a faithful interpreter thereof. "I suppose therefore that this is good for the present distress. I say that it is good for a man so to be. Art thou bound unto a wife? seek not to be loosed. Art thou

[1] 1 Cor., c. vii, v. 25. [2] Ib., v, 28. [3] Ib., v. 36-37.

loosed from a wife? seek not a wife. But, and if thou marry, thou hast not sinned; and if a virgin marry, she hath not sinned. Nevertheless, such shall have trouble in the flesh; but I spare you. But this I say, brethren, the time is short; it remaineth that both they that have wives be as though they had none. And they that weep as though they wept not; and they that rejoice as though they rejoice not; and they that buy as though they possessed not; and they that use this world as not abusing it; for the fashion of this world passeth away. But I would have you without carefulness. He that is unmarried careth for the things that belong to the Lord, how he may please the Lord. But he that is married careth for the things that are of the world, and how he may please his wife. There is this difference also between a wife and a virgin. The unmarried woman careth for the things of the Lord, that she may be holy both in body and in spirit; but she that is married careth for the things of the world, how she may please her husband. And this I speak for your own profit; not that I may cast a snare upon you, but for that which is comely, and that you may attend upon the Lord without distraction. But if any man think that he behaveth," etc.[1] "So then he that giveth her in marriage, doeth well; but he that giveth her not in marriage, doeth better. The wife is bound by the law as long as her husband liveth; but if her husband be dead, she is at liberty to marry to whom she will; only in the Lord. But she is happier if she so abide, after my judgment; and I think also, that I have the Spirit of God."[2]

Upon the whole of this I will only remark, that having declared that there was no law or commandment binding persons to marriage or to celibacy, but that each state was equally optional for Christians, the Apostle now gives his judgment, as a faithful interpreter of the Lord's will, and led, as he thought, by the Spirit of God, and that judgment is, that a state of celibacy is better than a state of

[1] The conclusion of this passage is given above in verses 36 and 37.
[2] I Cor., c. vii, v. 26–40.

marriage, which decision is unquestionably given in v. 38; and besides the reasons which Dr. Paley and others insinuate for this decision, viz., a preference of a single to a married state, on account of the distress of present persecution; for the other reasons given in verses 32, 33, 34, 35 and 40, which reasons are not temporary, which have no concern with a state of persecution rather than any other state, but rest wholly upon the kingdom of heaven's sake.

In the previous part of this chapter, the Apostle writing concerning the duties of married persons to each other, which was apparently the first topic proposed, after laying down those duties, recommends, as we read: "Defraud not one the other, except it be with consent for a time, that ye may give yourselves to fasting and prayer; and come together again, that Satan tempt you not for your incontinency. But I speak this by permission, and not of commandment. For I would that all men were even as I myself. But every man hath his proper gift of God, one after this manner, and another after that. I say, therefore, to the unmarried and the widows, it is good for them if they abide even as I. But if they cannot contain let them marry."[1]

Upon this I make but two remarks: one of the fact that St. Paul did lead a life of celibacy; the other, that he would recommend what he would wish; and he did wish that others should live in that state in which he lived.

But what, it may be asked, has St. Paul's recommendation to do with the question? Dr. Paley's statement was, that our Lord recommended not celibacy as carrying men to a higher degree of divine favor. My answer is, I have produced our Lord's own recommendation, and lest there should remain a doubt of my proper explanation of its meaning, I adduce the recommendation of St. Paul, who taught exactly the same doctrine which was taught by our Lord.

Now I might introduce several passages from other parts of the inspired writings, to show that my exposition of our Lord's doctrine was in accordance with the doctrine of

[1] I Cor., v. 5-9.

St. John and other inspired writers. I might introduce the facts and writings of the eminent Christians of the first three ages to show that they believed, as we Catholics now do, that our Lord did teach what Dr. Paley asserts He did not teach regarding, what he is pleased to term, "the extravagant merit very soon ascribed to celibacy;" and would conclude that the Gospel is plain, the acts of the Apostles furnish us with facts, the earliest history gives us examples; the inspired epistles and the revelations of St. John are distinct, and the earliest writers are clear upon the subject, that our Lord did teach that a state of celibacy, entered upon and persevered in with the proper dispositions, did carry men to a higher degree of divine favor, and therefore did recommend it. All this was certainly very soon, because it was coeval with Christianity. We know that extravagant encomiums might have been bestowed upon the state by unguarded eloquence or by thoughtless fanaticism; but the doctor belongs, I have no doubt, to that class of men who can distinguish between the calm assertion of the superiority of a state, for a special purpose, and an extravagant encomium bestowed upon that state. The doctrine of the Roman Catholic Church, which is that of those very soon ages, leaves extravagant hyperbole which may outrage common taste and almost common sense, though it should not contradict truth, to the rejection and the reproof of all sober minds, but calmly asserts that our blessed Lord did teach that such a state of celibacy as I described was preferable to a state of marriage, though the married state is holy and honorable, but that all are not called to this latter state.

Dr. Paley was Archdeacon of Carlisle, which is a very respectable living in the Church of England; of course the doctor subscribed his assent and consent to the thirty-nine articles of that Church, and amongst others to the following: "The second book of Homilies, the several titles whereof we have joined under this article, doth contain a godly and wholesome doctrine, and necessary for those times, as

doth the former book of Homilies, which were set forth in the time of Edward the Sixth; and, therefore, we judge them to be read in churches by the ministers, diligently and distinctly, that they may be understanded of the people."

Now, in the book of Homilies, as set forward in the time of Edward the Sixth, is a homily or sermon against adultery, in three parts, near the conclusion of the third part of which is the following sentence: "Finally, all such as feel in themselves a sufficiency and ability, through the working of God's Spirit, to lead a sole and continent life, let them praise God for His gift, and seek all possible means to maintain the same; as by reading of the Holy Scriptures, by godly meditations, by continual prayers, and such other virtuous exercises."

Dr. Paley should have recollected that this "article is received by his Church, so far as it declares the books of Homilies to be an explication of Christian doctrines and instructive in piety and morals." He would have also done well to recollect that on the 20th of May, 1814, the House of Bishops in General Convention of the Church, made this book of Homilies a work to be studied, and a knowledge of the contents of which would be indispensably required from candidates for ordination; and that in consequence the said books were published in New York in 1815. Thus, Archdeacon Paley could have had but little difficulty in embracing the Roman Catholic principle, which neither binds any individual to marriage nor to celibacy except upon the full, free, and unbiassed choice and determination of the party concerned. Our Church indeed teaches what I have above exhibited, and as yet I am to learn that it is condemned therefor by either the Church of England or by the Protestant Episcopal Church of the United States. Where God leaves persons free, the Church does not bind, and if God shall give to any person the sufficiency and the ability to lead a sole and continent life, and this person had determined to lead such life, she thinks it would be equally cruel to compel such person

to marriage, as to compel one desirous of marriage to enter a cloister. For my part, I can see no difference between the tyranny in one case and in the other; either is criminal. I have frequently heard and read of cases of criminal compulsion to a religious profession, but I speak from my own experience when I assert that I never knew of a case where an individual was compelled or induced by force, threat, or entreaty to enter a convent; but I have known many cases in which persons desirous of living in a state of celibacy have been tyrannically forced to marriage; several in which entreaty, threats, and violence have been used to prevent persons embracing a life of celibacy. The principle of the Roman Catholic Church is not to compel either, but to afford the opportunities for each, and to permit individuals to make their own free choice. This is not fanaticism; this is Christian liberty.

II.

The next topic which naturally presents itself, is that of "the extravagant merit very soon ascribed to solitude." I am not, nor is the Church to which I belong, disposed to ascribe extravagant merit to solitude; the doctor may perhaps deem extravagant what we deem rational. There is not and there cannot on these subjects be any fixed standard by which reasonableness can be measured, so as to give a scale which will answer for all. The principle in the Roman Catholic Church is now what it has ever been, viz.: That respecting austerities, what would be reasonable for one individual would be extravagant for another, and therefore that the judgment in each case must depend upon the special circumstances of the individual, the time, the place, the connections, and the other obligations. Hence, in order to guard as much as possible against fanaticism, the Church has always had prudent, pious, and well-informed men of experience in official stations, and she has requested of her children not to undertake any extraordinary practices of devotion without the

consent of those authorized guides, and where the acts of those who consulted them and followed their advice were seen to be extravagant, the advisers were deemed incompetent and others better qualified were substituted in their places. In order to aid those advisers, some of the best maxims of the best and wisest eminent Christian writers were appointed for their study, and some of the most respectable tribunals are always ready to aid in the solution of their difficulties. It does not then carry upon its face the semblance of fanaticism, to use such precaution to afford salutary counsel to those who wish to advance in virtue.

These advisers and these tribunals have as general principles laid down: That avoiding the distraction of society is a great help to religious wisdom; that they who are neither obliged nor disposed to enter into business or society, are at full liberty to live in retirement more or less, according to their circumstances, and provided they be occupied in the fulfillment of the great duty of prayer, or in the devotional contemplation of God and of heavenly things, or in profitable reading or meditation upon the Holy Scriptures, or manual labor, they serve God well; but that solitude and idleness are destructive to virtue.

Now, that I have so far explained as to know what is meant by the word, I take the archdeacon's proposition: "Our blessed Lord did not recommend solitude, as carrying men to a higher degree of divine favor."

In the Gospel of St. Matthew we read, as spoken by our blessed Lord: "Verily, verily, I say unto you, among them that are borne of woman, there hath not risen a greater than John the Baptist."[1] In the 9th verse of that chapter, he called him "more than a prophet." In the vii chap. of the Gospel of St. Luke, we find our blessed Lord use the same expressions. Now I have no doubt that our blessed Lord recommended the conduct of John as carrying men to a higher degree of the divine favor. What was part of that conduct?

[1] St. Matt., c. xi, v. 2.

In those same chapters we find our blessed Lord testifying by asking a question: "What went ye out in the wilderness to see?" The answer is to found in several passages, as follows:

"In those days came John the Baptist, preaching in the wilderness of Judea. . . . . For this is he that was spoken of by the prophet Isaias, saying the voice of one crying in the wilderness," etc.[1] "As it is written in the prophets, behold, I send My messenger before Thy face, which shall prepare the way before Thee. The voice of one crying in the wilderness, Prepare ye the way of the Lord, and make His paths straight. John did baptize in the wilderness and preach," etc.[2] "And the child (John the Baptist) grew, and waxed strong in the spirit, and was in the deserts until the day of his showing unto Israel."[3] "Annas and Caiphas being the high priests, the word of God came unto John, the son of Zacharias, in the wilderness. And he came into all the country about Jordan preaching," etc.[4] "He said, I am the voice of one crying in the wilderness." etc.[5]

I believe there can be little doubt that the greatest man who was born of woman did, in solitude, bring himself by God's grace to a higher degree of divine favor than other men. But I still desire to give further proof, and must adduce my evidence before I make the comment. I mean to show two points: 1. That John the Baptist was he who was to come as Elias before our blessed Lord. 2. That Elias led a life of solitude. Our Saviour, speaking of John, says: "And if ye will receive it, this is Elias which was for to come."[6] "And His disciples asked him, saying, why then say the Scribes that Elias must first come? And Jesus answered and said unto them, Elias truly shall first come, and restore all things. But I say unto you, that Elias is come already, and they knew him not. Then the disciples understood that he spake unto them of John the Baptist."[7] The angel foretelling the

[1] St. Matt., c. iii, 1-3. [2] Mark, c. i, v. 2-4. [3] St. Luke, c. i, v. 80. [4] Ib., c. iii, v. 2-3.
[5] St. John, c. i, v. 23. [6] St. Matt., c. xi, v. 15. [7] Ib., c. xvii, v. 10-13.

birth of John the Baptist to his father: "And he shall go before Him in the spirit and power of Elias."[1] Of course it is well known that Elias and Elisha are but two names for the same individual. "And the word of the Lord came unto him (Elias), saying, get thee hence, and turn thee eastward, and hide thyself by the brook Cherith, that is beyond the Jordan. And it shall be, that thou shalt drink of the brook, and I have commanded the ravens to feed thee there."[2]

In the first chapter of the next book of Kings, we find that this prophet resided upon the solitude of Mount Carmel, was a hairy man, girt with a girdle of leather round his loins. John the Baptist lived in the wilderness upon locusts and wild honey, and was filled with the spirit of Elias. These have always been considered the two great founders of institutions for solitude and retirement, and have been certainly recommended by our blessed Lord for their virtues, which raised them to a higher degree of divine favor.

The example of our blessed Lord, so far as it can be imitated, must be considered His most efficacious recommendation. "Then was Jesus led up of the spirit into the wilderness."[3] "And when He had sent the multitudes away, He went up into a mountain apart to pray; and when the evening was come, He was there alone."[4] "And immediately the Spirit driveth Him into the wilderness. And He was there in the wilderness forty days. . . . . And in the morning, rising up a great while before day, He went out and departed to a solitary place, and there prayed."[5] Chap. vi and vii show that He was in the habit of retiring with His disciples into the desert, or solitudes, whither the people followed Him, so that they sometimes had been three days without food. "And Jesus being full of the Holy Ghost, returned from the Jordan, and was led by the Spirit into the wilderness."[6] "And He withdrew himself into the wilderness and prayed."[7] "And

[1] St. Luke, c. i, v. 17. [2] 1st Book of Kings, c. xiii, v. 2-4. [3] St. Matt. c. iv, v. 1. [4] Ib., c. xiv, v. 23. [5] St. Mark, c. i, v. 12 -3, 35. [6] St. Luke, c. iii, v. 1. [7] Ib., c. v, v. 61.

it came to pass in those days that He went out into a mountain to pray, and continued all night in prayer to God."[1] "And went away again beyond the Jordan, into the place where John first baptized; and there He abode."[2]

I have very little doubt that the days and weeks when our blessed Lord was not actually occupied in His public instructions and the display of His power, were spent with His disciples in solitude; that His retreat was frequently broken in upon by those who desired instruction; that in this solitude He taught some of His best lessons, before and after His resurrection, is evident; that in this solitude He explained to His disciples His parables and taught them the mysteries of the kingdom of God, is apparent; and that He occasionally withdrew altogether, and gave Himself to days and nights of prayer, is unquestionable. A very few references will also show that He recommended such retirement as raising man to a higher degree of the divine favor. "But when thou prayest enter into thy closet, and when thou hast shut thy door, pray to thy Father which is in secret."[3] Thus He recommends the mode which He had practiced; and when we read in the 49th verse of the xxiv chapter of St. Luke's Gospel His recommendation to His Apostles, as to how they were to spend the time between His ascension, and their being fully commissioned by the Holy Ghost, we find that mode explained by the recital of the fact, in the Acts of the Apostles, chapter i, 13, 14, in the solitude of an upper room, with one accord in prayer and supplication.

Thus I apprehend that it may safely be said that our blessed Lord did recommend, as raising man to a higher degree of divine favor, the "solitude for religious meditation and prayer, and the midnight prayers," which were the great characteristics of Elias, and so many others who imitated his mode of living upon Mount Carmel, amongst whom perhaps were Simeon, who is commended in the Gospel of St. Luke, ii, 25, and Anna, of whom it is written

[1] St. Luke, c. vi, v. 12. [2] St. John, c. x, v. 40. [3] St. Matthew, c. vi, v. 6.

in the same chapter: "And there was one Anna, a prophetess, the daughter of Phanuel, of the tribe of Aser: she was of a great age, and had lived with an husband seven years from her virginity; and she was a widow of about fourscore and four years, which departed not from the temple, but served God with fastings and prayers night and day."

Our blessed Lord recommended the religious practice of St. John the Baptist, a principal one of which was this solitude. He recommended it to all, in some degree, as a preparation for the act which specially raises man to a higher grade of divine favor, viz., prayer. He recommended it to His Apostles, and we find them practice it as far as their public duties would admit. We also perceive that our Lord spent much of His own time in solitude and led His disciples thereto: that He prayed frequently at night, and sometimes all night; and very soon indeed, for immediately, the practice was continued in His Church, as the earliest writers allege, upon His recommendation, as well as in imitation of Himself and of His friends, associates and disciples. I forbear adducing a considerable portion of other evidence that would, to my mind, establish facts distinctly, to which I have only alluded in this place. But, I now say, that well-regulated solitude is a considerable help to solid piety; and the Archdeacon of Carlisle was too hasty when he wrote that our blessed Lord did not recommend solitude, watchings, and midnight prayers, as carrying man to a higher degree of divine favor.

Now, the good archdeacon himself tells us of our blessed Lord, towards the end of the same chapter ii, under the head "The Character of Christ," second paragraph of topic second: "Thus we see the devoutness of His mind in His frequent retirement to solitary prayer." The doctor refers to Matt. xiv, 23, xxvi, 36, and Luke ix, 28, for his proofs; and in the next paragraph we read thus: "Our Saviour's lessons, besides what has been already remembered in them, touch, and that oftentimes, by very affect-

ing representations, upon some of the most interesting topics of human duty and of human meditation; upon the principles by which decisions of the last day will be regulated. (Matt. xx, 31). Upon the superior, or rather the supreme importance of religion. (Mark viii, 35, and Matt. vi, 23, Luke xii, 4, 5, 16–21). Upon penitence, by the most pressing calls and most encouraging invitations. (Luke xv). Upon self-denial, (Matt. v, 29), watchfulness. (Matt. iv, 42, Mark xiii, 37, Matt. xxv, 13)," etc.

I certainly am mistaken if Archdeacon Paley himself does not here establish our blessed Lord's recommendation, by example, of solitude and midnight prayer and watching, as leading to a high degree of divine favor.

I do therefore conceive that the dignitary wrote not what was the fact, but what he wished to have been the fact, when he penned the paragraph at the beginning of this article.

III.

I may take the next propositions of the doctor in the passages laid before us, to be: "Our Lord recommended no austerities as carrying men to a higher degree of divine favor." He did not recommend as such "voluntary poverty," to which extravagant merit was very soon ascribed after Christianity, as it came from Christ, fell into other hands.

I certainly felt a little astonished at finding a writer of the archdeacon's penetrating intellect, judicious views, and deep erudition, deliberately commit himself in this proposition. Certainly Dr. Paley must have read the texts which I shall here subjoin, and many other similar texts, clearly establishing the facts which I shall adduce as proved by them. "And a certain scribe came and said unto Him, Master, I will follow Thee whithersoever Thou goest. And Jesus said unto him, the foxes have holes, and the birds of the air have nests, but the Son of Man hath not where to lay His head."[1] "Jesus saith unto him, then are

[1] St. Matt, c. viii, v. 19-20.

the children free. Notwithstanding, lest we should offend them, go thou to the sea, and cast a hook, and take up the fish that first cometh up; and when thou hast opened his mouth, thou shalt find a piece of money; and take and give unto them for Me and thee."[1] "And it came to pass, that as they went on the way, a certain man said unto Him, Lord, I will follow Thee whithersoever Thou goest. And Jesus said unto him, foxes have holes, and birds of the air have nests, but the Son of Man hath not where to lay His head."[2]

From these it is evident, that our Lord Himself did abide in a state of voluntary poverty. There can be no question but His state was voluntarily taken up, nay, selected by Himself; and being houseless, and not having the tribute money to pay, until He had sent His Apostle to catch a fish for its payment, is full evidence of his poverty. That His favorite, St. John the Baptist, was also in a similar state of voluntary poverty, there can be no question. Now let us see His language to His disciples. "Provide neither gold, nor silver, nor brass in your purses. Nor scrip for your journey, neither two coats, neither shoes, nor yet staves."[3] "And commanded them that they should take nothing for their journey save a staff only; no scrip, no bread, no money in their purse. But be shod with sandals, and not put on two coats."[4] "And he said unto them, Take nothing for your journey, neither staves nor scrip, neither bread, neither money; neither have two coats a piece."[5] "Carry neither purse, nor scrip, nor shoes."[6] "And into whatsoever city ye enter, and they receive you, eat such things as are set before you. And He said unto them, When I sent you without purse, and scrip, and shoes, lacked ye anything? And they said, nothing."[7]

I do not think my conclusion would be unwarranted did I from those texts assert that our Lord commanded some persons to observe voluntary poverty. I shall, however, be now content with deducing as the consequence that our

[1] St. Matt., c. xvii, v. 26-27. [2] St. Luke, c. ix, v. 57-58. [3] St. Matt., c. x, v. 9-10. [4] St. Mark, c. vi, v. 8-9. [5] St. Luke, c. ix, v. 3. [6] Ib., c. x, v. 4-8. [7] Ib., c. xxii, v. 35.

Lord recommended voluntary poverty to some persons. I shall endeavor now to show why He recommended this virtue, which He practiced Himself.

"And behold one came and said unto Him, Good Master, what good thing shall I do that I may have eternal life? And He said unto him, why callest thou Me good? there is none good but One, that is, God: but if thou wilt enter into life, keep the commandments. He saith unto Him, which? Jesus said, thou shalt do no murder, thou shalt not commit adultery, Thou shalt not steal, thou shalt not bear false witness; honor thy father and thy mother; and thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself. The young man saith unto Him, All these things have I kept from my youth up: what lack I yet? Jesus saith unto him, If thou wilt be perfect, go and sell that thou hast, and give to the poor, and thou shalt have a treasure in heaven: and come and follow Me. But when the young man heard that saying, he went away sorrowful: for he had great possessions. Then Jesus said unto His disciples, Verily I say unto you, that a rich man shall hardly enter into the kingdom of heaven. And again I say unto you, it is easier for a camel to go through the eye of a needle, than for a rich man to enter into the kingdom of God. When His disciples heard it, they were exceedingly amazed, saying, Who then can be saved? But Jesus beheld them, and said unto them, With man this is impossible; but with God all things are possible. Then Peter answered and said unto Him, Behold, we have forsaken all and followed Thee; what shall we have therefor? And Jesus said unto them, Verily I say unto you, that ye which have followed Me, in the regeneration when the Son of Man shall sit on the throne of His glory, ye also shall sit upon twelve thrones, judging the twelve tribes of Israel. And every one that hath forsaken houses, or brethren, or sisters, or father, or mother, or wife, or children, or lands, for My name's sake, shall receive an hundred fold, and shall inherit eternal life."[1]

[1] St. Matt., c. xix, v. 16-29.

St. Mark relates this transaction and discourse in his tenth chapter, and St. Luke in his eighteenth chapter. The only circumstance which is found in either of those, in addition to what I have laid down, is found in the Gospel of St. Mark, viz., in the 29th verse is the answer of the young man: "Master, all these have I observed from my youth." "Then Jesus beholding him, loved him, and said unto him, one thing thou lackest; go thy way, sell whatsoever thou hast, and give to the poor and thou shalt have treasure in heaven; and come, take up the cross, and follow Me."

Now, without any difficulty, we can perceive the facts here related to be the discourse of a young man with our Lord, and the discourse of St. Peter with our Lord. The young man asked what he should do to obtain heaven. Our Lord answers him, keep the commandments. The young man hearing them enumerated, answers that he had not transgressed them. Our Lord loved him. So far we have reason to conclude that this young man was in the divine favor, as having complied with the essential duties of religion. That he was in the divine favor we cannot doubt, for our Lord loved him, and our Lord loves none but those who are in the divine favor. That he was so loved because he had fulfilled the essential duties of religion we have two reasons for believing: The first, our Lord informed him that the essential duties were those prescribed by the commandments; the second, because the declaration of that affection is subsequent to the exhibition of the fact that he had fulfilled those duties.

Our Lord next tells him, if he will be perfect, to embrace a state of voluntary poverty, and that he will have a treasure in heaven. Let us then remark the distinction: The discharge of the essential duties will procure our admittance into the kingdom of heaven; the perfection of doing something beyond that which is of obligation, will secure for us a treasure after our admittance; one of the circumstances of this perfection is voluntary poverty, embraced from a proper motive, with proper dispositions.

Our Lord loves this young man, he is therefore in a certain degree of divine favor. Our Lord recommends to him voluntary poverty for the sake of perfection—to secure a treasure. Surely I am justified in saying our Lord recommended voluntary poverty as raising man to a higher degree of divine favor.

The second fact confirms my doctrine. We have before seen that our Lord recommended voluntary poverty to St. Peter and his associates. The Apostle now states that they followed that recommendation, and asks what will be the consequence. Our Lord marks out the very highest degree of divine favor—they shall sit upon thrones judging the tribes of Israel on the great day of judgment. Surely the venerable Archdeacon of Carlisle was too hasty in his assertion that our Lord did not recommend voluntary poverty as raising man to a higher degree of the divine favor.

Nor does our Lord confine it to the case of the Apostles; the 29th verse shows the recommendation to be general and the promise of the recompense is made general also.

Thus, in His first sermon, the very first expression of our Lord is: "Blessed are the poor in spirit, for theirs is the kingdom of heaven." Certainly I will admit that a voluntary divestment of property, without the true spirit of Christian motive and Christian disposition, would be perfectly useless; but when we treat of external acts, we always suppose the spirit without which the act is useless; upon that principle of the Apostle, "and though I give all my goods to feed the poor, and though I give my body to be burned, and have not charity, it profiteth me nothing." It would be then gross misrepresentation to state, that the merit or the profit was attributable merely to the external act without the proper spirit. Look to the whole of that admirable discourse, and especially to the part contained in the sixth chapter of St. Matthew's Gospel, and it inculcates the very spirit of that voluntary poverty which our Lord

did recommend. I cannot avoid selecting these verses: "Lay not up for yourselves treasures upon earth, where moth and rust do corrupt and where thieves break through and steal. But lay up for yourselves treasures in heaven, where neither moth nor rust do corrupt, and where thieves do not dig through nor steal. For where your treasure is, there will your heart be also."[1] "Sell that ye have, and give alms; provide yourselves bags which wax not old, and treasures in the heaven that faileth not, where no thief approacheth, neither moth corrupteth. For where your treasure is, there will your heart be also."[2] "And I say unto you, make yourselves friends of the mammon of unrighteousness; that when ye fail they may receive you into everlasting habitations."[3]

I will acknowledge that if the archdeacon did prefer a married to a single life, and was blessed with eight or ten fine children, and besides attending to the things which were the Lord's and pleasing his wife, he had also to educate his sons and portion his daughters, and to introduce them into society, and to feel those natural attachments to his children and to his children's children, to the third and fourth generation, and to be divided amongst them—this doctrine would be perhaps a little too severe for him. But it was one which answered very well for St. Paul, for St. John the Apostle, and some others of those who very soon, as the venerable archdeacon expresses it, took into their hands the maxims of Christianity as delivered by our Lord. They to be sure took these texts in their obvious meaning; and there might also have been some persons like those Pharisees of whom mention is made by St. Luke: "No servant can serve two masters; for either he will hate the one and love the other; or else he will hold to the one and despise the other. Ye cannot serve God and mammon. And the Pharisees also, who were covetous, heard all those things; and they derided Him. And He said unto them, Ye are they who justify

[1] St. Matt., c. vi, 19-21. [2] St. Luke, c, xii, v. 33-34. [3] Ib., c. xvi, v. 9.

yourselves before men; but God knoweth your hearts; for that which is highly esteemed among men is abominable in the sight of God."[1]

Indeed I could not help observing that amongst other very serious omissions, made as I thought for obvious reasons, by Dr. Paley, in the characteristics of our Redeemer, was that of His voluntary poverty and some others which the old writers used to point out. However, we cannot blame the doctor, because he forgot some writings which were first indited sixteen or seventeen hundred years before he examined the documents. There is a system of which voluntary poverty forms one part, celibacy another, solitude another, and a few other such qualities are inseparably connected therewith. Like every perfect system, it must have all its parts; and as some of them were a little inconvenient to the archdeacon's system, the whole were discarded. But he ought not to have asserted against evidence that this system and all its parts was not recommended by our Lord as carrying man to a higher degree of perfection.

I might have accorded to the doctor that all men were not commanded to do those things which were generally recommended and almost commanded to some. Thus voluntary poverty or the surrender of private property to a common fund was not commanded, but was recommended, and it was practiced. "And the multitude of them that believed were of one heart and one soul; neither said any of them that aught of the things which he possessed was his own; but they had all things in common. Neither was there any amongst them that lacked; for as many as were possessors of lands or houses sold them, and brought the prices of things that were sold and laid them down at the Apostles' feet; and distribution was made unto every man according as he had need."[2] "But a certain man named Ananias, with Sapphira his wife, sold a possession, and kept back part of the price, his wife being also privy to it, and brought a certain part, and laid it at the Apostles'

[1] St. Luke, c. xiv, v. 13-15. [2] Acts, c. iv, v. 32-35.

feet. But Peter said, Ananias, why hath Satan filled thine heart to lie to the Holy Ghost, and keep back part of the price of the land? Whilst it remained, was it not thine own? and after it was sold was it not in thine own power? Why hast thou conceived this thing in thine heart? Thou hast not lied unto man, but unto God."[1]

I shall here conclude this topic. It is plain our Lord did recommend voluntary poverty as leading man to a higher degree of divine favor, and that he practiced it Himself; and it was practiced by St. John the Baptist, and by the Apostles and by the first Christians; and that it is most useful, for it roots out altogether covetousness, and therefore was specially recommended to the clergy. "And having food and raiment, let us be therewith content. But they that will be rich fall into temptation and a snare, and into many foolish and hurtful lusts which drown men in destruction and perdition. For the love of money is the root of all evil; which while some have coveted after, they have erred from the faith, and pierced themselves through with many sorrows. But thou, O man of God, flee these things."[2]

All men are not bound to voluntary poverty; yet it was recommended by our Lord, and was, indeed, very soon prized in the Church, because it was prized from the beginning.

IV.

I have taken up the following topics of the sentence which was submitted to my inquiry, viz.: 1, celibacy; 2, solitude, watchings and midnight prayers; and 3, voluntary poverty. I have still left "the rigors of an ascetic and the vows of a monastic life; the hair shirt, the obmutescence, the gloom and mortification of religious orders and of those who aspired to religious perfection."

Now it is well that we should have distinct notions of our topics. The rigors of an ascetic life are the practice of those special observances which come under examination;

[1] Acts, c. v, v. 1-4. [2] 1 Tim., c. vi, v. 8-11.

therefore the fate of the whole must depend upon the fate of all the parts. If our Lord recommended all the parts, He recommended the entire. Next the vows of a monastic life: those vows are celibacy, voluntary poverty, and obedience to a regular superior. I have examined the first two topics: I have only the third remaining to be examined, and in addition the general question, whether our Lord recommended vows as leading to a higher degree of the divine favor; then the hair shirt, the obmutescence, the gloom and mortification, are to be considered.

After having gone through those several topics, I believe I shall have treated the archdeacon's paragraph with sufficient fulness. But let me first try whether I can fairly dispense with examining any special topic here produced.

The hair shirt is but a peculiar species of mortification. If mortification, which comprises all its species, be recommended, each species which fairly comes under the general head is recommended; hence I need not enter into any special examination of this topic. The archdeacon must have known that no Roman Catholic believed that wearing a hair shirt would, as such, raise man to a higher degree of divine favor, nor the wearing of fine linen sink him into disfavor, although some persons who, strange to say, are now considered by Protestants as their Gospel predecessors, did object to the Catholic clergy, as an act of great criminality, that they did wear fine linen, and that their bishops were clad in purple; and they quoted Scripture and the very words of our Lord, for proving how correct their doctrine was. "There was a certain rich man, which was clothed in purple and fine linen, and fared sumptuously every day. And there was a certain beggar named Lazarus, which was laid at his gate full of sores. And desiring to be fed with the crumbs which fell from the rich man's table: moreover the dog's came and licked his sores. And it came to pass, that the beggar died, and was carried by the angels into Abraham's bosom: the rich man died and was buried. And in hell he lifted up his eyes, being in torments, and seeth Abraham afar off, and

Lazarus in his bosom. And he cried and said, Father Abraham, have mercy on me, and send Lazarus, that he may dip the tip of his finger in water, and cool my tongue; for I am tormented in this flame. But Abraham said, Son, remember that thou in thy lifetime receivedst thy good things, and likewise Lazarus evil things: but now he is comforted, and thou art tormented."[1] And when those good folk were asked what ought to be the dress of the clergy, they very readily exhibited: "John did baptize in the wilderness, and preach the baptism of repentance for the remission of sins. And there went out to him all the land of Judea and they of Jerusalem, and were all baptized of him in the Jordan, confessing their sins. And John was clothed with camel's hair, and with a girdle of skin about his loins, and he did eat locusts and wild honey."[2] So that if the doctor now reproaches us with some amongst us wearing hair-cloth, there was a time when they who are called the first Protestants reproached our predecessors for not wearing hair-cloth. But I put the hair shirt aside, for, except as a species of mortification, it is valueless. I believe, and the Church has always believed, that a man may commit gross crimes whilst he is clothed in hair-cloth, and another who is clothed in purple and fine linen may do many acts of virtue.

Obmutescence I shall place by its predecessor the hair shirt. In itself it has no merit, no value. But there are times, especially in religious communities, when silence is very useful for greater purposes than mere obmutescence. The archdeacon then used fallacy when he exhibited us as believing that obmutescence raised man to a higher degree of divine favor. In a religious community, similar duties are performed by all persons at the same time, and a very useful regulation is, that during the hours allotted to prayer, to meditation, and to study, strict silence shall be preserved, except in those cases where it is absolutely necessary to speak, and then so much only shall be said as may be indispensable, and in as low a tone of voice as possible, and visits of strangers shall be avoided as

[1] St. Luke, c. xvi, v. 19-25. [2] St. Mark, c. i, v. 4-6.

much as may be, at those hours. This rule of silence is then useful for prayer and meditation, which our Lord recommends as carrying men to a higher degree of divine favor, and is most useful to aid the study of divine truth, an acquaintance with which our Lord does strongly recommend.

Gloom is so vague a phrase that I do not know how to treat the topic. No two persons attach exactly the same definite quantity of the idea of seriousness to the expression gloom. I avow that gloom does not raise man to a higher degree of divine favor. The Church does not attach any merit to gloom; on the contrary, she wishes her children to enjoy the serenity and cheerfulness arising from a good conscience, and she commends moderate sprightliness. I shall only say for myself that I have intimately known many of the most severe monasteries of men and women, and mixed in some of the gayest circles of life, and I am not supposed to be gloomy. I found far more steady and consoling cheerfulness in those monasteries; I have in them found more pure and unalloyed enjoyment, and seen more genuine and heartfelt sprightliness, and found more true and luxuriant peace to reign amongst their inmates, than in the revels of the great, the banquets of the wealthy, and the balls of the gay. I solemnly assure the public that Archdeacon Paley did not and could not know, oh, he could not feel how erroneous were his notions! Many of my readers will be startled at my assertion. Upon an impartial and dispassionate review of my own observations, I would assert that almost the only earthly happiness I have seen come nearest to true bliss was in those abodes. For myself, I say the only days of true happiness I knew, were days spent in what the archdeacon calls gloom. As well might the negro who toils upon a rice-swamp, be expected to write such a description as Moore gives of the valley of Cashmere, as Archdeacon Paley or a novel-writer know how to describe the feelings of the inmates of a monastery, or the Big Warrior or Red

Jacket compile histories of the Grecian and Ottoman dynasties. Several hundreds of persons who lived in religious retirement have written, and very few of their expressions are those of gloom.

I now come to the topic, mortification. What does it mean? Subjecting the flesh to the spirit, for religious purposes, by occasional privations of what is pleasing to our sensual appetite. This is what we understand by mortification—celibacy, voluntary poverty, midnight prayers, watchfulness, etc., these are so many parts of mortification. All these have been recommended by our Lord as leading man to a higher degree of divine favor. Fasting is a species of mortification. In the Gospel of St. Luke it is said of the devout Anna, that she served God with fastings and prayers, night and day; this is mortification.

John the Baptist led a life of mortification, and was commended by our Lord as being mortified, "not clad in soft garments." "Moreover, when you fast be not as the hypocrites, of a sad countenance: Verily I say unto you they have their reward. But when thou fastest, anoint thine head and wash thy face; that thou appear not unto men to fast, but unto thy Father which is in secret: and thy Father, which seeth in secret, shall reward thee openly. Therefore I say unto you, Take no thought for your life, what ye shall eat, or what ye shall drink, nor yet for your body what ye shall put on. Is not the life more than the meat?"[1] "Enter ye in at the straight gate, for wide is the gate and broad is the way that leadeth to destruction, and many there be that go in thereat. Because straight is the gate and narrow is the way which leadeth unto life, and few there be that find it."[2] "Then came unto Him the disciples of John saying, Why do we and the Pharisees fast oft, but Thy disciples fast not? And Jesus said unto them, Can the children of the bride chamber mourn, as long as the Bridegroom is with them? But the days will come when the Bridegroom shall be taken from them, and then they shall fast."[3] "And he

[1] St. Matt., c. vi, v. 16-25. [2] Ib., c. vii, v. 13-4. [3] Ib., c. ix, v. 14-15.

that taketh not his cross and followeth after Me, is not worthy of Me."[1] "Wo unto thee, Chorazin! wo unto thee, Bethsaida! for if the mighty works which have been done in you, had been done in Tyre and Sidon, they would have repented long ago in sackcloth and ashes."[2] "The men of Nineveh shall rise in judgment with this generation and shall condemn it: because they repented at the preaching of Jonas."[3] "So the people of Nineveh believed God, and proclaimed a fast, and put on sackcloth from the greatest of them even to the least of them."[4] "Howbeit this kind goeth not out but by prayer and fasting."[5] "Wherefore if thy hand or thy foot offend thee, cut them off and cast them from thee; it is better for thee to enter into life halt or maimed, rather than having two hands or two feet to be cast into everlasting fire. And if thine eye offend thee pluck it out, and cast it from thee: it is better for thee to enter into life with one eye, rather than having two eyes to be cast into hell fire."[6] "Then Jesus beholding him loved him, and said unto him, One thing thou lackest; go thy way and sell whatsoever thou hast, and give to the poor; and thou shalt have a treasure in heaven; and come take up the cross and follow Me."[7] "And He said to them all, If any man will come after Me, let him deny himself, and take up his cross daily and follow Me. For whosoever will save his life, shall lose it; but whosoever shall lose his life for My sake, the same shall save it. For what is a man advantaged if he gain the whole world, and lose himself, or be cast away?"[8] "If any man come to Me and hate not his father and mother, and wife and children, and brethren and sisters, yea, and his own life also, he cannot be My disciple."[9]

The passages here selected are but a portion of many which bear upon the subject, in the record which the evangelists have left us of our Lord's recommendations and

[1] St. Matt, c. x, v. 38. [2] Ib, c. xi, v. 21. [3] Ib., c. xii, v. 41. [4] Jonas, c. iii, v. 5.
[5] St. Matt, c. xvii, v. 21. [6] Ib., c. xviii, v. 8-9. [7] St. Mark, c. x, v. 21.
[8] St. Luke, c. ix, v. 23-25. [9] Ib., c. xiv, v. 26.

commands. Now let us review them and collect their substance. We will find that He recommended: 1. Fasting. 2. Preference of the spiritual to the sensual enjoyments, even to the length of being careless as to the quality of our food, and the texture of our clothing, and the undervaluing of a limb or an eye when our spiritual progress would be impeded by the retention of either, because spiritual progress would insure heaven, and it would be preferable to be in heaven maimed, or lame, or blind, than having all our limbs to be cast into hell. 3. The giving up not only of limb, but of life, rather than do ourselves spiritual injury. 4. The giving up the fellowship of our dearest connections, if they interfered with our spiritual progress. 5. The separation from the customs of the world designated by entering at the narrow gate.

Besides, He recommended under peculiar circumstances: 1. Repenting in sackcloth and ashes together with fasting, which is what we emphatically style severe penance. 2. Self-denial. 3. Taking up the cross after having embraced a state of voluntary poverty, having sold possessions and given the proceeds in alms. Will Doctor Paley, after this, say that our Lord did not recommend mortification? Did our blessed Lord not then recommend what St. Paul practiced as he informs us? "But I keep under my body, and bring it into subjection: lest that by any means when I have preached to others, I myself should be a cast-away."[1] I acknowledge that the force of this passage is considerably weakened by the intentional mistranslation of the Greek verb, which in the doctor's standard book is in the 25th verse rendered into English by the word temperate. The proper translation may be found in the Catholic version, and is: "Every one that striveth for the mastery refraineth himself from all things." Protestant translation: "Every man that striveth for the mastery is temperate in all things." I have looked into several lexicons, and I cannot find any authority for the latter translation; the composition of the Greek verb requires a far more

[1] I Cor., c. ix, v. 27.

forcible English word than temperance; the Latin, which has been used very early, is much more forcible than temperate.

But the 27th verse is still more distant from the truthful translation, for the word which is translated "keep under," in the Protestant version, is in the Catholic translated "chastise." The Latin given in Protestant translations is *obtundo*, I pound; the Greek word is compounded of two words, which signify much more strong expressions than keep under. I have indulged in this little digression merely to show one of the reasons why the Church does not acknowledge the Protestant version of the Scriptures to be fit for the perusal of her children. She has very many objections, one of which is that by a little softening of phrases in one place, and a little strengthening in others, it is not a faithful expositor of the revealed will of God, and is calculated rather to mislead than to direct. Now, in my quotations from it I have labored under a great disadvantage from this circumstance, yet with the whole weight of this against me, I apprehend that I have shown from the doctor's own version that he penned too hastily the paragraph which has been selected.

But to return to our subject; the Apostle tells us: "And they that are Christ's have crucified the flesh with the affections and lusts."[1] But let us try the doctor a little by his own rule. In chap. ii of the "Morality of the Gospel," near the end, under the head "Character of Christ," the archdeacon favors us with the following passage: "Our Saviour's lessons, besides what has been already remarked in them, touch, and that oftentimes by very affecting representations, upon some of the most interesting topics of human duty and human meditation; upon the principles, by which the decisions of the last day will be regulated;[2] upon the superior, or rather the supreme importance of religion;[3] upon penitence, by the most pressing calls and the most encouraging invitations;[4] upon self-denial;[5]

[1] II Cor., c. v, v. 24. [2] St. Matt., c. xxv, v. 31, et seq.
[3] St. Mark, c. viii, v. 35; St. Matt., c. vi, v. 31-33; St. Luke, c. xii, v. 16-21.
[4] St. Luke, c. xv. [5] St. Matt., c. v, v. 29.

watchfulness," etc. "We are not, perhaps, at liberty to take for granted that the lives of the preachers of Christianity were as perfect as their lessons; but we are entitled to contend, that the observable part of their behavior must have agreed in a great measure with the duties which they taught. There was, therefore, (which is all that we assert) a course of life pursued by them different from that which before they led, and this is of great importance. Men are brought to anything almost sooner than to change their habit of life, especially when the change is either inconvenient or made against the force of natural inclinations, or with the loss of accustomed indulgences." "And lastly, that their mode of life and conduct, visibly at least, corresponded with the institution which they delivered, and, so far, was both new and required continual self-denial." "Then as to the kind and degree of exertion which was employed, and the mode of life to which these persons (the Apostles and first Christians) submitted, we reasonably suppose it to be like that which we observe in all others, who voluntarily become missionaries of a new faith. Frequent, earnest and laborious preaching, constantly conversing with religious persons upon religion, a sequestration from the common pleasures, engagements and varieties of life, and an attention to one serious object, compose the habits of such men. I do not say that this mode of life is without enjoyment, but I say the enjoyment springs from sincerity."[1]

Now, I would ask the venerable archdeacon whether he has not, in the character of our Lord and of His disciples and Apostles, given us a perfect picture of austerity, mortification, in fact of a monastic or conventual life? Of what does it consist? Self-denial, sequestration from the common pleasures, engagements, and varieties of life; conversation with religious persons upon religious subjects, meditation upon the supreme importance of religion, penitence, watchfulness; we have before, from our Lord's lips, been told of the fastings and repentance in sackcloth and

[1] Paley's "Moral Philosophy," c. i.

ashes. Now what addition is to be made to give a perfect picture of a monastic life, except celibacy and voluntary poverty, which we have before considered? The archdeacon must destroy the texts of the Scriptures and his own pages if he wishes us to believe the sentence quoted was not a tissue of untruths.

But let me now go to the doctor himself for gloom, that is, proper seriousness upon the supreme concern of religion: "For as no one ever feels himself disposed to pleasantry, or capable of being diverted with the pleasantry of others, upon matters in which he is deeply interested; so a mind intent upon the acquisition of heaven, rejects with indignation every attempt to entertain it with jests calculated to degrade or to deride subjects which it never recollects but with seriousness and anxiety. Nothing but stupidity or the most frivolous dissipation of thought can make even the inconsiderate forget the supreme importance of everything which relates to the expectation of a future state of existence. Whilst the infidel mocks at the superstitions of the vulgar, insults over their credulous fears, their childish errors, or fantastic rites, it does not occur to him to observe that the most preposterous device by which the weakest devotee ever believed he was securing the happiness of a future life, is more rational than unconcern about it. Upon this subject, nothing is so absurd as indifference; no folly so contemptible as thoughtlessness and levity."[1]

The principle contained in this is that which the religion that I profess teaches. Serious attention ought to be paid to a paramount concern: no concern can equal that of eternity. But serious attention is not gloom; gloom is rather the companion of despair. But the venerable Archdeacon of Carlisle is not the only writer who has made the accusation of fanaticism against us for those practices. In every age he has had predecessors; one of whom he quotes himself in the close of his second chapter:

[1] Paley's "Moral Philosophy," c. ix.

"'The constancy and by consequence the sufferings of the Christians of this period, is also referred to by Epictetus, who imputes their intrepidity to madness or to a kind of fashion or habit; and about fifty years afterwards by Marcus Aurelius, who ascribes it to obstinacy. 'Is it possible,' Epictetus asks, 'that a man may arrive at this temper and become indifferent to those things, from madness or habit as the Galileans?'"[1]

This was a general imputation upon the Christians, that they were fanatics, mad, unsocial, illiberal, bigoted, unfashionable; but this madness was taught by our Lord, was noticed very soon, and having a method in it, has been brought down to the present day amongst us.

V.

The only questions remaining to be disposed of, are: Did our Lord recommend the rigors of an ascetic life? Did He recommend the vows of a monastic life as carrying man to a higher degree of divine favor?

The rigors of the ascetic life consist in the practice of those virtues which we have before seen were recommended by our Lord as carrying man to a higher degree of divine favor. I unhesitatingly answer then, the archdeacon asserted what Scripture does not warrant, when he stated that our Lord did not recommend it. But I also add, that every act done by every ascetic is not to be charged upon the general system. It would be bad reasoning to argue against the propriety of man's living in society, because in the social state he has opportunities and excitements to crimes which he would not know of and could not commit in a different state. It would be bad reasoning to accuse any body of men, generally, with the faults or the follies of some individuals of that body. It would be a fallacious and a wicked exhibition, if a man were to collect the catalogue of crimes and the list of criminals from the courts of a nation, and the catalogue of follies and the list of the weak-minded through

[1] Lib., iv, c. 7.

an entire region, and publish both as a correct history of that country. It is true every fact would be correctly given; no false statement could be found in the compilation. But I ask, would this be a correct history? The publisher would deserve at least the indignant reproof of the insulted community and the rebuke of every honest man.

There have been hypocrites and fanatics in the religious orders; there have been very few of the former, perhaps a greater number of the latter description amongst the ascetics. But every man who aspires to piety is not the Tartuffe of Moliere's imagination. And the history of the ascetics of the Catholic Church is very unlike the misrepresentations of their enemies, blending all the real faults and follies of hypocrites and enthusiasts with the immense fictions of the imagination, and either concealing the heroic virtues of persons of whom the world was not worthy, or giving such an occasional tincture of modified and compassionate praise, as would be necessary to keep some semblance of impartiality.

The vows of a monastic life are those of continence, voluntary poverty, and obedience to a regular superior. These topics have been before examined with the exception of obedience. Yet shall it be necessary for me to go through the examination of the question, whether constitutional obedience to a regularly appointed governor is virtuous? And if virtuous, does it not raise man to a higher degree of divine favor? And was not this virtue frequently inculcated by our blessed Lord?

Thus I believe it must be clear that the boasted authority of Doctor Paley is devoid of that truth which ought to be its support; and that what he is pleased to call the fanaticism of Roman Catholics is more like the doctrine of our blessed Lord than is what he would call "rational Christianity."

LIBERALISM AND LIBERALITY.[1]

I.

I HAVE often been amused at the use made of the word "liberality," and at the vague sense in which it is applied to religion. With some persons, a liberal man means a person who considers all modes of worship exactly alike, and attends to none. With others, a liberal man is he who gives a preference to one mode, and says, at the same time, that all others are equally good. Others consider a liberal man to be a person who not only gives a preference to one mode, but avows that he considers some others quite erroneous—at the same time that he considers some others equally good as his own, but does not oppose either. With another class, a liberal man may consistently oppose some sects and support others, whilst he persecutes none.

Let us for a moment examine those descriptions. The first exhibits to us an irreligious man. But if to be liberal it be requisite to be irreligious—and that to be saved, it be necessary to be religious—I must candidly avow that I give the preference to religion and salvation; and that I would sacrifice the foolish, empty praise of thoughtless infidelity to the substantial benefits of peace of conscience here and eternal glory hereafter. Irreligion is not liberality. Neglect of our duty to our Creator is not liberality. If there be such a being as an atheist, he would by this be the most liberal man in the world.

The second is an irrational man. For, if all modes of worship be alike, if all be equally good, it is quite irrational to give a preference where there is perfect equality; and as preference involves choice founded upon some motive

[1] This essay appeared in the *United States Catholic Miscellany*, vol. i, 1822.

after examination and comparison, the man who gives a preference and says he has no motive contradicts himself.

Another consideration will exhibit this more clearly. It is a fact, that all the systems of religion differ from each other by their being contradictions to each other; by one asserting exactly what another exactly denies. Thus, one system asserts Christ revealed that in the divine nature there are three persons. Another system denies Christ's having revealed that in the divine nature there are three persons. One system asserts that Christ established several distinct orders of clergymen in the Church. Another system denies that Christ established several distinct orders of clergymen in the Church. One system asserts that Christ instituted seven sacraments. Another system denies that Christ instituted seven sacraments. And so, in every distinct sect, there is at least one distinct tenet of contradiction to all the other sects; and this contradiction is not upon a matter of opinion, but upon a matter of fact. Now, in matters of fact there can be no latitude of opinion; for it is strictly true, that the fact agrees with the assertion or disagrees with the assertion. Hence, if a man gives a preference to the assertions of one sect, it is ridiculous for him to say I profess to believe the fact to be as stated by this society; but he who denies the truth of that fact also agrees with me; though he denies exactly what I assert, still we both believe the same. This I consider to be the assertion of an absurdity, viz., that the same proposition can be, at the same moment and in the same sense, true and false. And as I do not consider liberality to be absurdity, I do not consider the person who answers the second description to be a liberal man.

The person described in the third place is exactly in the same predicament as the person described in the second; for it makes no difference in the argument whether the assertion be made that two hundred sets of contradictory propositions are at the same time true, or that only two contradictory propositions are true; still, it is the assertion of an absurdity.

The person described in the fourth place differs from the third only in this circumstance, that he opposes by argument or by not supporting some of those from whom he differs; but he is in exactly the same predicament if he holds certain doctrines; and whilst he holds it to be a fact that they were revealed by God, holds also that the person who denies this fact may believe truth in the denial. This contradiction is an evident absurdity.

I have supposed, of course, all through that God has revealed certain doctrines, and that man can know the fact of God having spoken, and know what doctrine He did reveal when He spoke.

I have been led to these remarks by my desire to fix some meaning for the expression, a "liberal man," in a religious sense; for I know of no phrase more frequently used and less understood.

II.

Frequently the proper signification of an expression is only discoverable by ascertaining what it does not mean; and as every virtue is believed to consist in a happy mean, we should inquire for the virtue of liberality in a mean between extreme carelessness and infidelity on one side, and bigotry and intolerance on the other. I have examined the first extreme; let us glance at the second.

I look upon bigotry to be an irrational attachment to doctrines, joined to a hatred of all who have not an attachment to the same doctrine. Thus, there may be bigots in true religion and in false religion. Bigotry is not the peculiarity of any sect, but is the result of criminal disposition or weakness of intellect in an individual. A person may have an irrational attachment to a true doctrine, and the doctrine is not rendered false by the unreasonableness of the individual. A person may have an irrational attachment to a doctrine, and still have no hatred to those who differ with him; such a person may be weak, but not criminal. Bigotry is criminal, and

the criminality is the hatred which enters into its composition. Bigotry is a weakness, and the weakness is exhibited by the unreasonableness of the attachment. Bigotry is then an unreasonable attachment to a doctrine whether true or false, joined to hatred of those who do not hold that doctrine. It may now be asked, how can a person be unreasonably attached to a true doctrine? I answer, the truth of the doctrine may not be evident to him who embraces it, and therefore his attachment is founded upon no rational principle. I may now be told that all belief of mysteries is irrational, for their truth is not evident to man; as the very fact of their being mysteries is an assertion that their truth is not evident. My answer is very simple. To have evidence of the truth of a doctrine, it is sufficient that we have evidence of the capacity, knowledge and veracity of him who delivers it, and evidence of the fact that this witness testified the truth of this doctrine; and as we thus give our assent and form our attachment to the doctrine upon a rational principle, our belief of mysteries upon the testimony of God is rational. Thus, the man who is attached to the doctrines of religion, many of which are mysterious, may have a rational ground for that attachment. But he may also have an irrational attachment, but the quality of his attachment does not influence the intrinsic truth or falsehood of the doctrine, neither does it influence the evidence of that truth or of that falsehood. Thus, a bigot may be attached to true doctrine without that attachment having been produced by a rational motive; and a bigot may be attached to a false doctrine, and thus bigotry is no test of doctrinal truth; it is only an evidence of individual disposition—which disposition of hatred is criminal, whether the doctrine be true or false. My opinion is then, that the bigot is both weak and criminal, and every bigot is intolerant, but every intolerant man is not a bigot.

The ground of my distinction is this: I call a person intolerant who has a rational attachment to a doctrine, but who hates those who differ with him in doctrine.

The evidence of truth is no warrant for hatred, especially under a system which teaches to love our enemies; and hence, even where the individual has the evidence and the conviction of truth, and thus forms a rational attachment to this truth, it is a crime for him to hate the person who rejects that truth; for though he be commanded to embrace truth, he is forbidden to hate his brother.

The intolerant or the bigot injuring the person whom he hates, is a persecutor. All persons are agreed, that the persecutor is not a liberal man. Now, as liberality is a quality of the soul, and as persecution is but the evidence of qualities of the soul exhibited by acts, the disposition which produced those acts is incompatible with the disposition of a liberal man. Hence, I may conclude that neither the bigot, nor the intolerant, nor the persecutor, can lay claim to liberality.

What, then, is liberality? I answer, a rational attachment to doctrine, without hatred or dislike of those who differ from or reject that doctrine.

Then the liberal man is not an infidel, nor a person who is careless of discovering and embracing truth; he is not inconsistent, he is not absurd, irrational, a bigot, nor intolerant; but he is a person who, upon rational principles, forms an attachment to a special body of doctrine, and does not molest or dislike those who differ from him. He does not sacrifice his own right of judgment, neither does he require any other person to make such a sacrifice to him. He inflicts an injury upon no man, but he is not obliged to permit others to injure him. He insults no person, but he is at liberty to prevent aggressions upon his own character, feelings or opinions. He follows what he sees to be true; and as he loves truth, and feels it his duty to be consistent, he cannot acquiesce in the assertion that contradictions are true; and when a person who differs from him asserts that difference, though his good feeling prevents dislike, his truth prevents his becoming

absurdly inconsistent, by stating, "though we differ in our doctrine, we are both right,"—because the fact is they do both differ, and only one of them can be right; and the assertion of truth is as essential to the perfection of man as either charity or courtesy. The liberal man then preserves truth, and courtesy and charity at the same time. The bigot and the intolerant may preserve truth, but they destroy courtesy and charity, they embitter society, and frequently shed the blood of thousands. The infidel, latitudinarian, and the speculator in religion may preserve courtesy and affection, but they destroy truth and debase the human intellect.

I shall conclude this essay with a short fable, which I have made extremely simple, and I trust not, on that account, the less applicable.

It was reported in a certain city that an extraordinary phenomenon had made its appearance in the vicinity. The inhabitants thereupon, in a public assembly, deputed three persons for the purpose of ascertaining the fact. After their return each was called upon separately before the assembly to make his report. The first gave his statement, and one of the old citizens rising up, remarked that the gentleman must have made some mistake, for it was impossible the facts could be as he described them, and gave his opinion of the manner in which the story would have a more credible appearance; he concluded by asking the narrator whether things might not have been as he exhibited them. The narrator, who was a polite, good-natured man, thought it would be indecorous to contradict an elderly gentleman, and said very possibly he was right, especially as he had experience on his side. One of the most learned men in the city next made his remarks, differing altogether from the last speaker and from the reporter, and concluded by asking if the view which he took was not right. He replied he could not think of differing with so erudite a gentleman, and that probably he was himself mistaken. Four or five others gave their several

views, with each of whom the good-natured man successively concurred, until the meeting was divided into as many parties as there were speakers, who ultimately agreed only in one conclusion, that the reporter who had given so many contradictory explanations was a worthless character who could not be depended upon.

The second was called in, and after he had delivered his report, he had to go through a similar ordeal as his predecessor; but having less patience and more influence, he soon called upon his friends to punish those insolent men who knew nothing of the facts, and could know nothing of what they never witnessed, but which he had not only seen but very closely examined. The tumult and uproar exceeded what had before taken place, until at length, cuffed and bruised on all sides, he contrived to make his escape.

The third commissioner was introduced. After a cessation of hostilities had taken place, and when his report was made, several spokesmen began to controvert his assertions, to whom he calmly said: "Gentlemen, what I have stated I know; your doubts cannot destroy my convictions. I cannot force you to believe me, but I assure you my statements are correct. You are ingenious in your speculations—you are inventive in your possibilities—you are plausible in your theories; but I am convinced that I have been witness to facts, and those facts cannot be destroyed by your speculation. Had I not blazing before me the evidence of what I have examined, I might feel myself at liberty to select from amongst your theories, and some one of them might catch my imagination, or I could invent one to please my own fancy. But, gentlemen, I can never abandon the belief of a series of facts of which I have irrefragable evidence, in order to adopt a theory or system of opinions, be it ever so well constructed and alluring in its appearance; neither can I compel your assent to my statements, unless you see good reason for so doing. Let us then, in the name of God, avoid quarrels. I shall be-

lieve those truths of which I have no doubt; you, of course, will adopt systems as you please. We may live in friendship, though we cannot think alike. But, without meaning you any offence, I can never believe it possible for you to have truth on your side in your distinct contradiction of what I know to be fact. My testimony to you has not been a philosophical disquisition, but a narrative of facts."

The decision was postponed, and the meeting broke up with considerable diversity of opinion, but with peace and harmony restored.

CALUMNIES ON CATHOLICS.[1]

I.

In the *Theological Repertory* for November, 1824, is an article headed "Roman Catholic Doctrines." After a most patient reperusal of this piece I find it to be a gross misrepresentation of Roman Catholics, conveyed to its readers in unbecoming language, and a most unfounded calumny of my persecuted fellow-countrymen wantonly introduced, together with some historical blunders.

Were this the first time that the writers exhibited zeal in attacking an unoffending Church and a meritorious people, I should have perhaps been satisfied to warn them of their errors in the hope that their zeal and their ignorance might plead their excuse. But the result of their late efforts being their total discomfiture, their zeal should have given way to prudence, and they ought to have studied to learn whether their statements were correct before they ventured to appear before a discerning public. I shall prove those statements to be totally devoid of truth, and they then will be left to choose between want of information and want of honesty. In either case they will be proved unqualified for editors of a religious publication.

I stated that they attacked an unoffending Church. I now ask them, what offence has the Roman Catholic Church of this Union given to them? What offence has the Roman Catholic Church of the United States given to the Protestant Episcopal Church of the United States? Do they answer? for I am at a loss to know what answers they can give. Will they have recourse to the old differ-

[1] This series of letters, occasioned by a violent attack upon the members of the Catholic Church, made in the columns of a periodical published in Washington, and conducted by several clergymen of the Protestant Episcopal Church, appeared in the *United States Catholic Miscellany*, vols. iii and iv, for 1824-25, and were afterwards published in a pamphlet form.

ences at the other side of the Atlantic? Their Church is not there to be found. There is a Church like theirs it is true. But no theologian who had any respect for his character, would assert that and theirs to be the same Church, however similar they may be. However, this is not now matter for our inquiry. But suppose the Church of England and theirs to be, what they are not, the same; when, where, or how have the Roman Catholics of the United States offended their Church in Europe? What is the pretext, then, of their attack? They may recollect the fable of the lamb drinking at the stream, and asked by a wolf who drank at the same rivulet, though much higher up, why he made the water so muddy as to render it unfit for the majesty of the wolf. "Do you not perceive that the water cannot flow up the stream?" replied the lamb. "Perhaps so," rejoined the wolf, "but twelve months ago you made it muddy in another place." "Indeed," replied the lamb, "I was not born then." "But your father was," said the wolf, "and I will make you suffer." Thank God, however, the Constitution of the United States will not give Messrs. Hawley & Co. all the power which they would be disposed to exercise to our injury.

Will they point out any persecution of the English Church by Roman Catholics of America? They know that the massacre of St. Bartholomew, about which they have written so much falsehood in so few lines, was not committed by American Catholics nor upon Protestant Episcopalians. In this happy country Protestants and Catholics are united in bonds of amity, their intercourse is unrestrictedly affectionate. I, therefore, am totally at a loss for any reason why these people and writers of their description should be so anxious and so unremitting in their endeavors to interrupt this harmony, to create jealousy, to produce in America the miseries of European dissensions. The Roman Catholic Church of America has too long permitted herself to be assailed with impunity by every essayist in an unmeaning religious cant; it is time to exhibit their deformity. They

must show, not by declamation, but by facts, in what their Church has been offended by ours in these United States, or they stand convicted of having attacked an unoffending Church.

They have charged a meritorious people with crimes of which they are not guilty. They have accused the hereditary Earl Marshal of England, the premier peer of the realm, the Duke of Norfolk, of being in principle a traitor to his government, although that government, with the exception of about ten bigots in the House of Lords, has in the last session of Parliament directly contradicted them. What is his crime? He refuses to swear that the King of England is the supreme head of his Church. Is this a crime? Will they swear that he is the head of their Church? Will Bishop White swear that the King of England is the supreme head of his Church? Is Bishop White a traitor? Can the venerable eldest prelate of their Church be in principle a faithful citizen of this country though he should refuse to swear that the King of England is the supreme head of his Church? But that bishop did once swear that the King of England was the head of his Church, and he afterwards rejected that headship; yet will they dare to call him a traitor? Why, then, call men traitors who never believed, never professed, never swore to any such headship; whose ancestors were plundered of their property, many of whom dragged out their lives in prisons, several of whom were put to death because they would not swear what they did not believe to be true. Though they should even look upon those men to have erred in faith because they did not swear that the King of England was the visible head of God's Church, yet they must allow them the merit of having suffered for conscience' sake. But in the plenitude of their liberality, and with singular consistency, they who do not acknowledge it to be necessary for salvation to swear the oath of supremacy, tell us that the British and Irish Catholics who refuse to swear it ought to be persecuted, that they are on

a level with the wretched criminals who are sent to New Holland. What has the Duke of Norfolk done, what has the Earl of Shrewsbury done, what have the millions of Catholics whose grievances resound through Europe done to provoke their ire, that they, claiming to be American citizens, should thus sentence them to transportation because they follow the conviction of their consciences?

Look at their words: when they can produce no charge against the Roman Catholics of the United States, they arraign the Catholics of Great Britain. These are their expressions:

"Such are the doctrines of a Church, the members of which have raised such an outcry against the intolerant spirit of the English government for not receiving them to a full share in its administration. They might as well accuse that government of cruelty, for banishing the wretched criminals to New Holland; or of illiberality, for punishing the man who traitorously conspires against his country."

And is this the language of American citizens? Is this the liberality of an Association of Clergymen of the Protestant Episcopal Church of the United States? I solemnly assure them that such a possibility could not be conceived in Europe. And what is the crime of those traitors who are placed on the level with the wretched criminals who are banished to New Holland? They will not swear that the King of England is the visible head on earth of God's Church! This is the head and front of their offence.

Will the Quaker swear it? Will the Presbyterian swear it? Will the Congregationalist swear it? Will the Unitarian swear it? Will the Baptist swear it? Will Mr. Hawley swear it? Will any bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church now swear it? And are all those traitors to be now sent as wretched criminals to New Holland? And their banishment will not be an act even of illiberality!

No! Mr. Hawley and his associates will not banish those good men; none deserve banishment as wretched

criminals and traitors but those Irish Papists. Is this the language of gentlemen? No, it is not. Is this the language of scholars? Is it the language of Christians? No; but I shall leave to the people of America to designate its character.

What is the head and front of the charge? No oath can bind Irish Papists to heretics. What is the proof? I shall examine first the probability of the charge in the special case which they adduce. I shall then give the facts; I shall then take up their general principle and their semblances of authority.

What are the facts of their special case? The English government tells its Catholic subjects: "You must be disfranchised until you swear that you believe the King of England is head of the Church, and that no foreign prelate has or ought to have any spiritual or ecclesiastical authority in this realm." The Catholic answers: "I do not believe either of the propositions to be true." The government answers: "I do not care what you believe, I only want you to swear." To show that I state the case fairly, I could produce several instances of well-known persons who did not believe the truth of the doctrines required to be sworn to, but who, pressed by the danger of losing their property and their rights, did in a moment of temptation go into the Protestant Churches and read the forms, and into courts and take the oaths, and publicly declare, as soon as they received their certificates from the minister and the clerk of the crown, that they did not believe, but merely went through the form to comply with the law and to save themselves from ruin; and yet they were ever after considered good and lawful Protestants. Those disgusting recitals are painful to me; but these gentlemen have wantonly, I was about to add another expression, provoked them, and I suppress much which I would wish to forget. I was right, then, when I stated the answer of the British government to be: "We care not for your belief, we only want you to swear."

The Catholics who continued faithful, that is, the Irish Papists, said: "We will not swear what we do not believe;" and their property was swallowed up by the men who swore. Yet Mr. Hawley and his associates are kind enough to say, those men had no regard for their oaths! Yes, the men who gave up their estates, their liberties, their homes, many of them their lives, and who could at once emancipate themselves by merely taking an oath which Mr. Hawley proclaims they do not consider binding, but which is all that the British government requires! Did I take that oath, I would have avoided many of the ills of life. Did my ancestors take it, my lot would not have been poverty and the contemptuous oppression of the plunderer of my patrimony, who, to gain what I lost, swore what, perhaps, he did not believe. But my conscience has no sting, and in this free country I may meet Mr. Hawley and his associates as they deserve.

In the name of common justice, in the name of common sense, I ask, is it probable—is it possible that those men who, sooner than swear one false oath to Protestants, permitted those same Protestants to run riot with their estates, their liberties and their lives, and those of their descendants, did not believe an oath to heretics was binding or ought to be observed?

Why were the Catholic bishops turned out of their sees by Queen Elizabeth? Because they would not swear what they did not believe. Why was Bishop Fisher beheaded? Because he would not swear that oath. Why was Archbishop Plunkett hanged, drawn, and quartered? Because he would not take that oath. I will not increase the disgusting catalogue which I could swell to thousands, in whose blood the contradictions to Messrs. Hawley & Co.'s libels might be written. They must be either totally uninformed as to the proceedings in Great Britain, during the last eight or ten years, or they must be the most careless of reputation or credit of any public writers that ever ventured to brave an enlightened public. The greatest

bigot on the benches of the House of Peers, the most infatuated old simpleton who peruses Fox's Martyrology, the most unblushing declaimer against Popery, the most degraded hawker of a paragraph for an Orange publication in the British islands, would feel himself overwhelmed with shame and confusion, did he venture to express, within the last few years, so gross a falsehood; though it was, for party purposes, imposed as unquestioned truth upon the people of Great Britain, for upwards of two centuries before. This atrocious calumny, like the depositions of the Rev. Titus Oates, has long since been treated with its well-merited reprobation in the British parliament. Lord Stafford has been replaced in his rank, and, notwithstanding the opposition of a very few bigots, the premier earl of England has been restored to his honors, though not to his rights, without requiring him to swear what he could not believe. The King of England, the majority of the peers, and the House of Commons, with unanimity, voted that he should, though a Roman Catholic, be permitted to do the duties of an office from which his ancestors and he had been excluded during two centuries under false pretences. Mr. Pitt, Mr. Fox, Mr. Percival, Lord Liverpool, Lord Sidmouth, Mr. Grattan, Mr. Canning, Mr. Brougham, Lord Grenville, Lord Gray, Lord Erskine, and hundreds of men like these, pronounced, after close examination, this virulent charge to be an atrocious calumny.

Good God! Then is America fallen so low—is her intellect so debased—are these States become such a sink of ignorance, as that all the rejected falsehoods of Europe are to find this as their asylum? Are we, who have led the way in the career of rational well-regulated liberty, to crawl after the bigots of Europe, sucking in what they disgorge, that we may vomit it upon each other? I protest, I cannot describe my feelings whilst I write; I thought that I had flung the Atlantic between me and this necessity. I imagined that the testimony of George Washington would have had weight with the people of this Union. I did

hope that the recollection of Archbishop Carroll was not blotted away altogether. I am now to be informed that Charles Carroll has forfeited the good will of his country, has betrayed his sacred honor, has snatched his pledged property from the perils of the contest for freedom, or has shamefully skulked from facing the enemies of his country in the day when his services were needed. No! we will be told there is a sufficient explanation of this.

"The only reason why, among Papists, there are many good subjects of Protestant governments arises from the fact, that there are so many in the Roman Church inconsistent with their profession, better than their profession; having no idea of all the doctrines and all the enormous corruptions of the faith which they acknowledge."

And pray, do the writers call this a compliment? "Sir, you profess a faith having enormous corruptions." I shall not now stop to examine the theology of men who could use such an expression as "corrupt faith," just as accurate as "a false truth." "But, Mr. Carroll, you are a good man, but a very ignorant man; and the reason you are good, is because you are ignorant; for, sir, if your conduct and your belief were to be consistent, you would be a very bad man." I really must repeat, I know not how to write upon so disgusting a collection of arrogant insulting calumnies. I must pause to ask: What has provoked it? I do know many virtuous, amiable, excellent Protestants. I believe the doctrines of their Church to be erroneous in many instances. But if I know myself, I would sooner be deprived of my tongue or of my fingers than address to any one of them such a gross insult. I do not know, I never did know any Protestant friend of mine to be as good as his Church taught him to be. His Church teaches a very high and exalted morality. And when, in a friendly way, I discuss with him topics of doctrine, I do not find it necessary to calumniate and to insult him. If Mr. Hawley and his associates have no better foundation for the support of their system than the ignorance or vice of

some of those men to whom their Protestant neighbors would give honorable testimony for virtue and information, their base is tottering indeed.

But what do they mean by calling America a Protestant country? Do they mean a Protestant Episcopalian country? Do they mean to insinuate that the government of America must be Protestant? Do they mean to insinuate that no Papists shall be allowed to live under these Protestant governments? If this be not their meaning their argument is worth nothing, for their statement is, that "Papists cannot be good subjects of Protestant governments." I know of only two Protestant governments in the United States, viz., New Jersey and North Carolina. Yet, in those States are to be found some Roman Catholic citizens who are amongst the best informed and most meritorious citizens of our Union; men beloved and respected by their Protestant fellow-citizens; and I would not so far insult them, as to say their oaths would be considered as good a pledge as would the Rev. Wm. Hawley's. Thank God, I know many of the members of the Protestant Episcopal Church, who will be amongst the first to clip Mr. Hawley & Co.'s wings should they aspire to create an established Church or a dominant Church; and they must be reminded, that Congress has no power to make any law respecting the establishment of religion or prohibiting the free exercise thereof. This is then as much a Presbyterian country, as much a Baptist country, as much a Unitarian country, as much a country of the Israelite, and of the Roman Catholic, and of the Methodist, as it is of the High Churchman. The Israelite in the desert often longed for the flesh-pots of Egypt and loathed the manna, for it was very light food; he complained that the days were gone by when he used to eat bread to the full; yet he preferred slavery to his Egyptian masters, who fed him well, to going out in the desert in the freedom of a child of God. But repining is now useless; we have passed through the Red Sea; Pharaoh and his hosts have been overthrown, a nobler destiny awaits us; the yoke of our bondage has

been cast off; and, perhaps, Messrs. Hawley & Co. would consider it an aggravation of blasphemy to add to the imaginary curses of the Vatican, one other curse against him who would lay it upon us again.

II.

Messrs. Hawley & Co.'s libel upon my religion and my native country consists of a text and a comment—the text purports to be an extract from Pearson's "Life of Hey;" the comment is their own production. The text is a misrepresentation of facts; and in their comment they add falsehood, calumny and bad logic to a most uncharitable exhibition of their zeal against Popery, as they are pleased to call the religion of nearly, if not fully, two hundred millions of the present inhabitants of the world. These are plain and strong, and by some perhaps will be considered bold assertions; others, it is probable, will give them a less courteous appellation; but I shall prove their truth or be content to assume the place which I now give our accusers. Recollect that this is their own seeking, not mine. Our writers left them unmolested—but they barked at our doors, they snapped at us as we passed along, they grinned, they snarled, and they growled as if we were thieves, and they the protectors of the national rights of America. Mark their words:

"If ever the Romish Church should be sufficiently powerful in this country, nothing but a loose attachment to her essential principles will prevent its members from seizing the torch and scourge of persecution, and illuminating our benighted land with as many fires for our burning as ever blazed amidst the Protestants of France."

I would freely give more than they would that they had never published this passage—"facilis descensus Averni." Their pen was certainly dipped in gall when they wrote it; and unless fully true, and they certain of its truth, was it not a most uncharitable exhibition of their zeal against the Romish Church to have written it? Of what Catholics would do at a future period they could not be

certain, unless they were gifted with the spirit of prophecy; and as they very modestly and very properly lay aside all claim to those gifts promised by our Saviour in the Gospel of Mark xvi, 17, to the Church of true believers, they cannot be suspected of this miraculous accompaniment more than of the power of healing the sick. Was it not then an uncharitable exhibition of zeal against our religion to attempt to rouse the prejudices of our fellow-citizens against us upon the mere surmise of what our successors might possibly do hereafter?

Have they ever read of the Abingdon law, described by Heraclitus *ridens*, which was first to hang a man and then to try him? Or have they read of the Lifford law in Ray's Proverbs:

> That hang and draw,
> Then hear the cause by Lifford law.

Sir Roger L'Estrange mentions[1] that when he was imprisoned for his unsuccessful attempt upon Lyn-Regis in 1644, because Miles, the judge advocate, had not time to prepare the charges against him for the day originally fixed for the trial, he was liked to be hanged first and tried after, upon a charge which would be brought. And since I must avow my profanity, I have heard that in a play a certain Caleb Quotem, wishing to go to a review, whips all his pupils in the morning so as to pay them beforehand for their earning during the future part of the day, that he might have leisure to see the soldiers without being indebted to the children. *Apropos!* Was not Mr. Hawley a captain who marched to a review near Canada? Just so, the Roman Catholics of the United States are to be delivered over to the execration of their fellow-citizens, because it is possible that their descendants will burn future Protestants. Would it not be well to draw the horoscope of infants again, so as to spare the sheriffs the painful duty of hanging culprits, and judges and juries the loss of time in holding trials; for, all future malefactors could with

1 "Apol," p. 3.

facility be killed and buried at less expense when only one day old than in manhood? Two great advantages more would thus be secured. The crimes would be prevented, the golden age would return; and it would only be necessary to baptize the infants to secure their salvation, whereas our black-coated gentry undergo great labor to convert the gallows into a path to paradise.

Oh! I would that they had never written the passage; not because it makes the Church of the feminine gender in one line, "her essential principles," and of the neuter gender in the next, "prevent its members;" for no person expects to find more than a semblance of English in this monthly compilation. They have not the privilege of a daily journalist, nor of a weekly publisher, whom the devil frequently torments into inaccuracy. Neither have they room to plead want of time for reflection. They have an entire month to concoct their doses. Their work is done with deliberation, and if with malice, it is malice prepense. The source of my regret is the transient pain which our readers must feel at perusing what they have forced me to write in self-defence.

But to return. Is it not a most uncharitable exhibition of zeal in these gentlemen to hold us forth to public execration for crimes not yet committed, and which perhaps no one of us ever intended to commit? Their answer is, that our essential principles necessarily lead to the commission of the crime. We deny it. Our essential principle is "that we are bound to believe what God teaches, and to obey God's commandments." This is the sole principle of the Roman Catholic religion; this is its essential principle; it has no other. All its doctrines, all its practices, must be conformable to this principle; they are nothing more than the application of evident facts to this simple principle. Thus if the Romish Church, as you politely style us, calls upon a person to believe a special doctrine, it is only by virtue of this principle. "Believe the doctrine of transubstantiation; not because I can demonstrate to you by natural philosophy that the substance is changed, and the

appearances still continue the same as they were before the change." No, no! This is not her address. "But because I will demonstrate to you that God revealed that such a change would be made by Him in the circumstances which I prove to you are here found." Thus she says: "If you calumniate your unoffending neighbor grievously, and publicly, and repeatedly, you cannot pass unpunished, unless you repent and retract; for I will show you that God commanded you not to be a calumniator, and declared He would punish you, if you transgressed, and farther, that He declared you would not be pardoned unless you repented, and still more, that your repentance would be delusive unless you made reparation for the injury which you inflicted." Roman Catholics have no other principle essential or accidental in their whole series of doctrine and discipline but the above single principle. No Roman Catholic pretends to say that his conduct is as perfect as the principle; but he will say that every deviation from the principle is more or less criminal, and that his Church, so far from sanctioning those deviations, unhesitatingly and unsparingly condemns each and every one of them. Thus these gentlemen and others style her bigoted because she will not assert that man is not bound to believe all that God reveals, and say that every man may receive or reject revelated truths as he pleases; or because when she has full evidence, which satisfies her that God revealed a special doctrine, she will not assert that it is a matter of perfect indifference whether man believes that special doctrine or denies it. Thus others who do not like to be too tightly bound up by precepts are kind enough to call her tyrannical and bigoted, because when she sees full evidence that God gave a certain precept, she asserts that He gave it, and that it is necessary to observe it. Others again tax her with being inimical to the improvement of the human mind, and too antiquated to be fashionable; because she says: "I possess evidence that eighteen hundred years ago God commanded this practice to be observed until the end of the world, and it is but a development

of this doctrine which He then revealed. But the truth of the revelation and the divine origin of the practice were both denied one thousand three hundred and fifty years since. Solemn investigation was made, and it was fully proved, decided and recorded that the revelation was given by God, and that the practice was by Him instituted. Here is an authentic copy of the record then. Here are the proofs upon which the decision was had. Here is evidence that the same was received and acted upon with almost unanimity until about two hundred and fifty years since, when persons in such a place again denied those facts and doctrines, and ridiculed the practice as superstitious and childish, and told us that the production of our musty records was but enslaving the free mind of man."

We have but one essential principle—we believe what God has revealed, we care not how long it is since the revelation was made, provided the fact be proved. We obey God's commands. We only look for the proof of the fact that He did give the precept; we will not try its reasonableness at the tribunal of our weak intellect, but we will examine the testimony by which the fact is upheld. We have no other principle. Now, we do not believe that God has either revealed or commanded that we should, if we had power, burn these gentlemen, nor that our successors should burn their successors. Therefore, it was a most uncharitable exhibition of their zeal against Popery to assert this calumnious falsehood—that our essential principles would urge us to burn them. Why should they be so much afraid of fire?

> The quirks and cavils thou dost make,
> Are false and built upon mistake—
> And I shall bring you, with your pack
> Of fallacies, t' Elenchi back,
> And put your arguments in mood,
> And figure, to be understood;
> I'll force you by right Ratiocination,
> To leave your Vitiligitigation,
> And make you keep to the question close,
> And argue, Dialeticos.

Our essential principles, then, neither put torches nor scourges into our hands. And they ought to have known at least so much, for they are doctors in divinity. However,

> That petticoat about their shoulders
> Does not so well become a soldier's.

But I shall be told your principles are known, not by professions, but by acts, and we charge you with holding the principle, "that no oath can bind you to heretics." Now, we deny that we hold any such principles, and we trust they will not make the practical blunder which their friends at the other side of the Atlantic have made, in the philosophic and enlightened eighteenth century, and which they continue in the nineteenth. Mark the wisdom and philosophy evinced by the British parliament at the instigation of some wise men of Gotham and some learned Thebans, who were seated in dignity upon her episcopal bench. "The Papists," says some venerable Christian prelate, a light of the age, "do not believe that they ought to keep any oaths which they swear to us; to remedy this, I would at least counsel your lordships to make them swear that they will not perjure themselves." "His Grace of Canterbury has outdone Solomon in wisdom, and well becomes his lawn," adds my Lord of Winchester, "but I would suggest that, to guard against his using a papal dispensation, which he might have already obtained—for, my lords, our lot has been cast in anti-Christian times—as also to foreclose the possibility of his hereinafter procuring such dispensation, which might absolve him from the observance of such oath, it would please your lordships to add to the oath another clause, to the intent that the said Papist hath not already obtained, and will not hereinafter apply for, and if transmitted to him will not use any dispensation of the Bishop of Rome, relieving him from the pacts, covenants, promises, and obligations of his oath." Admirable wisdom! Profound philosophy! Consistent legislation! No oath can bind these Papists. The

remedy is simple—make them swear to observe their oaths! But after a Papist takes the oath, he can procure a dispensation from the Pope. Make him swear that he will not use the dispensation! But the Pope will dispense with this third oath. Make him swear again not to use that second dispensation! He has got a new dispensation from this last oath. "Miserable Papist, what are we to do with you? We cannot believe your oath. You will swear anything to serve your purpose. That horrible old man, anti-Christ, will give you leave to forswear and to swear! Come, put an end to the difficulty at once—swear as we all do, and be done with it. Swear the oath of supremacy." "No, for I do not believe its propositions; I would be a perjurer." "But we are heretics in your opinion, and you know it is a principle of your Church, that no oath can bind you to heretics; and besides, you can get the dispensation after the oath, or before it if you prefer it: you can have the dispensation in your pocket whilst you swear."

Now, I put it to these gentlemen in sober sadness. Do not the facts prove that we are a calumniated people? Do not the facts prove the absurdity of British legislation? If we were what the bishops of the Church of England have so often proclaimed us to be—is their wisdom greater than that of the Indian who placed the world on the back of an elephant, forgetting to examine upon what the elephant himself should stand? Oh! what an outcry against Popish ignorance, and Romish folly, and tyrannical bigotry, and remorseless cruelty, would be made if those prelates were in holy orders of the Roman Catholic Church! But they being good English parliamentary bishops, we should even put a cloud under the elephant's feet, to enable him to travel round the sun as softly and as much at ease as if he were moving upon woolsacks.

But Pearson, in his "Life of Hey," adduces facts which prove that the Romish Church, that is, Papists, that is well-informed adherents of Popery, that is, men who have studied

and been well educated, men of intellect—none of your *profanum vulgus*, none of your rabble, but the good consistent Romish people, Romish Americans, for instance, such men as Archbishop Carroll—to prove that those men hold it as a principle, "that no oath to heretics is binding." As for such poor wretches as the ignorant Irish Papists, they are so brutish in their ideas and such dolts, that it is impossible to teach them this sublime doctrine; "having no idea of all the doctrines, all the enormous corruptions of the faith they acknowledge." Thus, ignorance is now a blessing, because the more ignorant a man is of the principles of his religion, the more moral will he be. Call you this Christianity?

When I saw the wondrous quotation from Pearson's "Life of Hey," I looked upon my cause as lost. Pearson—Pearson—Hey—Hey. Was there not a Bishop Pearson? asked I of a gentleman whom I met. Was he not a holy father, or a professor of divinity, or at least some person who wrote upon theological subjects? I could find no one to give me information. I went to a very respectable bookseller. "Pray, Mr. ——, do you know such a work as Pearson's 'Life of Hey?'" "Yes, sir." "Have you got it?" "No, sir." "Do you know who has?" "I believe it is in the Medical Library." "What should bring it there?" "Sir, it is its most natural place." "And do our physicians study theology?" "No, sir; Pearson was not a theologian." "What then was he?" "A surgeon." "A surgeon! Who was Hey?" "A surgeon." "What in the name of wonder sends Mr. Hawley of Washington and his compeer to study theology in a surgeon's biography?" "I cannot tell, sir. But I believe Surgeon Hey, who was, I think, an Englishman, and lived at Liverpool, was considered to be a religious man. I think he was an Evangelical." "Are you certain he was not a Roman Catholic?" "I am quite positive he was not." "Nor Surgeon Pearson?" "Not at all." "So, so, it is from surgeons Mr. Hawley learns his theology. Do you think the book is in the Medical Library?" "Yes, sir."

I next met a medical friend. "Do you know, doctor,

whether Pearson's 'Life of Hey' is in the Medical Library?" "I am not certain. But," continues my friend, archly smiling, "what can you now be seeking for?" "I want to learn some theology." "Theology! Bless me! I thought you looked upon us doctors to be a set of infidels." "Not I. I have just been told that there are evangelical surgeons who write falsehoods, and my curiosity is quite on the *qui vive*. Do let me see Pearson." My search was fruitless. I could not find the surgeon from whom these gentlemen have learned to charge Catholics with holding a principle which they do not hold. But it soon struck me that they might have some reasons connected with their theology for studying surgery. I recollected that Surgeon Pearson or Surgeon Hey might be preferable to invisible physicians, for teaching where the liver lay, and giving some information on the subject of discharge of the contents of non-existent abscesses; and I cannot tell how my vision was strengthened, but so it was, that not even the "Star-Spangled Banner" could hide from my view these gentlemen's figures, as they anxiously counted their works of anatomy and surgeons' biography, to try if they could discover some new mode of proving impossibilities. This may be one of those day-dreams in which we all occasionally indulge. But it struck me, as they could not make the surgeons say all that they wished, they were satisfied to make the most of what they found. But poor indeed would have been the value of those gentlemen's surgical knowledge, unless it exceeded in correctness the specimen which they have given us of their historical information.

III.

I recollect having once witnessed the protest of an old gentleman, who complained of a serious injury having been done to him, and was answered by those whom he charged with its infliction that he had no cause of complaint because they had sworn to each other that they would give him no redress; and that it was a gross crime in him to expect

that they should become perjurers for his gratification. It may be well to examine the supposed facts of this case. The old gentleman was guardian to minors whose property consisted chiefly of rent-charges upon the estates of several persons who lived in the same vicinity, and through whose lands the old gentleman himself had a right of passage, with liberty to cut timber, and to work mines, and to carry away the produce. The proprietors began to quarrel among themselves, and wasted each other's property. Moved by his duty to his wards, by his feelings of benevolence, and even his self-interest, the old gentleman used his influence to bring about a reconciliation. Some of them proposed as the only mode of effecting this that he should relinquish his own rights and those of his wards, and leave them to fight it out until one should be vanquished. Others thought this unjust, and proposed to reinstate him in his rights and to pay the arrears of rent-charges, and to turn out of possession the persons who first called upon them to stop the payment: but at length they began seriously to consider of peace, as they were tired of war, and they found the principal obstacle to be who should pay the expenses. Again it was proposed to sequester part of the rent-charges, and to appropriate some of the produce of the mines to this purpose; so that all who fought should be indemnified, and the old man and his wards be made to pay for their benefit. The old gentleman protested from day to day, and still from day to day they continued to make their arrangements upon the principle of fixing the whole of their expenses and the amount of bribes and presents upon the property in his charge. Some, fearing that others would not be easily induced to oppose his claims if they should proceed to the spoliation, proposed to establish the bond of a mutual oath on all the parties to abide by their common decision, and especially not to yield to the claims of the old gentleman.

The treaty was made, the parties swore to its observance, and they refused the chief part of the rent-charge,

obstructed the passage, and took away the produce of the mines, and then divided the plunder amongst them, after which they kindly sent a messenger to inform their old neighbor, that they had settled all their differences, were good friends, and hoped they had gratified him by making peace. He complained of injuries done to him, and required redress. They sent their best respects, that they had sworn to abide by the terms which they had made, and he was, it seems, so ill advised as to write a letter, in which he published to them and to the world, that this oath could not bind them to plunder him, and that it was null and void, and that those persons who originally exerted themselves to strip him of everything, his sworn enemies, were its contrivers, and that this oath ought not to be kept to gratify them, but that he ought to have his rights restored.

The gentlemen of the *Theological Repertory* can have no objection to try this case by the principles of Archdeacon Paley, who was a dignitary of the English Church, by law established.

The oath taken by those peace-makers was a promissory oath; an oath by which they promised to each other to observe the stipulations of their treaty. The archdeacon says: "Promissory oaths are not binding, where the promise itself would not be so; for the several cases of which, see the chapter of promises."[1] "Promises are not binding where the performance is impossible." He follows on to explain: "1. But observe that the promiser is guilty of a fraud if he be secretly aware of the impossibility, at the time of making the promise. For when any one promises a thing, he asserts his belief, at least of the possibility of performing it; as no one can accept or understand a promise under any other supposition. Instances of this sort are the following: The minister promises a place, which he knows to be engaged, or not at his disposal. A father in settling marriage articles, promises to leave his daughter an estate which he knows to be entailed upon the heir male of his family."[2]

[1] "Moral Philosophy," c. xvi, part v. [2] Ib., c. v, part iii.

Now, in the case alluded to or supposed, it was impossible for the contracting parties to fulfill their promise without being guilty of injustice; and in morality, that which cannot be done justly is impossible, because it is impossible to be moral and at the same time unjust. Thus, although it was physically possible for those conspirators to plunder the claimant, still it was impossible in morality. They could not bind each other by an oath to do injustice, for an oath is not a bond of iniquity. The claimant then could fairly and properly and conscientiously answer them: Your pretext is frivolous, your object is bad, your oath is no bond; you ought not to observe it. Shall I lose my claim to what is mine, because you swear to do what you cannot justly do? Shall it be in the power of a confederation of villians to create a good title for themselves to the property of honest people by merely combining to seize upon what they please, and then partitioning their plunder and swearing that they will abide by their regulations? And shall the plundered sufferer, who says their perjury and rapine are bad titles to his property, be taunted with the imputation of caring nothing for the sanctity of an oath, and branded as too impious to be permitted to live in civil society, because he cries out that an oath is not a bond of iniquity?

Now, can my opponents show any difference between the value of an oath by which a man promises to give to his daughter that which belongs to her brother's son, and of an oath by which two men who commit robbery guarantee to each other the property which they have stolen? Will the title of the robber be better than the title of the father? I conjure them, then, by all the regard which they have for their reputation as sound divines; as they would avoid the vile sneers of wicked passengers in New York steamboats; as they respect the authority of the venerable archdeacon of a Church like theirs, and as they value the maxims of common sense and of good morality, to come into this conclusion: "That an old gentleman who has been

plundered of what are, *bona fide*, his rights, or of what he conscientiously believes to be his rights, by confederates who swear not to restore these real or imaginary rights, may believe an oath to be a most holy and solemn bond, at the same time that he asserts that those confederates have been guilty of injustice, and that their oath is not binding."

Now, having found our principle, let us apply it to our facts. Their surgeon theologian informs us: "When the Emperor and Roman Catholic Princes of Germany concluded the treaty of Westphalia with the Protestant Princes, they mutually bound each other, by a solemn oath, to the observance of it. On which Pope Innocent X published a bull, pronouncing the oath to be null and void: as no oath could bind them to heretics." So writes Surgeon Pearson, we take their word for it, we have not seen the surgeon's book. *Imprimis* then, I deny that this is true. I state that the Pope is here grossly misrepresented; not so much by the first part of the statement being false, as by a false coloring having been laid upon the whole transaction.

Now, this Pope is the identical old gentleman whom I described before; and this holy alliance of Westphalia was the confederation; and the negotiators were the plunderers; and the Pope declared the oath to be not binding, because it was a promissory oath, and a promissory oath would not be binding where the promise would not, and the promise would be null and void where it could not be fulfilled without committing injustice; and the Pope declared that, by this treaty of Westphalia, great injustice was done to him and to his wards, and that any oath to do this injustice was null and void. The principle of the nullity of the oath, then, was the injustice of the promise, and not the heretical quality of some of the plunderers. Other Popes had declared similar oaths to be null and void, long before such special heresies were instituted, upon the same principle, and when the oaths were taken by Catholics to Catholics.

Now, I call upon these gentlemen to produce the bull, for they know Surgeon Pearson's hearsay cannot be

admitted instead of documentary evidence, when the question at issue is the moral character of two hundred millions of persons, and the moral character of their predecessors during eighteen centuries, and of their successors in all future times. The charge is made upon the essential principles of the Roman Catholic Church, which, as they very truly observe, never change. Now, to convict such a dock-full of prisoners, even their own counsellor would tell them something more than the vague, unsworn statement of an evangelical anatomist would be required. Take the bull at once by the horns; show courage here at least. They who dared all the familiars of the Inquisition, and dauntlessly exposed themselves to fires which their fancy painted, to be tied with unfelt cords to imaginary stakes, should come forward and seize this bull. I promise them his horns are not as sharp as British bayonets; my country has given me perhaps the privilege of an acquaintance and of an exhibition to which they are not entitled. I may play here safely, and they cannot: the bull is harmless. But let them keep away, for the bull will hurt them, because of the very harmlessness; and still more, I am greatly afraid that a pair of surgeons could not heal the wounds which they have already received.

What in the name of prudence urged them to this bull-fight? Was it the suggestion of a friend of mine?

> So Spanish heroes with their lances,
> At once wound bulls and ladies' fancies,
> And he acquires the noblest spouse
> That widows greatest herds of cows;
> Then, what may I expect to do,
> Wh' have quell'd so great a buffalo?

Let me try what other principle we may agree upon before I bring forward other facts.

Pray, whose property is the estate of Trinity Church in New York? Do these gentlemen think the governors of the several States could legally deprive their trustees of that property and divide it between themselves? What

would they say to the Popish priest, who is delegate to Congress from Michigan,[1] if he had the audacity to suggest to some of the Radicals that it would be better to apply this money to national purposes than to building unnecessary churches in that city? We should then, indeed, have our ears filled with invectives against unprincipled Romish tyranny; then would the fire of wrath be enkindled, and the fires of the Inquisition would shine in flaming splendor. And why? The inviolability of property, the sanctity of charters, the limits of power. But suppose the governors or Congress seized upon the revenues and swore a solemn oath never to give it back. Of course my friends would have such respect for the inviolability of an oath, especially if it had been taken at the suggestion of this Romish American deputy to Congress, that they would support their bereavement in resignation; and even if the despoilers felt some qualms of conscience and had some misgivings, and consulted them as good divines, they would tell them: "It is true you robbed our Church, but you swore to keep the plunder; your oath is registered in heaven. You must observe it. As for us: God forbid we should be partakers of sacrilege; should you violate your oaths and restore this property, we should never obtain forgiveness did we touch one cent thereof; for it would be concurring in your perjury; from which may our good consciences defend us!" Do they call this theology? Something like it was taught by the first royal head on earth of Christ's Church in Great Britain. King Henry VIII taught it with a witness; his Vicar General Crumwell taught it: the gentle Cranmer assented thereto; the disinterested Somerset protected the principle along with Edward VI; Elizabeth was not impoverished thereby; and it was most religiously acquiesced in by all the bishops whom she and her parliament made. However, the doctrine has been somewhat antiquated—*tempora mutantur*. It is branded with little less, perhaps I ought to say a little more than the stamp of heresy by his grace the Lord Archbishop of Canterbury, Primate of

[1] Father Richard.

all England; by his grace the Lord Archbishop of York, Primate of England; by his grace the Lord Archbishop of Armagh, Primate of all Ireland; by his grace the learned and conciliating, the grave, tolerant Lord Archbishop of Dublin, Primate of Ireland; by his grace the Lord Archbishop of Cashel; by his grace the Lord Archbishop of Tuam; by his Majesty's Cabinet Ministers; by his Majesty's Lord High Chancellor of that part of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, called Ireland, and by the Right Honorable William Conyngham Plunket, his Majesty's Attorney General of the same; and by all those members of the British House of Commons who, in the present year, accused Mr. Joseph Hume of the most sacrilegious criminality for daring to inquire whether the Protestant bishops and clergy of Ireland could not live on less than one-fifth of the land, though their flocks did not constitute the one-tenth of the population. Therefore, my opponents will not consider me profane if I conclude that it is not abhorrent to the principles of the Protestant Church of England, to say that Church property is inviolable, equally as private property; that it is also perfectly compatible with the principles of the Protestant Episcopal Church of America to assert that Church property which is legally recognized, is to be sacredly preserved for the purposes to which it is destined, and cannot be applied to any other; nor is it lawful to seize upon it by force, or to usurp the same.

So far is it recognized as a principle in the State of South Carolina, that it has been decided upon appeal in equity, that where a Protestant Episcopal church had certain revenues, and was for many years vacant, and no minister of that Church could be had, and some of the parishioners invited a Presbyterian clergyman to officiate, he could not, upon the principle of doing what came nearest to the object for which the fund was created, receive a salary therefrom, because it was created for a Protestant Episcopalian, and not for a Presbyterian; and the court

could not in equity permit a fund sacred to one purpose to be given for a different purpose. It would be unjust to divert the fund from the purpose of its creation.

Let us then in the name of consistency give the Pope leave to hold the same opinion respecting Church property of the Romish Church, that English Protestants hold respecting the property of the English Church: that American Protestants and American courts of equity do respecting the property of the Protestant Episcopal Church. Let us give Innocent X the benefit of the principle now established, and by the application of obvious facts to this principle, we shall come to the proper result.

The question now is, whether by the treaty of Westphalia the contracting parties did, against the Pope's consent, deprive him of rights which he previously had; and whether the churches under his protection, and whose rights he was sworn to defend and bound to preserve, were against his will stripped of their rights and possessions. This is a plain question touching facts, and easily solved by history. As, however, history is rather cumbersome, my friends, who wish to be at their ease, dispense with its burden, and make sumpter mules of their surgeons. They lay all the faults of their quackery upon invisible physicians, and all their historical blunders upon intangible surgeons.

To know how a question is to be solved, we should know its bearings. The rights which the German churches possessed were the right to hold the property bestowed for religious purposes, the right to have the offices filled by persons having the qualifications required by the donors, and the right of having those officers appointed by the authority established and in the mode pointed out by the donors. The property was bestowed by Roman Catholics for the support of the Roman Catholic worship. The offices were to be filled by Roman Catholic clergymen of several descriptions; they were to be appointed in some instances by the Pope, in others by the chapter, in others by the bishop. The Pope had his own special rights, and was

moreover guardian and protector of the rights of the bishops, of the chapters and of the churches generally; he had in Germany special rights beyond what he had in other places, arising from two causes: 1. He was the creator of that empire. 2. The emperor was bound by several treaties to preserve those special, peculiar and eminent privileges and rights, and to prevent any infringement of them or of any of them. But in the treaty of Westphalia, he did grossly infringe upon them. Archdeacon Paley tells us: "Promises are not binding when they contradict a former promise. Because the performance is then unlawful."[1] The first promise of the emperors was to protect and to preserve the rights of the Church. To observe this, they were sworn at their coronation. The first treaties of the emperor were to maintain the rights of the See of Rome. It was for this purpose the empire was originally created. Therefore, a promise at the time of the treaty of Westphalia was subsequent to those promises; and would be unlawful if it contradicted them, and Archdeacon Paley says it would not be binding even if confirmed with an oath, for "promissory oaths are not binding where the promise itself would not be so."

Now, I put it to my opponents as divines: Is it lawful to take away from Trinity Church, New York, its funds and to convert them to the repairing of the Cumberland road or to the fortifying of Point Comfort? Or would the Rev. Mr. Hawley or the Rev. Mr. McIlvaine consent to the lawfulness of appropriating the income of their churches to the defraying of the expenses of the city of Charleston, in the entertainment of General La Fayette? Now, Archdeacon Paley tells us that "promises are not binding when the performance is unlawful." Suppose our friend Captain Carbery, whom my opponents abused for being asleep when his sister was cured, was again elected by his fellow-citizens to be Mayor of Washington, and that he swore the income of one of their churches should

[1] "Moral Philosophy," c. vi, part iii, sec. 3.

be appropriated to the procuring of a good mansion house for the mayor of the federal city, would they give up the money rather than permit him to be esteemed a perjurer? Suppose a good, warm-hearted, foolish countryman of mine were to swear an oath that they should not quit his table until they were drunk, would they be obliged to become intoxicated lest he should be a perjurer? I hope this will not be found their maxim of morality.

The principle of law, the principle of morality is prior to this oath. Listen to their own archdeacon:

"The parties in those cases are not obliged to perform what the promise requires, because they were under a prior obligation to the contrary. From which prior obligation what is to discharge them? Their promise—their own act and deed. But the obligation, from which a man can discharge himself by his own act, is no obligation at all. The guilt, therefore, of such promises lies in the making not in the breaking of them; and if in the interval betwixt the promise and performance, a man so far recover his reflection, as to repent of his engagements, he ought certainly break through them."

However, as my opponents perhaps will not be satisfied with a mere archdeacon of the English Church, it may be as well to give them the doctrine of the pure days of King Edward VI, with the approbation of her majesty Queen Elizabeth, who committed the crime of living in single blessedness—they probably know as well as I do what is meant, *cum grano salis*. The Homilies have authority from the ratification of the thirty-nine articles, together with the acceptation of the Protestant Episcopal Church of America. "But if a man shall at any time, either of ignorance or of malice, promise and swear to do anything which is against the law of Almighty God, or not in his power to perform, let him take it for an unlawful and ungodly oath."[1] "And finally ye have heard how damnable a thing it is either to forswear ourselves or to keep an unlawful and unadvised oath."[2]

[1] No. 7. Sermon of Swearing, part 2, paragraph 2. [2] Ib., last paragraph.

However, as Pope Innocent X had not the benefit of Dr. Paley's learning, it may be no harm to see by what light he was guided. I shall therefore make a few quotations from Popish authors whom His Holiness could have consulted, and in such dark times those little scintillations might have sufficed; though British divines might have been as much in error, as to the value of their authority, as the British soldiers were during the last war respecting the nature of fire-flies, when their scouts mistook them for sparks from flints preparing for the rifles which were to send them to a world of spirits. I shall, nevertheless, take one or two passages from St. Thomas of Aquin: "Some things are good under all circumstances, such as works of virtue, and such good things might be vowed or promised to be done. Other things are bad under all circumstances: such as things naturally sinful. And they can never be made the matter of a vow or of a promise. There are also some things which considered abstractedly are good, and under this view they may be the matter of a vow or of a promise. But under certain circumstances they may lead to a bad result; and in this view they cannot be the matter of a vow or of a promise. . . . Thus St. Jerome says of Jeptha, he was a fool in making a vow imprudently, and he was impious in its fulfillment."[1]

In his next question,[2] St. Thomas, after laying down his doctrine and its supports from reason, to show that a person ought not to observe an oath which appeared to bind to the performance of an unlawful or sinful act, produces the testimony of St. Ambrose, in those words: "It is sometimes against duty to fulfill your promise, to keep your oath: as when Herod put John to death, lest he should not fulfill what he had sworn." My opponents know St. Thomas, and St. Jerome, and St. Ambrose, and all those writers of my Church were fanatics and poor ignorant creatures, who knew nothing of the mariner's compass, nor of the art of printing, which Romish men, however, invented, but as they wrote a kind of monkish Latin, which I feared they could not un-

[1] "Summa," 2, 2d, q. 88, a. 11, *ad secundum*. [2] Ib. a. 7, *ad sec.*

derstand, I give a translation in English. Thus they will perceive the archdeacon of a Church like theirs and my saints have agreed upon a principle; all that remains for them and me is to find the facts and to draw the conclusion.

We have seen what rights the Pope had in Germany, or if they say these were imaginary rights, I will answer: That he considered the rights to be in him: and the Catholic princes and prelates and people believed the rights to be in him. It is true the Protestants asserted that he had no rights, and were enemies to his having any power in Germany or elsewhere, and one of the complaints of the Pope was that the Catholics knowing the object of the Protestants to be the destruction of his rights, invaded those rights to save their own privileges and purses. Thus he complained that those men were led by their heretical principles to try and bind Catholics to do him serious injustice; and he declared that any oath taken to heretics to do this injustice was not to be kept by Catholics, not because the oath was made to heretics, but because it was made to do injustice. It is, then, gross misrepresentation to publish to the world that the doctrine of the Pope is, that oaths made to heretics by Catholics are not binding. It is that fallacy which draws a general conclusion from particular premises. It is that fallacy which comes to a general conclusion from an accidental circumstance. It is faulty in several respects. Such fallacious arguments are seldom used by honest men; and when honest men use them it is only their ignorance which can plead their excuse. It is a species of sophistry highly discreditable to him who uses it; and it is that which is almost perpetually used against the Roman Catholic Church.

The Protestants of Germany made several attempts to destroy the Catholic establishments. 1. By procuring disqualified persons to be elected and installed into places for which only Catholics were qualified. 2. By placing Protestant laics in the places founded for Catholic clergymen.

3. By procuring, frequently by force and oftener by fraud, the secularization of Church property. What would my opponents say to the Roman Catholics of this Union did they pretend to be Protestants, and get elected upon the vestries of their churches, for the purpose of disposing of their revenues in a way injurious to their religion and beneficial to the Catholic Church? What would they say to them if they appointed Catholic laymen to fill the places of their pastors and kept them by force in those places, permitting them to hire Protestant clergymen at trifling salaries to go through the duties badly and irregularly, and pocketing large profits in the amount of difference between receipts and expenditures? What, if the Catholics had their chartered property seized upon and converted to the public purposes of the State, or divided amongst themselves? Yet of such a nature, as can be learned from the Protestant Archdeacon Coxe, were the facts in Germany. These gentlemen may, if they will, say that Popery is error, but does his error destroy the Papist's right to his property—to the offices of his own Church and to their income?

It is time to come now to the treaty of Westphalia. It was signed at Osnaburg on the 6th of August, and at Munster on the 8th of September, 1648, after a negotiation of two years. The Protestant powers together with Sweden met at Osnaburg under the mediation of Denmark. France, Spain, and the Catholic powers met at Munster under the mediation of the Pope. At a very early period of the negotiations, Chigi, the nuncio of Innocent X, protested against the injustice to the Papal See and the German churches, and withdrew. He succeeded Innocent in the Papacy by the name of Alexander VII. The negotiators foresaw the opposition which would be given by the parties whose rights they knew they were destroying. See what the Protestant archdeacon writes in his history of the house of Austria: "As the protests of the Pope and the King of Spain were foreseen, a particular clause, expressed in the strongest and most precise terms, established these treaties

as a perpetual law and pragmatic sanction, and declared null and ineffectual all opposition made by any ecclesiastic or secular prince either within or without the empire." There was besides this a special compliment paid to the Pope quite in the Lutheran fashion at that day, of placing him in a stipulation of the treaty in that company which it was thought was most appropriate. The archdeacon gives it to us in these words: "The principal contracting parties were allowed to include their allies, if nominated within a certain period, and received by common consent; and the different powers, specified under the sanction of this article, comprised all the European States, except the Pope and the Turkish Sultan."

We shall now see the Church property, which was conveyed away to indemnify the belligerents, and the whole Church property of the several denominations in the United States is far less than the Catholic Church was stripped of by this treaty: "Sweden obtained the Archbishopric of Bremen, secularized and converted into a duchy; and the Bishopric of Verden, secularized and converted into a principality. The Elector of Brandenburg, in return for part of Pomerania, ceded to Sweden, obtained the Archbishopric of Magdeburgh, secularized and converted into a duchy; the Bishopric of Halberstadt, converted into a principality; the Bishopric of Minden, converted into a principality; the Bishopric of Cammin, converted into a principality. The house of Brunswick Lüneburg, in return for the patronage in the Catholic Church, lost by its leaving the Catholic religion, received the property of the convents of Walkenrid and Groningen, and the alternate possession for one of the younger sons of the house of Hanover, of the revenues of the Bishopric of Osnabrück, the Bishop, a Roman Catholic, to have the alternation. By virtue of this clause, his Royal Highness, Frederick, Duke of York and Albany, and heir-apparent to the British throne, has received the income to the see of Osnabrück during the last sixty-one years, leaving the Catholics to find some way of

supporting their Church, without the income left by their predecessors for that purpose. The Duke of Mecklenburg received the Bishopric of Schwerin, converted into a secular principality; the Bishopric of Ratzeburg, converted into a principality; two commanderies of the religious order of Knights of St. John. William, Landgrave of Hesse Cassel, who had no claim whatever for satisfaction or indemnity, because he had suffered no loss: by the support of the Swedes, and because his father was one of the first German princes who joined Gustavus Adolphus in opposition to the Catholics, obtained the princely possessions of the Abbey of Hirschfeld as a secular domain." Besides those special enumerations, a vast quantity of Catholic Church property was alienated indirectly by several other articles of the treaty; and a great many of the ancient and undoubted rights of the See of Rome and of the Church were destroyed. My object is sufficiently answered by the general notice here given. I wished to show that the Pope complained steadily, constantly, and loudly, not that Catholics and Protestants made a fair treaty, and that Catholics ought not to observe an oath sworn to Protestants; but that Catholics and Protestants made a treaty to enrich each other by plundering the Church, and that he felt himself called upon to protest against the spoliation as an act of gross injustice, and to declare the pretext of the bond of an oath between the contracting parties to be a frivolous pretext, because the oath was not binding.

This is the view which the principles of morality and the facts of history give of the case. I then unhesitatingly assert that the act of Innocent X was not immoral, and that it is a calumny of a very gross kind to assert that he taught, or that Catholics believe, that Catholics are not bound by their oaths to heretics. It manifests either a total ignorance of facts or a total absence of moral feeling in the writer who deliberately publishes the proposition; and now I leave my opponents and Surgeon Pearson to share their well-deserved honors between them.

IV

Some persons are of opinion that I treat my opponents with too much severity; "for," say they, "this priest ought to make some allowance for the ignorance of facts under which the Rev. Mr. Hawley and his associates labor. These gentlemen are well disposed, but though they have studied divinity and are zealous preachers, they have not studied history to a sufficient extent to know all those things." Shall I admit this excuse for them, and against myself? Am I, and my religion, and my country to be held up to execration, without redress? Are Roman Catholics to be libelled with impunity? Are the great majority of the people of Ireland, and nearly a million of the respectable and best conducted peers, baronets, gentry, merchants, and other inhabitants of Great Britain to be denounced as traitors, who are on equal footing only with the wretched convicts who are transported to New Holland? And am I to suffer all this, merely because my opponents are ignorant? If their advocates have no better excuse, they had better continue silent. Would to God they had been silent! I should never have disturbed their literary somnambulism had they not contrived to grope us out and seize upon us for destruction. They left us no alternative. We should either, before all the citizens of the Union, acquiesce in the truth of their horrible charges, and thus acknowledge ourselves too base and too wicked to be admitted into these republics, or we should prove their intentional falsehood or their total ignorance. They left us no choice. I differ, therefore, with their apologists, and must proceed.

Their next allegation is derived from their doctor: "In 1768, when an oath of allegiance to be taken by the Roman Catholics of Ireland, was in the contemplation of parliament, containing a declaration of abhorrence of the doctrine, that faith was not to be kept with heretics, and that princes excommunicated by the Pope might be deposed or murdered: Thomas Maria Ghillini, the Pope's legate

at Brussels, made the following observations on that oath, in four letters to the archbishops of Ireland: that these doctrines are defended by most Catholic nations, and the Holy See has frequently followed them in practice: that as the oath is in its whole extent unlawful, so in its nature it is invalid: that it can by no means bind or oblige consciences. It was with reference to, and to guard against, these dangerous Popish tenets, that the following clauses were inserted in an oath of allegiance intended to have been taken by the Roman Catholics of Ireland: 'I do swear, that I do from my heart detest, and abjure as impious and heretical, that damnable doctrine and position, that princes excommunicated by the Pope, or by any authority of the See of Rome, may be deposed or murdered by their subjects,' etc. Before this oath could receive the sanction of the legislature, it was condemned by the vicars apostolical of the western, northern, and southern districts, in an encyclical letter addressed to all the faithful clergy and laity of those districts."

Now, I am perfectly at a loss to know whether it is upon my opponents or upon Surgeon Pearson the weight of all the blunders and misrepresentations of this precious collection ought to be laid. I have not seen the surgeon's work, from which it purports to be an extract. I do not know whether there is anything in the book to let the reader know that all this ought not to refer to Ireland; but I do know, that here it appears to refer to the Roman Catholics of Ireland only; except so far as Legate Ghillini and the Papists at large are calumniated. I shall therefore place the whole to my opponents' debit, and they and their surgeon will be at full liberty to settle their own accounts as they think proper.

Leaving the legate and the general imputation for awhile, let us see the other allegations: 1. They assert that the clause which they favor us with, was inserted in an oath intended to be taken by the Roman Catholics of Ireland. 2. That it was so inserted, for the purpose of guarding

against these Popish tenets which they have adduced, viz.: that faith was not to be kept with heretics; and next, that princes excommunicated by the Pope might be deposed or murdered. 3. That in 1768 parliament contemplated framing an oath of allegiance for the Roman Catholics of Ireland, containing a declaration of abhorence of these doctrines. 4. That this oath was condemned by the vicars apostolical of the northern, western, and southern districts, before it could receive the sanction of the legislature.

I beg leave to inform them, that each and every one of the above four propositions is a distinct falsehood: 1. The clause they adduce was never inserted in any oath offered to the Roman Catholics of Ireland, nor in any oath intended for them by the Irish parliament, which was their legislature at the time. 2. That clause not having been introduced into the oath intended for them, could not have been introduced for a special purpose. 3. In the year 1768, the Irish parliament did not contemplate an oath of allegiance to be taken by the Roman Catholics. Lord Townshend was the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, and the parliament was occupied chiefly with the octennial bill, and that regarding the judges, until its separation in June. It did not meet again until October, 1769: and during the entire administration of this lord, which did not terminate until 1772, no question about the Roman Catholics was raised or considered of in the legislature. 4. There were no vicars apostolical in Ireland, and the English vicars apostolical had no concern with the Irish oath, and issued no circular or encyclical letter, either in approbation or in contradiction thereof.

I might, so far as my opponents are concerned, rest here, satisfied with having exhibited their total ignorance of facts; but my object is not to treat them as they richly deserve. I candidly avow, that from the specimens of their theological and historical knowledge which I have seen, I should be but little inclined to waste even my ink upon them; but, as I feel every inclination to treat

respectfully those who may read my effusions, I owe it to them, even at the hazard of being tedious, to show that I make no unfounded assertions. I shall, therefore, give as briefly as I can a statement of facts and an exhibition of documents which will correct misrepresentations.

In 1757, the Duke of Bedford was appointed Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. During many years previous, the Catholics had not only been ground down, but they suffered under a persecution worse than any bodily torture; such a persecution as the writers of the *Theological Repertory* endeavor to continue—the persecution of calumny. To an upright mind, it is the worst species of infliction. I feel, at this moment, a conflict within myself which is most painful. I know the precept of forgiveness which my Redeemer obliges me to observe, and I feel the tortures of their cruel injustice. I know the avowal will gratify them; but let them enjoy it. God knows I do not envy them. Yet this precept, notwithstanding, I wish they could feel as I do: the torture of being publicly vilified by ——— I shall not write what I feel. Besides brutal oppression, the Irish Catholic felt then more than I now feel, and what, if these gentlemen once felt, if they had even the shred of the remnant of a heart, they would never inflict: the torture of being painted in every deformity which they detested. In that duke my ancestors found, what, notwithstanding foul falsehoods from men who preach not to bear false witness, I found in America—a kind Protestant friend. Such an unwonted, such an unexpected, such an extraordinary discovery, gave them courage and gratitude; and the following extract from the address of the Roman Catholic clergy of Dublin to the laity was an exhibition of their feelings. Read it. It is the modest remonstrance of good and persecuted men, conscious of integrity, but scarcely venturing to insinuate that they had been calumniated, though they groaned under the calumny. Oh! may God long preserve and fortify the principle which leaves every man in America at full liberty to reply to his

defamer in language which, though perhaps too warm, is still less severe than a defamer deserves; especially one who flings about him the mantle of religion, and calls upon his fellow-citizens, as they love God, to execrate their neighbor.

"But as we have not a more effectual method of showing our acknowledgment to our temporal governors than by an humble, peaceful, and obedient behavior, as hitherto, we earnestly exhort you to continue in the same happy and Christian disposition, and thus by degrees you will entirely efface in their minds those evil impressions which have been conceived so much to our prejudice, and industriously propagated by our enemies. A series of more than sixty years spent with a pious resignation under the hardships of very severe penal laws, and with the greatest thankfulness for the lenity and moderation with which they were executed, ever since the accession of the present royal family, is certainly a fact which must outweigh, in the minds of all unbiased persons, any misconceived opinions of the doctrine and tenets of our holy Church.

"You know that it has always been our constant practice as ministers of Jesus Christ, to inspire you with the greatest horror for thefts, frauds, murders and the like abominable crimes, as being contrary to the laws of God and nature, destructive of civil society, condemned by our holy Church, which so far from justifying them on the score of religion, or any other pretext whatsoever, delivers the unrepenting authors of such criminal practices over to Satan.

"We are no less zealous than ever in exhorting you to abstain from cursing, swearing, and blaspheming; detestable vices to which the poorer sort of our people are most unhappily addicted, and which must at one time or other bring down the vengeance of heaven upon you in some visible punishment, unless you absolutely refrain from them.

"It is probable, that from hence some people have taken occasion to brand us with this infamous calumny,

that we need not fear to take false oaths, and consequently to perjure ourselves, as if we believed that any power upon earth could authorize such damnable practices, or grant dispensations for this purpose. How unjust and cruel this charge is, you know by our instructions to you, both in public and private, in which we have ever condemned such doctrines as false and impious.

"Others, likewise, may easily know it from the constant behavior of numbers of Roman Catholics, who have given the strongest proofs of their abhorrence of those tenets, by refusing to take oaths, which, however conducive to their temporal interest, appeared to them entirely repugnant to the principles of their religion."[1]

In the year 1757, the Catholic Committee was formed, and the venerable Dr. O'Keeffe, Bishop of Kildare and Leighlin, and founder of the College of St. Patrick, at Carlow, previously proposed to a meeting, of which Lord Trimbleston was chairman, a declaration of Roman Catholic tenets as regarded the calumnies with which they were assailed and insulted, and which declaration was adopted and signed unanimously. This declaration then, be it remembered, was drawn up by a Catholic bishop, and proposed by a Catholic bishop, and unanimously adopted by the Catholic Committee, and signed by clergy and laity, and sent to Rome as the authentic act and deed of an Irish Catholic diocese, and there received without condemnation, in 1757, which was full eleven years before the period alluded to by the surgeon. This declaration, amongst other things, contains the following:

"Whereas, certain opinions and principles inimical to good order and government, have been attributed to the Catholics, the existence of which we utterly deny; and whereas it is at this time peculiarly necessary to remove such imputations; and to give the most full and ample satisfaction to our Protestant brethren, that we hold no principle whatever, incompatible with our duty as men or

[1] Extract from an Address to the Laity, read from the Altars of the Roman Catholic churches of Dublin, Sunday, Oct. 2, 1757.

as subjects, or repugnant to liberty, whether political, civil, or religious; now we, the Catholics of Ireland, for the removal of all such imputations, and in deference to the opinion of many respectable bodies of men and individuals among our Protestant brethren, do hereby in the face of our country, of all Europe, and before God, make this our deliberate and solemn declaration: 1. We abjure, disavow, and condemn the opinion, that princes excommunicated by the Pope or Council, or by any ecclesiastical authority whatsoever, may therefore be deposed or murdered by their subjects, or by any other persons. We hold such doctrines in detestation, as wicked and impious; and we declare that we do not believe that either the Pope, with or without a general council, or any prelate or priest, or any ecclesiastical power whatsoever, can absolve the subjects of this kingdom, or any of them, from their allegiance to his majesty King George, who is, by authority of parliament, the lawful king of this realm. 2. We abjure, condemn, and detest, as unchristian and impious, the principle that it is lawful to murder, destroy, or any ways injure any person whatsoever, for, or under the pretext of being heretics; and we solemnly declare before God, that we believe no act, in itself unjust, immoral, or wicked, can ever be justified or excused by or under the pretence or color that it was done either for the good of the Church, or in obedience to any ecclesiastical power whatsoever. 3. We further declare that we hold it as an unchristian and impious principle 'that no faith is to be kept with heretics.' This doctrine we detest and reprobate, not only as contrary to our religion, but as destructive of morality, society, and even common honesty; and it is our firm belief, that an oath made to any person, not of the Catholic religion, is equally binding as if we made it to any Catholic whatsoever. 4. We have been charged with holding as an article of our belief, that the Pope, with or without the authority of a general council, or that certain ecclesiastical powers, can acquit or absolve us before God

from our oath of allegiance or even from the just oaths and contracts entered into between man and man: now, we do utterly renounce, abjure and deny, that we hold or maintain any such belief—as being contrary to the peace and happiness of society, inconsistent with morality, and above all repugnant to the true spirit of the Catholic religion."

Look at this document; and if my opponents have a particle of feeling, can they dare to ascend the pulpit of the God of truth without seeking pardon for their gross, their uncalled-for libel upon a people persecuted in a manner too shocking to be related? This declaration was drawn up by a Catholic bishop, it was subscribed by the clergy and the laity, and it was registered in Rome, and published in Ireland over ten, nearly eleven years before their assumed date.

The fact of Dr. Ghillini's interference, at a subsequent period, I am ready to admit and to show that it does not bear upon the question between them and me.

That question is, whether the doctrines imputed by them to the Irish Catholics, and here rejected by Irish Catholics, were held by Irish Catholics. Another question will be, were they or are they Catholic, or in my opponents' uncourteous phraseology, Popish doctrines. I will now suppose against the fact, that they were held by the legate at Brussels. My answer is as short as was that of Father O'Leary, viz.: "Mr. Ghillini is not the Roman Catholic Church; he is not infallible."

The Roman Catholics were not noticed until 1773, when two bills were brought into parliament to enable them to lend money upon mortgage and to take leases of land for lives, under certain provisos. But both were rejected. Next year, 1774, on the 5th of March, leave was given to bring in a bill to enable them to testify their allegiance, and it passed without opposition; but it remitted no pain or penalty to which they were liable. It received the royal assent upon the 2d of June. So that in my

opponents' statement of 1768, they made another mistake of six years; but to them such inaccuracies are trifles. Great men who are occupied in deep philosophical researches, and whose meditations are made amidst the piles of the patriarchal tomes, cannot be expected to be good chronologists—and, indeed, 1768 was a good guess for either 1757 or 1774. But the misfortune is, that the parliament never contemplated the oath until the latter period. My opponents ought, however, to be forgiven this mistake. I would myself warrant they will never forget the dates again.

As they may like to know the history of the oath, I shall give it to them, and they will be the more interested in it, as a truly respectable Protestant bishop, one whose memory, Papist as I am, I respect, took a creditable part in the transaction. It will also show that they who are not bishops, and are not — — — however, I shall not write what I think, cannot be so much blamed for ignorance upon a point on which this great and good man was for a long time unenlightened. The following is an extract from the "Life of O'Leary," by the Reverend Thomas R. England, brother to the Bishop of Charleston:

"The act is said to have originated from the following occurrence: The celebrated Earl of Bristol, Bishop of Derry, whilst at dinner one day, with the professors of one of the Irish colleges in France, feelingly lamented the hard necessity which his learned and amiable countrymen were under, of spending in foreign countries the most valuable portion of their lives; still he could not see, he added, why they refused to their native sovereign that allegiance and fidelity which distinguish their conduct towards the continental monarchs in whose dominions the Irish colleges were situated. For his part, he wished the Catholics to enjoy freedom of conscience; but until they were found to renounce the opinions generally entertained by them—opinions which militated against the lives of those whom they termed heretics, the safety of the throne, and the obliga-

tions of an oath—he could not so far forget what he owed to the peace and security of the country, as to show them any countenance there. This declaration gave rise to a conversation of some length; in the course of which the noble guest learned the willingness of the Catholics, as stated to him, to afford every proof of temporal allegiance that could be required from subjects; and moreover, their hearty abhorrence of the opinions imputed to them of holding no faith with heretics, and of being prepared, at every intimation from their religious superiors, to trample upon the obligations of an oath. These statements were, upon his return home, circulated by his lordship among his political friends, and as the Catholics were gradually growing on the good will of some members of the administration, the subject was very generally and freely canvassed. The late venerable Lord Taafe, Charles O'Connor (a man whose name will ever be dear to Ireland), Mr. Wise, of Waterford, Mr. R. Dermott, and some other gentlemen who acted as a committee for the Catholic body, after consulting with the Catholic Archbishop of Dublin, drew up the form of an oath, which they professed their willingness and anxiety to take as an evidence of their loyalty," etc.[1]

Such is the history of the first declaration. Next of the oath of 1774, regarding which my opponents made so many mistakes. It is but right now to give them a few passages from the oath itself, which was indeed formed upon the declaration: "And I do swear, that I do reject and detest as unchristian and impious the belief that it is lawful to murder or destroy any person or persons whatsoever, for or under pretence of their being heretics: and also that unchristian and impious principle, that no faith is to be kept with heretics. I further declare, that it is no article of my faith, and that I do renounce, reject and abjure the opinion that princes excommunicated by the Pope and Council, or by any authority of the See of

[1] P. 63.

Rome, or by any authority whatsoever, may be deposed or murdered by their subjects, or by any person whatever; and I do promise that I will not hold, maintain or abet any such opinion, or any other opinion contrary to what is expressed in this declaration: and I do declare, that I do not believe the Pope of Rome, or any other foreign prince, prelate, State, or potentate, hath or ought to have any temporal or civil jurisdiction, power, superiority or pre-eminence, directly or indirectly, in this realm."

All this is clear: 1. The declaration and the oath both distinctly reject and condemn as unchristian and impious that it is lawful to murder or destroy heretics for heresy or under that pretence. 2. They both distinctly reject and condemn as unchristian and impious, that no faith is to be kept with heretics. 3. The oath declares that it is not a doctrine of the Roman Catholic Church, that princes excommunicated may be deposed or murdered; but it admits that such an opinion was held by some individuals. The juror declares he rejects and abjures the opinion. Upon this head the declaration is more accurately worded than the oath, though their meaning is precisely the same.

And if ever I wished for any portion of the spirit of Cervantes, of Butler, or of Swift—it were to be able to describe as I ought the folly which endeavors to conceal its own injustice and errors by its laughable absurdity. The Catholics had been represented as not valuing the sanctity of an oath; the proof of the charge was that they permitted themselves to be plundered and enslaved by Protestants sooner than swear what they did not believe. They had been represented as believing that the Pope could dispense with their observing their oaths; yet they permitted themselvess to be afflicted to the last degree of endurance rather than ask for that dispensation. They had been represented as believing that no oath to heretics is binding; yet they preferred permitting these heretics to take their valuable properties, and their valuable rights, and their valuable health and their valuable feelings, and their val-

uable lives, rather than make those heretics the empty compliment of a valueless oath! But now these Catholics were to be permitted to swear. Here was the jet of the melancholy joke. To permit them to swear was to acknowledge that they had been calumniated and plundered. Besides, the consciences of the episcopal bench must be satisfied. Let the free and rational and powerful mind of America read and stand amazed at the degrading burlesque of sanctimonious hypocrisy which assured the Catholic Committee that the act could not pass without the following addition, which it was of course necessary to have added to the oath for the purpose of satisfying the timorous consciences of their worst oppressors—and which to this day forms part of the recital of the disgusting farces which their courts occasionally exhibit. The Irish peer, the Irish archbishop, and the Irish peasant, who scarcely knows why he cannot be permitted to sign his own lease or give his note, until he shall have sworn to the truth of the contents of almost half a quire of paper, are equally insulted by the following conclusion of their oath: "And I do solemnly, in the presence of God, and of His only Son Jesus Christ, my Redeemer, profess, testify and declare, that I do make this declaration in the plain and ordinary sense of the words, without any equivocation or mental reservation whatever, and without any dispensation already granted by the Pope, or any authority of the See of Rome, or of any person whatever, and without thinking that I am or can be acquitted before God or man, or absolved of this declaration or any part thereof, although the Pope or any other person or persons or authority whatsoever shall dispense with or annul the same or declare that it was null and void from the beginning. So help me God." Some persons thought this piece of insulting, contumelious falsehood, and blasphemous sporting with the name of God and the Redeemer, was added by a cunning device of men who wished to wound, but were afraid or ashamed to strike, in order to disgust the Catholics with the oath and render

their refusal subservient to their own vile system of misrepresentations. Be this as it may; I have never read the oath without mingled feelings of indignation and contempt, for the blending of its malignant imputations and ludicrous puerility.

Bad as its history is, I have been forced by my opponents to give it, and shall still have to enter more deeply into the history of the subsequent transactions, for the purpose of vindicating that Church to which I have the happiness and the honor of belonging, from the foul charges which they have, unfortunately for themselves and for my readers, been tempted to make. Why, in the name of common sense, did they not confine their extracts to some articles like the story which either they or Luther filched from Andrew Dunn? In cases like that there is more safety. They can always fight *in nubibus*, and when they are driven to such a pass as not to be able to poison Papists with arsenic, they can shower down barrels of flour upon them to crush their carcasses and give manna to their foes. But facts are very dangerous, if they are portions of history; they will neither be allowed to indulge their imagination nor to exercise their inventive powers; they will always be brought to evidence. The more they test facts, the more will they please me, because I shall stick close to them until I shall enable our readers plainly to discover the truth.

V.

I have given perhaps too much in detail the history of the oath of 1774, which was the first oath. I now proceed to show that this first oath contained no such clause, which my opponents stated it did. The clause which they insert is in the following words: "I do swear that I do from my heart abhor, detest and abjure, as impious and heretical, that damnable doctrine and position, that princes, excommunicated by the Pope or by the authority of the See of Rome, may be deposed or murdered by their

subjects," etc. The clause which was really introduced into the oath, and which still forms part of it, is in the following words: "I further declare that it is no article of my faith, and that I do renounce, reject, and abjure the opinion that princes excommunicated by the Pope and Council, or by any authority of the See of Rome, or by any authority whatsoever, may be deposed or murdered by their subjects, or by any person whatsoever."

So that it was not true to assert that a clause which never was in the oath was in it; neither have the two clauses the same meaning, as I shall show when I come to treat of the fact which caused my opponents' mistake. Their total ignorance of the history of the British and Irish Catholics is manifest; yet they thoughtlessly take upon them to write upon facts of which they are grossly ignorant. If they know anything of the first principles of theology, they must at once perceive a serious and an important difference between the meaning of the clauses, and I hope they will not require that a Popish priest should be under the necessity of teaching them how proper it is that oaths should be in precise words. They are not Roman Catholics who swear to the thirty-nine articles, and after having sworn, discuss what was the meaning of their oath. Roman Catholics like to know before they swear what is the exact meaning of the oath; they were not Papists, who swore the *et cetera* oath in 1640. Lest my opponents might not have been able to find "The Anatomy of, etc., or the Unfolding of the Dangerous Clause of the Sixth Canon," London, printed 1641, I will beg to inform them that it was a comment upon a clause of the said canon, enacted in the convention of 1640, which required every clergyman to swear, amongst other clauses, the following: "Nor will I ever give my consent to alter the government of this Church by archbishops, bishops, deans, archdeacons, etc." Some persons who appear to have just as much respect for oaths as Papists have, objected to swear the *et cetera*, upon the ground that it might be

brought to mean several things, which they never intended: amongst others, Cleveland, the satirist, has left us the following lines:

I cannot half untruss
Et cetera, it is so abominous;
The Trogan nag was not so fully lined.
Unrip *etc.*; and you shall find
Og, the great commissary, and which is worse
The apparator upon his skew-bald horse;
And finally my babe of grace forbear
Et cetera, 'twill be too far to swear,
For 'tis to speak in a familiar style
A Yorkshire "Wea-bit," longer than a mile.

No such clause as they adduce was ever introduced into the Irish Catholic's oath of allegiance.

Now, will they be pleased to inform me how that which was never introduced could be introduced for a special purpose? One would be really tempted to imagine when he read this pretty lucubration of theirs that they were, in writing, perfectly careless of even the semblance of truth. Indeed, their making the Irish parliament introduce what they never introduced, to guard against a danger which never existed, is a sort of blunder to which moralists give a very short but a very significant name, and which, as not becoming the mouth of a gentleman to utter, I shall leave them to lisp out as prettily as they can; my pen is too genteel to afford ink for writing the shortest mode of expressing the assertion of the thing which is not. This is number two.

I have already shown what will warrant my stating that 1768 is number three. As to number four, there never was a vicar apostolic, who had jurisdiction in Ireland, since the days of St. Patrick; for the Irish have in a most unprecedented manner preserved their hierarchy through fire and blood since the days of its establishment to the present day; nor, indeed, need they envy those who perhaps could boast for the commencement of theirs as celestial an emblem as that of Darius, King of Persia.

I may then leave the noble war-horse to proclaim the new dynasty, by royal right and authority of parliament, and the Irish will feel satisfied with the possession of that which came to them through humble fishermen. Before the days of St. Patrick there were in Ireland a few vicars apostolic; but Pope Celestine gave to him, not only episcopal consecration and regular jurisdiction, but also legatine authority; and he established an ordinary hierarchy, which, notwithstanding the worst efforts of the most cruel persecution, still continues, and which of course did exist in 1768.

We are coming to see of what value is my opponent's argument respecting the letter of Dr. Ghillini. But before I proceed farther, I must ask who was Dr. Ghillini? The Pope's legate at Brussels. What is a legate? An ambassador. Is he infallible? No. Then what is the value of his assertions? The value of his commission. Does his commission extend to explain the doctrines of the Church? Just as far as the American ambassador's at Paris extends to explain the Constitution of the United States. Would the American ambassador's decision supersede that of the supreme court? Would it outweigh that of the judges upon circuit? Would it even equal that of the attorney general? No; an ambassador of the Pope. can bind his principal to do certain acts, which he has authority to agree to in his name; but he is not infallible, nor can he make the Pope infallible in any decision. If then the legate stated that these impious doctrines were doctrines of our Church, his declaration would not have made them so. If he did any act, its force would not extend beyond the territory to which he was legate. He was legate to Flanders, not to Ireland. The question is then easily settled: Dr. Ghillini's opinion was not of more authority than Mr. Hawley's would have been, so far as right is concerned. He ought to know the Catholic doctrine, but he was not infallible. He might have erred. Now I distinctly assert that if Dr. Ghillini did teach what my opponents state he did, he did err most egregiously.

They represent the legate as teaching: 1. That it would be unlawful to swear an abhorrence of the doctrine that faith was not to be kept with heretics; and of the doctrine that princes excommunicated by the Pope might be deposed or murdered. 2. That such an oath would be invalid, and could not bind or oblige conscience. 3. That these doctrines are defended by most Catholic nations. 4. That the Holy See has frequently followed them in practice. I shall show, first, that if Dr. Ghillini taught those four propositions, he taught what was not true, and I shall next show that he did not teach any one of them.

The doctrine of the Roman Catholic religion never changes. My opponents acknowledge this themselves. Now, in 1757, whilst Benedict XIV, who was one of the most learned Popes of the last century, occupied the Chair of St. Peter, the declaration of the Roman Catholic clergy and laity of Ireland containing the solemn abhorrence of those two doctrines, was recorded in Rome, and its propositions so far from being contradicted were approved of. 2. The Irish clergy and laity, have, since 1774, been in the constant habit of publicly swearing their declaration of abhorrence of those two doctrines, and yet they have been considered and esteemed most faithful Catholics, doing only what is lawful. 3. The Roman Catholics of Great Britain, since the year 1791, have been openly in the habit of swearing to their abhorrence of those two doctrines, and yet have been considered and esteemed most faithful Roman Catholics, doing what was lawful. Pope Pius VI has approved of this abjuration in each of those cases, and has held communion with those who abjured those doctrines; he has made them his vicars, and has given them every mark of affection and token of communion and love. His successors, Pius VII and Leo XII, have followed the same line of conduct. The bishops of France, of Spain, of Portugal, of Italy, of Germany, of all the rest of Europe, not to mention the rest of the Churches, held close communion with the bishops, who to their knowledge had made this abju-

ration. The principal universities of the Roman Catholic Church in Europe were consulted by the directions of Mr. Pitt, by the Roman Catholics of England, upon the following queries: "1. Has the Pope, or any cardinal, or any body of men, or any individual of the Church of Rome, any civil authority, power, jurisdiction, or pre-eminence whatsoever, within the realm of England? 2. Can the Pope, or cardinals, or any body of men, or any individual of the Church of Rome, absolve or dispense his majesty's subjects from their oath of allegiance upon any pretext whatsoever? 3. Is there any principle in the tenets of the Catholic faith by which Catholics are justified in not keeping faith with heretics, or other persons differing from them in religious opinions, in any transaction either of a public or a private nature?"

The answers to this third query will be all I shall now refer to. They are as follows:

From the answer of the Sacred Faculty of Divinity of Paris: "There is no tenet of the Catholic Church by which Catholics are justified in not keeping faith with heretics or those who differ from them in matters of religion. The tenet, that it is lawful to break faith with heretics, is so repugnant to common honesty and the opinions of Catholics, that there is nothing of which those who have defended the Catholic faith against Protestants have complained more heavily than the malice and calumny of their adversaries in imputing this tenet to them, etc. Given at Paris in the general assembly of the Sorbonne, held on Thursday, the 11th day before the Calends of March, 1789."

From the answer of the Faculty of Divinity of Douay: "To the third question the sacred faculty answers: That there is no principle of the Catholic faith by which Catholics are justified in not keeping faith with heretics, who differ from them in religious opinions. On the contrary, it is the unanimous doctrine of Catholics, that the respect due to the name of God, so called to witness, requires that the oath be inviolably kept, to whomsoever it is

pledged, whether Catholic, heretic, infidel, etc.—February 5, 1789."

From the answer of the University of Louvain: "The Faculty of Divinity of Louvain having been requested to give its opinion upon the questions above stated, does it with readiness—but struck with astonishment that such questions should, at the end of this eighteenth century, be proposed to any learned body, by inhabitants of a kingdom that glories in the talents and discernment of its natives! Proceeding to the third question, the said Faculty of Divinity (in perfect wonder that such a question should be proposed to it) most positively and unequivocally answers: That there is not and there never has been among the Catholics or in the doctrine of the Church of Rome, any law or principle which makes it lawful for Catholics to break their faith with heretics or others of a different persuasion from themselves in matters of religion, either in public or private concerns. The faculty declares the doctrine of the Catholics to be, that the divine and natural law, which makes it a duty to keep faith and promises, is the same; and is neither shaken nor diminished, if those with whom the agreement is made hold erroneous opinions in matters of religion, etc.—November 18, 1788."

From the answer of the University of Alcala: "To the third question it is answered: That the doctrine which would exempt Catholics from the obligation of keeping faith with heretics or with any other persons who dissent from them in matters of religion, instead of being an article of Catholic faith, is entirely repugnant to its tenets.—March 17, 1789."

From the answer of the University of Salamanca: "To the third, it is answered: That it is no article of Catholic faith, that Catholics may be allowed not to keep faith with heretics or with persons of any other desciption who dissent from them in matters of religion.—March 7, 1789."

From the answer of the University of Valladolid: "To the third, it is answered: That the obligation of keeping

faith is founded on the law of nature, which binds all men equally without respect to their religious opinions; and with regard to Catholics, it is still more cogent, as it is confirmed by the principles of their religion.—February 17, 1789."

These decisions were procured at the desire of Mr. Pitt, by the Roman Catholics of England, because the British parliament could not without them be induced to relax any of its persecuting code. What a ridiculous figure must this arrogant and haughty nation have cut in the eyes of learned Europe, when she, to the astonishment, not only of the faculty of Louvain, but of every man of common information, sent to know whether those blasphemous absurdities were tenets of the faith of the most numerous portions of the civilized world! How must Mr. Pitt's superciliousness have been rebuked upon reading the answer of the faculty of Louvain! I have often heard and read of the gullibility of John Bull; I have known much of it. But it required all the force of evidence to persuade me that even a yelping Cockney, or a Cornish miner, could be induced to believe such a libellous absurdity. I always loved America; I admired its rapid progress towards its high destinies; I came expecting to find, at least as much liberality and as much information upon the plain facts of religion, as was to be had in some English country towns and on some Irish mountains. But what shall I say? Oh! I am mortified and humbled. When I find an entire junta of the ministers of the religion which pretends to most gentility and most information, clergymen of the old established religion, or at least its substitute, the Protestant Episcopal Church of the United States, at the very seat of government, in the federal city, the publishers of a work said to be religious, and men who, if I am rightly informed, have actually undertaken to teach some kind of theology; I am mortified and humbled when I find those men expose their ignorance so far as to repeat calumnies of which Europe has been ashamed during nearly half a century.

My conclusion here is, if Dr. Ghillini believed those were Catholic doctrines, he was egregiously in error. 1. If he taught that the oath by which they were abjured was therefore unlawful, he was in error. 2. If he taught that such oath was invalid and could not therefore bind conscience, he was in error. 3. If he taught that those doctrines were defended by most Catholic nations, he was in error.

They were condemned by the Catholic nation of France, by Catholic Flanders, whose university is astonished that a question should be raised upon the subject, and which declares that there never were such doctrines among Catholics. They were condemned by the Spanish universities. I know the Portuguese would, if consulted, have gone at least as far as Spain. Will it be said that Germany was backward? Is there any doubt as to Poland? Centuries of the Italian history would wipe away any imputation from their nation upon this score. Where then are the Catholic nations? If he asserted that the Holy See has frequently followed in practice the principle that no faith was to be kept with heretics, he was in error. Let one such instance be proved against that see. If he held that the Holy See frequently followed in practice the doctrine that excommunicated princes might be murdered by their subjects, he was greatly in error. Let a single case of the description be produced. If he taught that the Holy See followed frequently in practice the principle that princes ought to be deposed, because they were excommunicated, he asserted what is not the fact. I shall not now state more upon this head, for this brings me to a new topic. Ghillini did not teach any of those propositions. We shall see what was his difficulty, and what was the scruple of those Catholics who cared nothing for the sanctity of an oath.

Cardinal Bellarmine and a few other writers stated, not as Catholic doctrines, but as their opinion, that God gave to the Pope as much temporal power as was necessary for guarding the faith, because his principal duty of its pres-

ervation occasionally required the means for its protection by temporal aid: and therefore, that if one of the powerful children of the Church became contumacious and mischievously exerted his influence to destroy the faith, the common Father of the Church could, by God's authority, restrain him, and if he could not be restrained without an abridgment of his temporal authority, the greater good of preserving the faith was sufficient warrant to abridge it. This specious sophistry was rejected and treated as it deserved by the great bulk of the Catholic princes, clergy, and people. It was never even suspected to have been in the contemplation of any human being, to propose this as a doctrine revealed by God; of course, not as a tenet of the Catholic Church; for nothing can be received as a tenet of the Church, unless it has been revealed by God. But it was adduced as the opinion of some writers, I care not how many or how few. Ghillini never asserted that the Pope had such power from God.

The Popes, in many instances, had a power of deposing kings and princes, not by divine right, but by the concession and grant of the nations and the kings themselves, deliberately given in congress. Surely, my opponents will not assert that nations and their rulers cannot regulate certain cases, in which kings and princes of those nations can be lawfully deposed, and also appoint a judge of the case, and an executor of their will. The Holy See was made in several of these causes the judge, and in most instances the case of excommunication for public defection from the faith was one of those causes. Thus, if a king or prince, whose nation or whose predecessor had been a party of this convention, did fall off from the faith, the Pope had two duties to perform: he had, as head of the Church, by divine right, the duty of judging of the defection, and pronouncing the sentence of excommunication: and he had, as delegate of the council or congress that made the convention or temporal law for deposing such princes, upon the same evidence, then to pronounce the

sentence of deposition, not by divine right, but by human right, by virtue of human law. Thus, speaking properly, those persons were not deposed by the Pope because of the excommunication nor because of the defection from the faith, but because of the regulation of the congress which empowered him to execute the law which it had made; and there was scarcely a king in Europe who did not, at one time or another, become a party to that law, and thus give the power by his own act. This law was not made by a council of bishops, but at their request by a congress of ambassadors, and confirmed by their sovereigns, and accepted by their nations, and acted upon by each nation against the others, but resisted by almost every nation when it came to bear against itself. Thus, the Popes were, by the law of Europe, as fully warranted to depose the princes, who were parties to the law, as by the Constitution of the United States the President is warranted to execute any law of Congress. I do not now examine the propriety or justice of the regulation: I only state the fact.

In the declaration of the Catholics in 1757, the words were, that they condemned the opinion that princes excommunicated, etc., "may therefore be deposed," etc. This was clear and explicit; and whilst it left no doubt as to the Catholics not believing that sentence of excommunication was sufficient reason for withdrawing their allegiance, it left the old law of Europe, which by human authority gave to the Pope a special power, just as it found it, to rest upon that authority. This also was the doctrine of the universities. But in drawing the oath, the word therefore was omitted; and to Ghillini and others this appeared to be in opposition to what was known to be lawful, viz., that such a convention could give the power of deposing excommunicated princes. The practice had been in existence in several Catholic countries, and the Holy See had acted upon the powers given to it. The oath appeared to condemn all this. Thus, they thought the oath was meant retrospectively to condemn all those acts which were legal at

the time they were done. In this view the oath would in that part be unlawful; and I need not, I trust, inform my opponents that if one clause of an oath is bad, the whole oath is unlawful; and if an oath is unlawful, their own homilies and their own archbishop will tell them what the legate told the Irish. But the Irish bishops, especially Dr. Butler, Archbishop of Cashel, and the other monster prelates, proved to the satisfaction of Pope Pius VI, that Ghillini and those other gentlemen made a great mistake as to the meaning given to the phrases by the Irish parliament, which, of course, as being the legislature, was the tribunal best qualified to explain what it intended to have sworn. The mistake with regard to the Pope's power of dispensing with oaths was also understood imperfectly by the legate. But those questions have been settled to the satisfaction of the British government, and the Pope and those traitors, the Irish Papists, now during nearly fifty years; and my opponents might have known more about them had they been at all industrious. It would be more creditable to them to study before they write, than to retail in America the libels upon us which have been, during a quarter of a century, scouted from Europe, and which no man who had the least regard for his reputation would, in Europe, repeat. As I am not informed that what is known in Europe to be untrue becomes truth when brought to America, I shall believe those statements to be here of the same nature as they would be there, until I shall have been better instructed.

Here is the last statement purporting to be taken from the surgeon: "Before this oath could receive the sanction of the legislature, it was condemned by the vicars apostolical of the western, northern, and southern districts, in an encyclical letter, addressed 'to all the faithful clergy and laity of those districts.'"

This does not regard Ireland. The Irish act was passed in 1774, the explanations to which the variance between the terms of the declaration in 1757 and the oath in 1774

gave rise, had been completed to the satisfaction of all parties in 1776. But in 1786, after a lapse of ten years, the English Catholic Committee was formed, and the present Mr. Charles Butler, under the appellation of secretary, became its dictator. With perhaps the best intentions, but with extraordinary presumption, he undertook to confer with a number of Protestant statesmen, who were disposed to be liberal, as to the best mode of so framing the discipline of the Catholic Church in England, as to meet the prejudices of the people; and as they had been taught to hate the name "Roman Catholics," they were to lay this aside, and the poor Papists were to take up the harmonious nickname of "Protesting Catholic Dissenters." How a Pole, or a Russian, or an Italian, or a Chinese, or a Tartar, or even a poor Irish Papist, was to recognize his brother with a new nickname, and some of Mr. Butler's quibbles to prove by chancery distinctions how lawfully he might swear that he was a Protestant, because he protested against the calumnies charged upon him, and that he was a Dissenter, because he dissented from the Church of England, would puzzle my opponents and me to know. I doubt that even the sign of the cross, and the Latin liturgy, and the holy water could have reconciled them, though unquestionably the new feathers stuck in could not have concealed all his plumage, for he still kept the Catholic. However, these sounds are rather novel, "Protestant Catholic," "Dissenter Catholic." To be sure, they jar a little now upon the ear, "sed plura te usus docebit." Now, neither my opponents nor Mr. Charles Butler can complain of me; I will vouch they could swear that in his way I am as good a Protestant as any in America, and I could myself swear I am a staunch Dissenter.

The Catholics thought this was going a little too far; but Mr. Mitford, now Lord Redesdale, thought otherwise. And that he was very fit to regulate their concerns, he proved by his bigoted folly, when he was lord chancellor in Ireland. However, he grew more civil after the venerable

Bishop Coppinger, of Cloyne and Ross, referred his lordship to some Irish statutes, which proved to him that his virulence had even outrun the cruelty of Irish legislation, and proved to him that an Irish parish priest was not a traitor, though a good English Protestant had flogged him most unmercifully and had sent him to New Holland with wretched convicts. And Lord Redesdale thought it very ungenerous that his bishop should prove that this priest did not deserve this punishment, so that even the British government was, by the force of the evidence, obliged to bring him back. Lord Redesdale was as little pleased with this as my opponents are with me—and for the very same reason that operates upon them. Yet this was one of the principal men selected to regulate the discipline of the English Catholics. In England the Catholics lost their hierarchy—they had vicars apostolic. Those vicars preferred regulating their own concerns. They found the oath which was proposed contained several objectionable clauses; amongst others, one which, by direct implication, would assert that there existed a heresy such as never existed. They condemned the oath for those faults, not for its abjuration of the imputed doctrines. They, through Bishop Milner, petitioned for the Irish oath, which abjured the doctrines; they obtained it, they swore it; to this day they swear it: therefore it is not true that they rejected and condemned an oath because it condemned those imputed tenets, but they rejected an oath which did condemn them, because it was on other accounts objectionable.

VI.

Having exhibited, at much greater length than I intended, the total want of truth in my opponents' premises, so far as they regarded the treaty of Westphalia, the Roman Catholics of Ireland, the vicars apostolic of England, and Legate Ghillini, at Brussels, they now call me off to Rome, and they begin upon their own account: "These doctrines, in relation to excommunicated princes and faith with heretics, are allowed

to have been contained in the 4th Lateran and other General Councils, uniformly considered infallible." They must permit me to translate the above passage into English. I have studied their language, and am therefore, I trust, competent to the task: "These doctrines in relation to excommunicated princes and faith with heretics, are allowed to have been taught by the 4th Lateran," etc. Or thus: "Are allowed to have been contained in the canons of the 4th Lateran," etc.

The doctrine as put by their surgeon, that princes excommunicated by the Pope might be murdered by their subjects was never taught by any council, certainly not by the 4th Council of Lateran. The doctrine that princes excommunicated by any ecclesiastical authority might be murdered by their subjects was never taught by any council. The doctrine that princes might, under any circumstances, be murdered by their subjects or by any person or persons was never taught, was never abetted, by any council. Murder has been prohibited by the law of God. No council ever assumed to change the law of God. No council ever assumed to justify what God has condemned. Neither is there any such provision nor any semblance of it in any of the acts of any council. The murder portion is not warranted by any single expression that I know of in any Roman Catholic council.

However, it may not be amiss to produce what this 4th Council of Lateran enacted respecting shedding of blood. As my opponents are canonists, they must have read its enactments; I believe they will allow the following to be a fair transcript of canon xviii: "Let no clergyman dictate or pronounce a sentence of blood; neither let him carry the vindictive sentence of blood into execution nor be at its execution. . . . . nor let any clergyman write or dictate letters destined to warrant the execution of a vindictive sentence of blood. Wherefore, let this charge be committed, not to clergymen, but to laymen in the courts of princes."

This is doubtless a very extraordinary canon for a council which we are told taught that subjects might murder their

princes, provided those princes had been excommunicated by the Pope. There were present in this council ambassadors of the Emperors Otho IV of the West, and Henry of the East, together with those of most of the kings and princes of Europe; and yet we are gravely told that without a single remark on their part, the council did teach that their masters might be murdered, provided the Pope had previously excommunicated them! Now let us see what my opponents would have us believe:

1. That this council strained at a gnat in prohibiting clergymen, in its 18th canon, the practice of such parts of surgery as required amputations, incisions, and cautery; besides the passing, or executing, or aiding in executing a sentence, which caused the shedding of blood; and yet swallowed a camel, by sanctioning murder, but gave this sanction so cunningly, that although it was given, it was so perfectly concealed as to baffle any person's scrutiny who sought to discover it. Probably it was written with lemon juice. 2. That the council proclaimed this doctrine in the presence of the congress of all the emperors, kings and princes of Christendom, and that they, good souls, were so pious and so priest-ridden as not to object one syllable, lest the Pope should excommunicate them and they should be murdered. 3. My opponents require of us to believe that several general councils taught the doctrine that princes excommunicated by the Pope might be murdered, and this weighty charge is fastened on those councils, and not only upon them, but upon all the Roman Catholics, except those who are too ignorant to be wicked, without their adducing one syllable from any act of any council; without adducing any contemporary writer; without any contemporary historian; without adducing any monument; in a word, without one particle of evidence; but they repeat an old calumny of which the basest hack of the most degraded press in Europe would now feel ashamed. And they deliberately insult the understanding of America by requiring it to take their assertion of falsehood for evidence of a fact. 4. They require us to

believe this murderous doctrine, though they do not adduce the name of one prince who being excommunicated has been so murdered. Not to mention several upon the continent of Europe, the mean and unprincipled John of England, who would betray the rights of his people and of his throne to the ambition of Rome, found no one to murder him, but he found Roman Catholic bishops and Roman Catholic barons to compel him to preserve at least some liberty, to sign their Magna Charta, and to treat Rome as she deserved, when she interfered with the rights and liberties of the people of England.[1] The creator of my opponents' parent Church, King Henry VIII, whom they praise God for having raised up as a godly and pious prince, was excommunicated by the Pope, and yet no Roman Catholic dipped his hand in his blood. Their Elizabeth, of whose virginity they boast, as one of our States yet testifies, though they decry the observance in us which they commend in her, was excommunicated by the Pope: yet though her unfortunate Papist cousin was murdered, no Roman Catholic cut short the days of her single blessedness; nor refused to venture his life against her enemies.

Thus without evidence, against probability, in the face of facts, they make an assertion which we pronounce to be a calumny. What better proof of a negative can we adduce?

The doctrine of the surgeon in relation to faith with heretics, viz., that no faith was to be kept with them, was never taught by this nor by any other Roman Catholic council that I know of. I therefore take the liberty of despatching very summarily my opponents' assertion in relation thereto. They have made the assertion; I deny its truth, and defy them to prove it.[2]

We come to a proposition which contains all the fallacy of the assertion which they have made, and which therefore requires a more close examination. They assert it is well known that the doctrine that princes excommunicated by the Pope should therefore be deposed by their subjects

[1] The former editors noted this as rather incautious. They were wrong. No Pope, speaking *ex cathedra*, has claimed any authority over civil rights.

[2] They never tried.

was maintained in the 4th Council of Lateran and other general councils. Laying aside their vague phrase, other general councils, we shall confine ourselves to the one which they specify. They add, this council was uniformly considered infallible. This again is too loose a mode of writing where the charge is of so grave a nature. We had better first be precise here.

I beg to remind them that they, being learned theologians, must be aware that Roman Catholics do not believe general councils to be infallible in all their transactions. Suppose then a general council did teach that princes excommunicated by the Pope ought to be deposed, would this be a subject upon which Roman Catholics are bound to believe the judgment of the council would be infallibly correct? By no means. Roman Catholics believe the general council properly constituted and conducted will with infallible certainty give a correct decision: 1. Upon any question as to what doctrines God has revealed: that is, respecting articles of faith. 2. Respecting doctrinal facts, such as whether a special book contains true doctrines, or has errors, and if so, what these errors are. 3. Respecting the truth or falsehood, the correctness or error of principles of morality. Beyond this extent, no Roman Catholic is bound to believe any council infallible.

He is not bound to believe the council infallible in making civil or political regulations. Neither is he required to believe that the council has any power or authority to make any such regulation, and if the council should make it, he is not therefore bound to obey it. Suppose a general council were to make a law requiring, under pain of excommunication, the Roman Catholic citizens of the United States to vote for no candidate for office unless he was a Roman Catholic, the Papists of this Union would disobey the law, their bishops and priests would continue to officiate and would be still in the communion of the Church, because the sentence of excommunication would be invalid, for the law would have been made respecting a subject not within

the jurisdiction of the council. It would have just as much value as an act of Congress regulating how the cardinals should be chosen and in what manner the Archbishop of Toledo should make his visitation. If councils sometimes undertook what they ought not to undertake, they did no more than other bodies which have exceeded their powers but not forfeited them. Suppose Congress should, during its present session, pass an act to regulate the manner in which Leo XII should give his blessing during the jubilee, now observed in Rome, would General La Fayette's grant be therefore invalidated? Yet this is the species of logic with which we are every day assailed. "Your councils did some things which were not within their jurisdiction, therefore they never had jurisdiction to do anything."

My opponents would ask next, suppose an army of the Popish nations was raised to punish those excommunicated American Papists, what would be done? Never fear; we have General Jackson, and I assure them, if he would take the command, he need not ask a single Protestant to fight. We would give him Catholics enough who would never halt upon the boundary line to convert the Constitution into a shield for their bodies, instead of making their bodies a shield for the Constitution. Of course, my opponents would cry out against the bigotry of this council for preventing Papists from voting to place Protestants in offices. What say they to North Carolina and to New Jersey, that prevent Protestants from giving their votes to Catholics?[1] This is toleration. This is liberty of conscience. Suppose the Papists embodied themselves to place Catholics, by force, in those offices, and that those two tolerant sisters in our Union became disturbed in consequence of this exception to Papists in their constitutions, and they called upon the President—would not the whole military force of the Union be brought to bear upon the rebellious Papists in those States? And if they persisted, would they not be exterminated? Thus, in our own land of civil and religious liberty, we have two States whose

[1] These laws were abolished chiefly through the exertions of Bishop England.

sapient conventions, weighing well and duly estimating the dangers to which their liberties would be exposed by reason of the terrors of their childish imagination and the calumnies, of our enemies, have as yet continued an odious distinction, which is less disgrace to those who suffer under it than to those who continue it, and to support which, if necessary, all the force of the Union, Catholic and Protestant, should contribute even to the shedding of blood, until it shall be constitutionally abolished.

Now, the canon of the Council of Lateran to which my opponents evidently allude, and which, if I can judge from their context, they appear rather to have learned of from others, than to have read themselves, is one which, if passed by bishops, was beyond their power, for it regarded temporal punishment: which if passed by the congress of ambassadors, was by the law of nations good and valid: which, from the circumstances of the times seems to have been very necessary, and is more defensible upon just reasoning and upon the principles of our Constitution, than the clauses which disqualify Catholics for offices in North Carolina and New Jersey; and which has not by any means the force or extent which they insinuate.

I might very easily deny at once their assertion, but I prefer giving a more detailed though perhaps a tedious explanation of the true meaning of this misrepresented canon of the Council of Lateran. [1] This council was held in 1215, under Pope Innocent III. The first canon condemns a special heresy by its special recitations of doctrine. These were principally the unity of God who is Creator both of spirit and of matter, in opposition to the Manichæan principle of two Gods, one the creator of spirit, the other the creator of matter. Also that He created the good angels and the bad angels, all being created originally good, but some by the abuse of their free will having become wicked; in opposition to the same sect who taught that they were the creations of different Gods; also that He was the author of the old law, given by Moses and

[1] See "Discourse Before Congress," vol. I.

the prophets, and of that given by Jesus Christ; moreover that the Son of God assumed true flesh from His Virgin Mother: that sect taught that the Son of God could not have true flesh, as all flesh was created by an evil principle, and that the Old Testament was given by the bad God and the New Testament by the author of good. I shall not go farther into the details, for here is all which now suits my purpose, and though the remainder would strengthen my argument it would only be a confirmation which just now it does not need. One of the consequences of this Manichæan principle was, that as it was criminal to oppose the author of good and to aid the author of evil, no person could without sin co-operate in the production of bodies; marriage was forbidden, but shameful and nameless criminality abounded, especially amongst the Bulgari, the Vaudois and the Albigenses. This profligate heresy was known in the council by the distinct and pre-eminent characteristic, "*hæc hæresis*—this heresy." The council, it is true, condemned also the Abbot Joachim's errors of quaternity, in its second canon; but it was not this heresy, and this heresy was no every-day heresy. In any civilized nation the crime of this heresy is punishable with death, and if Bishop Joycelyn had been found guilty of it in London, where he did not wait for his trial, he would have been hanged. Of course my opponents will not require of me to inform them who Bishop Joycelyn is, nor will I so far degrade myself as to imitate a certain class of writers, who, if in the course of a century they can find out a criminal Pope or a criminal bishop of the Roman Catholic Church, will exhibit him to the world as a fair sample of what the Church is, and when told that in the same Church there are good and virtuous men, will answer, "True—but they are better than their religion." No, the Council of Lateran did not more deeply execrate and condemn the crime than does that Church to which Bishop Joycelyn belongs, and his crime and those of several English black-coats recorded in their public papers in England, within

the last two or three years, are not to be imputed to the body which condemns and execrates their crimes. They would be condemned by its clergy, and they are doomed to death by the laws of England. Were the bishops of the Council of Lateran criminal in condemning this heresy? Were the members of the congress of ambassadors criminal in declaring it a crime, such as ought not to be tolerated, and enacting that if the feudatory lords did not punish the criminals, they should be deposed? Some process was necessary for the purpose of having the law executed. This was regulated in the third canon of that council, by the joint authority of the council and the congress. Let us see this obnoxious portion of the canon: "Damnati vero hæretici sœcularibus potestatibus præsentibus, aut eorum ballivis relinquantur animadversione debita puniendi. Clericis prius a suis ordinibus degradatis; ita quod bona hujusmodi damnatorum, si laici sint confiscentur: si vero clerici, applicentur ecclesiis, a quibus stipendia perceperunt."

My opponents must clearly perceive in this portion of the canon full evidence of the acts being of a temporal nature, and all such were passed by the temporal powers present; but as there was also, upon two grounds, a claim respecting the concerns of the Church, the bishops were to pass this portion. Very clearly, too, this did not regard a decision of faith, as the two previous canons did; it was a mere civil regulation, but having in two respects a bearing upon religious concerns; the council had no claim either to infallibility, or exclusive jurisdiction, upon the subject. "But condemned heretics are to be left to be punished, according to their deserts, by the secular powers that are present or by their bailiffs."

Because of another canon which forbade, as I showed, a clergyman to interfere or even to draw the warrant, the clergy were merely to find as jurors the special fact, upon the question, whether the individual arraigned did hold such heretical tenets as were charged. The secular power

alone had the right to say whether it would therefore look upon him to be a criminal; and also, to say whether it would punish him, and to say what that punishment should be, and to inflict it. With all this the council had no concern; God gave the Church no authority in those matters. But it certainly was a question for an ecclesiastical tribunal to decide upon whether this man held that heretical doctrine. The next was also a matter for bishops to regulate: the confiscation of property was a State question, but had been regulated by the feudal customs and law. "Clergymen are to be first degraded from their orders; the goods also of the condemned, if they be laymen, are to be confiscated—if they be clergymen, are to be given to the churches from which they receive stipends."

The next object was to provide for the execution of this law. To judge fairly of any question we must try it by its own circumstances, not by extraneous or inapplicable circumstances. This law for punishing criminals was not lately made in America, where there is a special mode of impeachment, but in feudal times. We must judge by feudal customs. The feudatory held from his sovereign upon certain conditions; so long as he observed the conditions, his title was good; so long as the title was good, his vassals were bound in allegiance to him; as soon as he violated the conditions, the allegiance to him was at an end. The only persons who could affix those conditions to the tenure were the sovereigns; and when the feudatory was in possession under his title, no new condition could be added without his consent and acceptance. The special mode adopted for insuring the execution of this law is contained in the subsequent part of this canon, and it regulates the whole process of the punishment; deposition after impeachment of the negligent feudatory to whom the execution of the law was committed. The Pope was made the judge, and he had no discretion, for the canon regulated the process; and after the process, he should pronounce the sentence: "But if the temporal lord, being required and

admonished by the Church, shall have neglected to cleanse his land from this heretical filth, let him be excommunicated by the metropolitan and the other bishops of the province; and if he shall have neglected to make satisfaction within a year, let this be made known to the Pope, that he may declare absolved thenceforward from their allegiance his vassals, and may give up the land to be occupied by Catholics who, having dispossessed the heretics, may keep it without any contradiction in the purity of faith; saving the right of the principal lord, provided he shall place no obstacle nor give any impediment to this: the same process is also to be observed respecting those who have no principal lords."

This is not a decision of doctrine made by divine authority by an infallible tribunal, and which is therefore justly to be called a tenet of the Church; and for which, and for the inevitable consequences of which, every individual member of that Church is responsible; but it is a law by authority of the secular powers which were present, binding those whom they could bind, and no others, to its observance; and providing for its execution by the principles of what was for them then, but not now for us, the law of nations. Thus, although it gave to the Pope a power of declaring, after due process, what lord had forfeited his claim to allegiance, because of neglect of his duty in a special case, it did not give to him a general power of deposing in any one case; his power was rather declaratory than executive. The execution was committed to the secular powers which continued faithful. And the person who should execute the law would not hold his tenure from the Pope, but from the sovereign; not by virtue of the papal authority, but in consequence of this special law. It is, therefore, as gross a misrepresentation to state, that it is a part of the Catholic religion to believe that the Pope has the power of deposing princes who are excommunicated, as it would be to say it was part and portion of the Protestant religion, that a child who became

a Protestant should be entitled to strip all his Popish brothers and sisters and his poor old Popish parents of their lands and tenements, because a Protestant parliament once made the law and the head of the Protestant Church has in hundreds of instances enforced it.

How would all the presses in the Union groan against my bigotry, and my ignorance, and my calumnious falsehood, were I to publish that it is part of their religion enacted by the same kind of general council that formed the Church of England, and frequently enforced by its supreme head, whether male or female, that the plunder of a whole conscientious family by a profligate, disobedient and hypocritical child is lawful in the sight of God and meritorious in the plunderer! Yet it is equally true as their assertion—in fact, more near to truth, as I know well. Mark, then, the difference, even in the United States, between them and me. They libel me, and not a press complains, but the single one employed by the *Miscellany*. No one, except their humble servant, tells them that they do wrong. But let us change sides; let me treat them as they treat me, and I verily believe I dare not show my face abroad; and even in the recesses of my concealment I would be pelted with paragraphs. Oh! what an exhibition of Popery and bigotry would be made? However, America daily adds to her stock of knowledge, and fables cannot, at this side of the Atlantic, much longer pass for history.

VII.

My opponents, I trust, must now feel satisfied that they have failed to prove Roman Catholics guilty of holding the abominable and destructive tenet that "no faith is to be kept with heretics." They must perceive that the Pope did not teach that doctrine at the time of the protest against the treaty of Westphalia; and they must feel equally certain that they grossly traduced my unfortunate countrymen, whom the objects of their esteem and admiration oppressed, and plundered, and persecuted. I am convinced, if they do not

perceive all this, such of the American people as have had the kindness and the patience to read my letters, have no doubt upon the subject.

Allow me to put a case which, of course, is not very improbable. Suppose one of my opponents had the honor of being invited to preach before the Senate of the United States; and this enlightened body was engaged in deliberation as to whether it would advise the President to make a treaty with the King of France, with the Emperor of Austria, with the King of Spain, with the King of Portugal, or any of those other Papists who are in power in Europe; or with the Republic of Colombia, or that of Mexico, or any of those Popish governments at this side of the Atlantic. In common prudence, the Senate ought not to consider any man to be better than his profession; or, if this enlightened body considered any man inconsistent with his profession, what reliance could it have upon his profession to observe his treaty? Thus, if one of my opponents believed what they have written, he must feel it his duty to speak truth to the Senate, especially if he were paid for telling what he conscientiously believed to be God's truth. It would then be his duty, a duty for which the nation pays him, to tell that Senate: "It is a religious tenet of this Popish nation not to keep faith with you heretics, for 'this is a Protestant country.' You have sworn to maintain the rights of the nation, and yet you sacrifice those rights to persons with whom you cannot safely treat; for they may promise as much as they please, but the Pope can ruin your diplomacy — no faith will be kept with you." Suppose he were able to prevail upon the present chaplain of the Senate, who is a clergyman of his Church, to use such language as this; I should suppose the Senate would believe him, because I could not otherwise see how that body would be justified in paying him. They pay him out of the property of the nation for preaching truth, and beseeching God to give them wisdom. If this gentleman believed what my opponents wrote to be truth, it is his positive duty to preach it to the Senate; it is his positive duty to pray

to God to make the Senate wise, to sanction no treaty with men who are inconsistent with their profession,—nor with men whose profession it is not to keep faith with this country. The Senate looks upon his doctrine to be true and advises the President accordingly. If they believe their preacher this is their bounden duty; if they do not believe him, why pay him? The President bids Mr. Adams inform the ambassadors that the treaty cannot be entered into. Negotiators generally like to know why they cannot succeed, because it is a very natural question for their principals to ask them why they fail. Now, only imagine such a man as Mr. Adams telling the French ambassador,—why, no doubt, people say that Mr. Adams himself said some things which we like to forget, and got some things printed which we hope he did not,—but only imagine Mr. Adams cogitating the various modes of diplomatic expression which would convey these ideas: "Sir, the king, your master, and you and every member of the same Church, who is not too ignorant to know what his religion is, has so little principle, that we do not know how he can be bound to observe a treaty; therefore we will make no treaty with him, nor with any member of his Church; and this is the reason why your mission has failed. Our Senate has selected a wise theologian to instruct it; and he has assured the nation that you keep no faith with heretics like us, for, sir, this is a Protestant country." The ambassador writes home to Europe. What a figure would our nation make? What wonder and awe would reign through all the Popish universities at contemplating the deep erudition of the chaplain of the Senate! How would kings and emperors envy the felicity of the august body which had so much piety and learning at the trifling expense of only eight dollars daily! We are not certain of the amount, but this is only a trifle. How would the Prince of Croi, the Archbishop of Paris, Don Victor Saez, and the old Trappist bite their lips! The cardinals would tremble, the Tiber run back with affright, and our own capitol would no longer envy its ancient prototype the cackling sentinel,

as we too should be providentially saved from Gaulish ruin. I should hope the reverend chaplain of the Senate does not believe that it is a tenet of Roman Catholics, "that faith is not to be kept with heretics." No, I should be sorry to think the Senate of the United States would so far testify against nearly, if not fully, two hundred thousand of their fellow-citizens, as to select for their chaplain a man who would publish to the world that these Papists were unworthy of being trusted by their government until they changed their religion. Would such men as Mr. Gaillard and Mr. Haynes insult their Catholic fellow-citizens in this State of South Carolina by indulging such a suspicion? How many of them are to be found in Mr. Hayne's own regiment in this city of Charleston? Yet my opponents would tell this respectable Senator not to confide in the Popish captain, the Popish lieutenants, the Popish sergeants, the Popish soldiers of his regiment! Do the Popish members of Congress know their religion? Do they keep faith with heretics? Do the Popish officers of the army keep faith with this country? Has the Secretary of War betrayed his trust when he selected a Popish clergyman to make some of the most important examinations in the scientific department of our most useful national academy? Are not all our archives in the Department of State in the custody of Papists? Were not some of our oldest commanders in the navy—are not some of our present most active officers of that branch of the service—are not a large portion of our sailors Papists? Is not the greater number of our army made up of these traitors, the Irish Papists? Are not many of our foreign consuls Papists? What then could have possessed my opponents, with all these facts before their eyes—in the midst of so many Popish ambassadors and ministers of Popish kings and powers, so to outrage common decency, to expose themselves, and as far as in them lay to degrade our nation, by declaring such a monstrous falsehood as that it was a tenet of our Church, that no faith was to be kept with heretics; that no oath could bind us to them, and that we cannot

be good citizens unless we change our religion? I protest solemnly, though I have written so much upon the subject, and been so familiar with my opponents' mistakes, I can yet scarcely believe that I am awake, and in America, and find such an assertion seriously put forward by a man claiming to be a clergyman, and of a Church too very like one and almost a branch of one which has produced eminent and respectable scholars, men of great general knowledge and of extensive learning.

Do I go too far when I turn my opponents' artillery upon themselves?

> "Nor misdeem a soldier's bold emprise,
> Who, in the dissonance of barb'rous war
> Long-trained, revisits oft the sacred treasures
> Of antique memory!"

Suppose that the Roman Catholic Church were the guilty thing which they exhibited:

> "Thieves for their robbery have authority,
> When judges steal themselves,—
> Go to your bosom;
> Knock there, and ask your heart, what it doth know,
> That's like my brother's fault: if it confess
> A natural guiltiness, such as is his,
> Let it not sound a thought upon your tongue
> Against my brother's life."
>
> * * * * *
>
> "The jury, passing on the prisoner's life,
> May in the sworn twelve have a thief or two
> Guiltier than him they try."

As I have got into conversation with old Will Shakespeare, I cannot for the life of me, without regret, quit my poor friend for such dry and tedious fellows, as I must soon keep company with, by their compulsion. My opponents have come out boldly and in all their strength.

> "Oh, it is excellent,
> To have a giant's strength; but it is tyrannous
> To use it like a giant.
> Could great men thunder
> As Jove himself does, Jove's would ne'er be quiet.
> For every pelting, petty officer,
> Would use his heaven for thunder; nothing but thunder,
> Merciful heaven!"

Dear! dear! I must get into other company. Well, my opponents have, of course, read of such a personage as Thomas Cranmer. Papists believe that an oath must be taken in the sense of the parties imposing it. Such, too, is the doctrine of all the public writers; of all the moralists of the Church of England. This said Thomas obtained bulls for the Archbishopric of Canterbury in 1532 from Pope Clement VII and was consecrated in 1533, by a Popish bishop; he being at the time privately married in Germany, contrary to the canons, which he then swore to observe, and which were then and during the reign of Henry VIII a part of the law of England. If the canons were against his conscience, why swear to observe and enforce them? If they were not, why swear to observe them whilst he was conscious of their violation? He also swore the canonical oath of obedience to the Pope—at the very time that he had determined to throw off his authority. I am aware that it is pretended that he, with the king's approbation, previously took four witnesses privately into St. Stephen's Chapel, and there in their presence signed a protestation against taking the oath, except with the reservation of its accordance with the law of God, the king's rights, and his own notions of reformation. I do not believe he made any such previous protestation, because I find the best critics and the persons who were contemporary and intelligent and conscientious writers deny it. But suppose he made this private protestation without the Pope's knowledge, and without the knowledge of the consecrating bishop. We find him go publicly to the altar, and take the oath without a single remark before the public. What would my opponents say to Papists if they justified such duplicity and dishonesty? Will oaths be any security, if it be lawful to make previous private protests, and publicly to swear boldly through the whole? But this was not all: the good archbishop had to swear the same oath again before he was invested with the Pallium, and he swore it, publicly and openly and unqualifiedly; and it is the admirers

of this man of apostolic simplicity who charge with a disregard for their oaths the men who suffered every species of plunder and contumely, rather than take an oath which they cannot look upon as a testimony to truth! It is the admirers of this man who charge us with having papal dispensations to swear as we please!

This same good bishop who swore to observe the canons, yielded precedence in the convocation to Thomas Crumwell, a layman, as Vicar-General of his Majesty, King Henry VIII, to whom, as supreme head on earth of God's Church, he now swore the oath of supremacy; and because the king desired him, he, in contravention of that oath, yielded his own powers, and procured the other bishops to do the same, and to petition the king for commissions during his good pleasure. To how many contradictions and inconsistencies did he set his signature? How often did he swear to one side and the other? This is my opponents' first archbishop. Have Roman Catholics ever reasoned so badly or been so grossly unjust as to infer from this man's exhibitions, that it is a tenet of the English Protestant Church, that oaths are not binding? Have they ever been guilty of the foul calumny of charging that Church with holding as tenets the corrupt maxims of its criminal members or the follies of its weak members, and unblushingly asserted that men who fall far short in their practice of the morality which it teaches, were better in their conduct than the principles of their religion; and that their virtue was the result of their ignorance of their own tenets?

I do not mean to give my opponents more than a slight hint for the purpose of refreshing their memories, but if they are disposed to enter fully into the details, I will pledge myself to give them facts, until they cry out "hold, hold—enough, enough." Suppose the Pope did cause those princes to be deposed who would not obey the general law of Christendom in favor of morality. Is the Roman Catholic Church the only one which deposes magistrates for their peculiarity of doctrine? Allow me here to do

justice to the Vaudois. In my last, I in the hurry of my pen wrote their name where I ought not: the early Vaudois, that is, in the twelfth century, ought not to be classed with the folks of Bulgaria, or Toulouse, or Albi. Let us hear a few of the Reformers on this subject. Wickliffe would depose a magistrate for having committed any mortal sin; one much less than heresy would answer: for instance, such a trifle as bearing false witness against a body of from one to two hundred millions of persons during about eighteen hundred years. I have no doubt but he would say, a man neither ought to be a king nor even have power to preach in a Senate chamber, who would have committed this peccadillo. What would he then have said to heresy, and especially to this heresy? Luther often attacked that arch heretic, the Pope. But in his "Theses," published in 1545, he informs his friends that the Pope is a mad wolf, "against which the world takes up arms at the first signal, without waiting for any command from a magistrate, and if after he has been shut up in an inclosure, the magistrate sets him at liberty, you may continue to pursue the savage beast, and with impunity attack those that prevent his destruction. If you fall in the engagement before the beast has received a mortal wound, you have only one thing to repent of, that you did not bury your dagger in his breast. This is the way to deal with the Pope; all those who defend him must be treated also like a band of robbers under their captain, whether they be kings or Cæsars." This is pretty clear.

But England! Yes, that land of light and liberty. She would not depose a king, if he became a Catholic! Is there no law in England to depose a king for being of an unparliamentary religion? Indeed, indeed, I am not very fond of the memory of James II. I would not pay his relics as much respect as King George IV has paid them. I believe, however, that the true reason for his deposition was his Popery. Kings more arbitrary held the sceptre without having been deposed. Was he as arbitrary as

his father, the martyr of my opponents' calendar? I beg their pardon; not theirs, but that of the Church of England. Was he as arbitrary as his first name sake? I may be allowed the privilege of my country, if I make a king of the good Queen Bess. Pray, did the pusillanimous monarch, who helped to ruin that country, kick and cuff as despotically as did this virgin mistress? I am in error, for I address my opponents as if they were clergymen of the English Protestant Church. What think they of King Henry VIII, "the faithful and true minister of most famous memory?" Which was the greater despot, the greater tyrant, Henry VIII or James II? James was dethroned not so much for his Popery even, as because he endeavored to have the Papists tolerated. I do not attempt to justify his mode of doing what any honest man ought to do. But no king or queen that ever previously occupied the British throne was questioned for doing similar acts to those for which he was dethroned; nor would he, but for his religion. And, if the present King of England were to become a Roman Catholic from a conscientious motive, the law of England would depose him, as effectually as the law of the year 1215 would have deposed any feudal lord in Europe. Is it not a deposition from the office of constable, not to say governor, in North Carolina, to deny the truth of the Protestant religion? Are not the enjoyment of civil rights and the capacity of being elected to offices of trust or profit and to the legislature, attempted to be confined to Protestants in New Jersey? Though upon looking closely at the clause, I suspect some one has cheated the persons who wished to exclude all but Protestants, and only permitted them in truth to come in under the appearance of courtesy, for what it was meant they should possess exclusively.[1] Thus we find, if Catholics did exclude those who differed from them in religion from governing, and required their deposition, Protestants have done the same, and they still do the same—and do it, not only in England, but in the

[1] These laws were swept away chiefly by the exertions of Bishop England.

United States of America: and only that delicacy to individuals restrains me, I could show the American public, that it has and does produce very serious inconveniences to many excellent citizens. I do not advert to the old blue laws of Connecticut. I allude to laws and principles now in operation. I love America better than they do, who always boast of everything and of every person; but my love is not that blind affection which leads to unmeaning rhapsody—but that fond attachment which prizes and would preserve all the good which now is, and would endeavor to find and acquire that which is wanting. I love America, as Brooke makes Gustavus Vasa love Dalecarlia:[1]

"With thee I sought this favorite soil: with thee
These favorite sons I sought: thy sons, O Liberty!
For even amid the wilds of life you lead them,
Lift their low rafted cottage to the clouds,
Smile o'er their heaths, and from their mountain tops
Beam glory to the nations.

* * * * * *

"Are ye not marked by all the circling world,
As the great stake, the last effort for liberty?
Say!—is it not your wealth, the thirst, the food,
The scope, the bright ambition of your souls?
Why else have you, and your renowned forefathers,
From the proud summit of their glitt'ring thrones
Cast down the mightiest of your lawful kings,
That dared the bold infringement?

* * * * * *

"Now from my soul I joy. I joy, my friends
To see ye feared; to see that e'en your foes
Do justice to your valor!"

Such is my love for America. But that love and admiration shall not blind my mind's eye, if I be master of my powers. I shall not therefore say that any State in America does right in disfranchising a Catholic, merely because of his religion. I shall not say that my opponents did right in styling America a Protestant country, for the phrase is suited only to a State which gives a preference

[1] It is worthy of remark that after Gustavus Vasa was raised to the throne by the heroic Catholics of Dalecarlia, he turned upon and subjected them to a cruel persecution.

to the Protestant religion. Would I reason correctly if I were to say from these premises that the Protestant religion teaches that if Catholics are in power they ought to be deposed, and if not in power, they should not be elected thereto? Would I reason correctly if I asserted that the Protestant religion teaches that powerful Catholics ought to be assassinated, because I find it to be a fact that the Duke of Guise was assassinated by Poltrot, and that Beza represents it as done very probably by the inspiration of heaven? Am I in reviewing the miseries and the degradation of Ireland, to attribute to the Protestant religion all the murders of persons of my creed, committed under the pretext of love of God, by those of one like my opponents'? This is an account which we have yet to adjust.

Produce one fact similar to the breach of the articles of Limerick, in Ireland; show me where Catholics broke faith which they plighted to Protestants. The head of the English Church pledged his faith, and the faith of Protestant England, to the traitors, the Irish Papists, that if they laid down their arms, and surrendered the city of Limerick, and the other garrisons which they held, and acknowledged him to be King of Ireland—for he had not yet been recognized by them as King of Ireland—that country not being then under the dominion of the English parliament, was not bound by the act of that body—he would guarantee to them freedom of conscience, full civil rights, and their property. Yet when their army was disbanded, they were persecuted for the profession of their faith; they were stripped of their civil rights; they were plundered of their property; they were calumniated to the world. More than a century has elapsed, and this injustice continues; this violation of faith with Catholics is persevered in by the Protestant head of the English Church, by the Protestant bishops, by the Protestant peers, by the Protestant House of Commons. My opponents retail the calumnies against the people who fly hither from this perfidious oppression, and without adducing one fact, they tell us that we keep no faith with heretics.

Our forefathers kept their faith with them with a vengeance. They kept it very unnecessarily too. Plighted faith creates mutual obligation, and perfidy on one side discharges obligation on the other.[1]

VIII.

We now enter upon a new topic. I come to examine the correctness of the following assertions in my opponents' article: "1. A Roman Catholic can be in principle a faithful subject of a Protestant government, only when an unfaithful subject of the Pope. 2. A consistent Papist, and a dutiful subject of a Protestant administration, must be incompatible, so long as the Pope shall claim jurisdiction over all Christendom, and the Roman Church shall continue to maintain that faith is not necessary to be kept with heretics. 3. The only reason why, among Papists, there are many good subjects of Protestant governments, arises from the fact that there are so many in the Roman Church inconsistent with their profession, better than their profession, having no idea of all the doctrines and all the erroneous corruptions of the faith they acknowledge."

It will greatly facilitate our progress to know accurately the meaning of those assertions. To know the meaning, we should discover the object of their introduction. The first clauses of the sentence in which they are found, explain the objects of introducing the above passages in this precious paragraph. These clauses are the following: "1. Such are the doctrines of a Church, the members of which have raised an outcry against the intolerant spirit of the English government for not receiving them to a full share of its administration. 2. They might as well accuse that government of cruelty, for banishing the wretched criminal to New Holland; or of illiberality, for punishing the man who traitorously conspires against his country."

[1] Dr. Dopping, the Protestant Bishop of Meath, undertook to preach a series of sermons in Christ Church, Dublin, and did preach to prove that Protestants ought not to keep faith with Papists, and that the treaty of Limerick ought not to have been observed.

Thus, their argument, if good for anything, is this: "The Roman Catholics cannot complain of being persecuted by Great Britain, for they are traitors who ought to be punished." In what, I ask, does their treason consist? I am answered: "In not being faithful subjects of a Protestant government." In what does their want of fidelity to that government consist? "In saying that the Pope has jurisdiction over all Christendom." Also, "in the Roman Church maintaining that faith is not necessary to be kept with heretics."

Allow me here to pause; I write hastily, carelessly. I do not occupy a month in putting together three columns of a magazine; still I should lay down my pen were I to have written as much nonsense in a year as the few extracts now before me contain. Seldom, indeed, very seldom, have I been under the necessity of totally changing the structure of a sentence which I examined, in order to put forward clearly what the writer meant to convey. Yet I could not put this wretched compilation of my opponents into any form which would make it intelligible, or enable me to examine it as I ought, without such a process. A story which is told, I believe, of King Charles II, would apply well to this writing. A peasant having contributed greatly to his majesty's safety or amusement on some occasion, was asked what reward he expected: "I hope your majesty will make me a gentleman." "That," replied the king, "is no easy matter; there can be no question but I can make you a knight or a baron or even a duke; but I fear all the kings and emperors on earth could not make you a gentleman."

I can well guess what is the drift of my opponents' propositions, but certainly their logical meaning is not that drift. For instance, the following proposition might be taught with a safe conscience: "Faith is not necessary to be kept with heretics." Now the proposition is equivocal: the word faith has several meanings. Were I to understand by the word faith, the belief of religious doctrine, I would unhesi-

tatingly maintain this proposition: "A man who knowingly and willingly keeps faith with heretics, offends God, and of course commits sin." A heretic is a person who denies some truth which God has revealed. If I act in this way, I am unquestionably criminal for my deliberate denial of what I know God has revealed. Again, I could by faith mean fidelity to a lawful promise: now I could, with truth and moral rectitude, teach this proposition: "Faith is not necessary to be kept with heretics." The reason is plain: it is not necessary to keep a promise which has not been made—it is not necessary to make any promise to heretics. When I do not then make the promise of fidelity, I am not bound to keep this promise, which I have not made, either by act or by implication. What my opponents ought to have written is the following: "The Roman Catholic Church teaches that Roman Catholics are not obliged to keep their fidelity to heretics." This is a very different proposition from either of the others, and is the one which they probably meant to give.

A countryman of mine accompanied a friend of his, who understood the language of France, to that kingdom. In passing through the streets, they observed a man carrying a pair of buckets, and crying, "Eau! Eau!" "What is that fellow saying?" asked the Irishman. "Water," replied his friend; "he has it for sale in those buckets." "Would it not then be as easy for him to say water?" asked my countryman. Indeed, it is not over-squeamishness in me to hope that in future my opponents will write in such a manner as to express their ideas.

The proposition which I have transformed into a gentleman is not true. Thus, this reason will not justify the British persecution of Roman Catholics, because a falsehood is no reason—it is only pretext. Allow me to ask, what jurisdiction does the Pope claim over Christendom? Is it spiritual? Is it temporal? Is there no distinction? I shall take the last first. The British government can only be justified by proving that the Pope claims temporal juris-

diction, either directly or by implication, and that the Roman Catholics under them maintain his right thereto; or by showing that spiritual jurisdiction in the Pope is incompatible with their temporal right. Great Britain teaches that the power of the king is not complete without his being head of the Church; and that to disobey him upon the head of ecclesiastical duty is rebellion; and thus, that it is treason to deny his headship, and to give to the Pope ecclesiastical authority. Is this assertion correctly constitutional? This was first made part of the law of England by 26 of Henry VIII, 1, 3, 13; and on May 5, 1535, the first of its victims, the priors of charter-houses of London, Axiholm and Belleval, together with a monk of Syon and a secular clergyman, suffered the death of traitors, at Tyburn, not for asserting the supremacy of the Pope, but for denying the supremacy of the king as head of the Church, "thereby depriving the sovereign of the dignity, style, and name of his royal estate." On June 22, Fisher, Bishop of Rochester, suffered the penalty of treason for denying, maliciously and traitorously, that the king was head of the Church. In the indictment under which Sir Thomas More was convicted, the second charge was, "having traitorously sought to deprive the king of his title of head of the Church;" and this upright chancellor suffered the pains of a traitor, and had his head fixed on London Bridge. Thus, we see the criminality consisted in denying the title of ecclesiastical supremacy to the king, and thereby depriving him of a part of his royal name, title, and estate. Am I awake? Is it in the United States of America such language as this is held? Are we, in the very federal city, from a man who might be selected to preach religious instruction to the Senate of the people the most free upon the earth, and who ought to be most jealous of the sanctuary of that freedom, the Senate chamber, to be taught that a man is unworthy of the compassion of his fellowmen—is deserving the punishment of a traitor, because he refuses to swear that the King of England ought to be

obeyed as head of the Church? Shade of the immortal Washington! genius of Patrick Henry! can you slumber in peace whilst this doctrine is proclaimed? Jefferson and Adams, will you sanction the reproach of black treason against your venerable brother, Charles Carroll, who, together with you, still survives to welcome to our shores that warrior who was but one of the Popish leaders of a Popish army, that aided you to fling off the tyranny of the head of the Church, who, as the Declaration of Independence states, plundered our seas, ravaged our coasts, burnt our towns, and destroyed the lives of our people; who transported large armies of foreign mercenaries to complete the works of death, desolation, and tyranny, begun with circumstances of cruelty and perfidy scarcely paralleled in the most barbarous ages, and totally unworthy the head of a civilized nation, much less the supreme head on earth of Christ's Church? Shall we now be told that no compassion is to be shown to a people whose conscience would not permit them to swear that, without any Gospel authority, without any reason but that of the strong, despotic power of such a rapacious monster of lust and cruelty as Henry VIII—that man was head of the Church, who in every stage of frightful oppressions, when petitioned for redress in the most humble terms, answered those petitions only by repeated injury?—a man who excited domestic insurrections amongst us, and who endeavored to bring upon our frontiers the merciless Indian savages, whose known rule of warfare is an undistinguished destruction of all ages, sexes, and conditions? Yet all those acts of tyranny in America are but specks, which would be scarcely distinguished upon the surface of that calamitous ocean of evils under which my unfortunate country was merged, by the Church of which this man was the mildest, the most lenient, the most meek and virtuous apostolic head! And will the people of America—the descendants of men who would not submit to Church tyranny—the descendants of men who would not submit to any tyranny—one-third of whom are

Irishmen, or the descendants, or the connections of Irishmen, and another large portion of whom are English or Scotch, or the descendants of English and Scotch, who have suffered for not taking the oath of supremacy to the King of England—will they all permit themselves to be told by my opponents that they and their progenitors were traitors, because they would not swear this oath, which even the present chaplain to the Senate would not swear?

See whither my opponents' folly naturally leads them. In every nation every government possesses the right of establishing a special religion; and whosoever will not obey the government in conforming to this religion, is a traitor. Is this the doctrine of the chaplain to the Senate of the United States of America? Public opinion implicates him with this principle. The Senate has selected him to teach them their religious duties. The chaplain preaches: "Whoever will not be a Protestant under a Protestant government, is a traitor—America is under a Protestant government: the Papists will burn us as soon as they can, for they are traitors in principle." This is what the Rev. Mr. Hawley has published. He knows who wrote it. I believe it was not written by him. What does the Constitution say? "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion or prohibiting the free exercise thereof."

Upon this clear and solid principle of our Constitution, no Roman Catholic owes allegiance to the King of Great Britain, and so far from being a traitor and deserving punishment, he is but an oppressed and aggrieved man who has been unjustly plundered of his rights, which are unjustly withheld by a tyrannical government. And a Catholic who swears allegiance to the British king is bound to observe his oath to the same extent only, that a weak man who is confined by a strong robber is bound by an oath which he takes that he will not use any unconceded advantage of a partial liberty which he may obtain under the pledge of his oath. A regard to the sacred nature of

the oath binds him who takes it to observe every lawful promise which he makes even to his oppressor; but the reverence of the injured man for his oath is not a remission to the invader of his right nor a justification of his oppression. He cannot meet injustice by crime. He may decline swearing, and then use all lawful means to obtain his rights. But if he voluntarily puts some of those means out of his own power by bargaining not to use them and swearing to refrain from their use, he is bound by his bargain and by his oath, but not otherwise.

Did the people of England and Ireland give to the king, in their original compact, a power to make them change their religion according to his caprice? Did the bishops and the barons at Runnymede give to John a power to make traitors of those who would refuse to make him supreme head of their Church, that he might with greater facility indulge his beastly propensities, reward his obsequious panders, and put to death his honest and conscientious advisers? In vain does one look for such a clause in the laws of Edward, of Alfred, of Ina, or of even the Norman invaders. There is no such clause in the Great Charter. Do my opponents find its origin in the Gospel? They find it enacted by the vilest collection of slaves that ever crouched before a voluptuous tyrant, under circumstances which took away even the semblance of liberty. They find it based upon flagrant injustice, raised in the midst of jibbets and scaffolds, cemented with blood, and decorated with all the emblems of legalized murder, from that of the conscientious chancellor to that of the unprincipled concubine. They are American citizens. Call they this a constitution?

This is a sweeping clause, with a vengeance. They tell the Pilgrims of New England that their progenitors were traitors; so Archbishop Laud told their fathers. They tell the Friends of Pennsylvania that their fathers were traitors; so the bishops of the Church of England told their fathers. They tell us, wretched outcasts of Irish Papists, that we

are traitors. They imagine that we have been now so long accustomed to their insolence, that we should bear it with as much patience as the old cook expected from the eels, of whose restlessness she complained, as they presumed to writhe under her hand during the operation of being flayed alive, though she had been upwards of forty years in the practice, and they ought to have known it. God grant us patience: we have not been as yet ten years accustomed to my opponents' falsehood, though their fathers have been telling lies of our fathers during upwards of two hundred and fifty years. Still we are not tamed down to acquiescence, and we are so indocile, that as yet we have not been untaught the difference between what is fact and what is calumny.

But to be serious: Are my opponents not the most unfortunate of writers? In this land of true, and genuine, and rational freedom—in the very sunshine of well-regulated liberty—to presume to establish such a principle of despotism and intolerance! I know well and intimately the principles of the Church of England and those of the Protestant Episcopal Church of America. They are by no means similar even in their discipline. As for doctrine: my opponents will excuse me from stating what is now unnecessary. In pure despotism and intolerance, I know no Church which ever has approximated to the Church of England. What then could have induced them to assimilate their Church to it? Theirs is a more respectable Church. Theirs is a more permanent Church. Theirs will survive the Church of England. What induced them to defend for its honor the principle which would destroy the claim of the Protestant in France? which justified the Inquisition? which would drive from every country under a Catholic government every one who was not a Catholic? For if the English or Irish Catholic is a traitor, because he disobeys his government, upon the score of religion—why shall not the Huguenot in France be justly condemned as a traitor? why not condemn as a traitor the Moor in Spain? the Jew in Portugal? the

Christian in Constantinople? Is not Europe, according to them, wrong in not aiding the Sublime Porte to repress those rebellious Greeks who rejected the Koran? Are not the Christians in Asia wretched traitors who give but a divided allegiance to their legitimate sovereign who is head of the Church as of the State? I call it a flagrant usurpation. I cannot but feel proud that under all their sufferings my countrymen have never crouched to this slavery. I differ from the Scotch Presbyterians in doctrine; but I respect the consistency which made them reject the headship of the king, when they rejected the headship of the Pope. In vain do I look through the world to find a Church similarly enslaved as that of England. Russia exhibits its nearest resemblance. Mahomedanism is its exact counterpart; the Sultan is the head of the Church by the same right; he is temporal ruler, and one is equally a traitor who disobeys his religious order or his imperial firman. And my opponents would seek to justify this? Yes! for they advocate the principle. Are they Americans?

I am proud of America because she not only disavows but condemns that principle of slavery. It is a heresy in religion—it is an absurdity in politics to assert, that because a man possesses political power, therefore he possesses ecclesiastical jurisdiction; or that because he has spiritual power, he therefore has magisterial rights in the State. The doctrine of the Roman Catholic Church and the principles of the American Constitution are in unison upon this subject. The doctrines of the Church of England and the principles of our Constitution are in direct opposition upon the subject. And if one adopt the doctrine of the English Church he is not a good citizen of America. In framing the religion of which my opponents are clergymen, it became necessary to reject some doctrines of the English Church. Her liturgy was mutilated; her canons made useless; and a vast portion of the homilies are blasphemies against our liberties. And is it possible that my opponents still cling to all that has been thus rejected?

I have read with pleasure the account of the dinner given by our Congress to La Fayette on the first of this month,[1] and I prized the intellect which gave to a toast frequently offered on public occasions its true and accurate expression: "The people, the source of all political power." Yes, and the declaration of the present King of Great Britain, when he was Prince of Wales, is in perfect accordance with that principle expressed in the toast. His declaration was: "That the crown was held by the king in trust for the people." The kingly power is political; it is derived from the people. They are the source of political power. But they are not the source of spiritual power, they are not the source of ecclesiastical power. The King of England did not obtain from them what they could not give. Roman Catholics believe that as political power is derived from the people, so spiritual and ecclesiastical power is derived from God. They saw no evidence of the fact that God had given this power to the King of England, therefore they would not swear that he possessed what was not given to him. Is this a crime? Am I a criminal when I assert that James Monroe, for whom and for whose office I have more respect than for all the British kings since the Norman conquests and for their office, has no supremacy over any Church? Shall I be called a traitor, if I refuse to fashion my religion according to his wish or opinion, though no subject of any king is more devotedly ready to obey him, than I am to obey with alacrity every constitutional order of the President of the Union or of the Governor of South Carolina? I am not then a traitor—I am not a criminal, because I refuse to acknowledge in the President or the Governor a power which is not in him. I was not a traitor—I was not a criminal in my native country, when I refused to swear that George III was supreme head of the Church. I saw its origin to be the usurpation of the eighth Henry. This usurpation was no evidence of right. It is a power which the people could not give. I would be guilty of

[1] January 1, 1824.

perjury if I swore it. Produce evidence to show any reasonable man in this Union, that I ought to have sworn the oath of supremacy, and I will yield to my opponents the palm of victory.

I shall put a case for them to solve. When our blessed Saviour taught in Judea, He was the supreme head of God's Church. Ireland was not then under the Roman emperor's authority, she was governed by her native kings. Suppose an Irishman of that day was convinced of the divine authority of our blessed Lord, and told his fellow-countrymen that they ought to acknowledge the authority of Christ in matters of religion; that they should receive His decisions in their spiritual concerns; that they should form congregations and have their churches regulated according to His advice; that the persons to be admitted as the guides of their souls ought to derive from the Saviour their instruction and their authority. Would my opponents assert that this man might be justly taken up as a traitor; that he ought to be considered as a bad subject; that his allegiance was divided, and that he could be a faithful subject of the Irish king only when an unfaithful subject of our Saviour? Yet here they would say that the spiritual submission of this man to the foreigner did not interfere with his temporal or political allegiance to his native monarch. If they adopt the principle that spiritual obedience to a foreigner is a violation of allegiance to the State, do they not justify every nation which persecuted the citizens of subjects who adhered to foreign claimants of spiritual power? Thus they justify every persecutor of the early Church. Do they violate the right of the Indian chief by persuading one of his tribe against the wish of the chief to become a Christian? Has that chief a right in conscience to punish that convert upon the plea that his allegiance to him is lessened by its being shared between him and one of their black-coats? The argument is of the same value whether it be applied to an individual of a wandering tribe or the population of the Chinese empire.

All the early martyrs of the Church disobeyed kings and emperors in matters of religion: will my opponents call them traitors, and say that they ought to have been put to death? Was Nero justified in beheading St Paul? Did he only act as he ought in crucifying St. Peter? Was Pontius Pilate a meritorious governor, who conscientiously exercised his authority in putting Jesus Christ to death, upon the charge of His seducing the people from their allegiance to Cæsar? The charge which my opponents make upon the Papists is exactly the same charge which the Jews were in the habit of making against the Apostles. From that day to the present we have met it as we meet it now. We have a kingdom it is true, in which we pay no obedience to Cæsar; but our kingdom is not of this world; and whilst we render unto God the things that are God's, we render unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's. To the successors of the Apostles we render that obedience which is due to the authority left by Jesus Christ, who alone could bestow it. We do not give it to the President, we do not give it to the Governor, we do not give it to the Congress, we do not give it to the Legisture of the State. Neither do my opponents nor do the civil powers claim it; nor would we give it if they did, for the claim would be unfounded. We give to them everything which the Constitution requires; my opponents give no more—they ought not to give more. Let the Pope and cardinals and all the powers of the Catholic world united make the least encroachment on that Constitution, we will protect it with our lives. Summon a general council; let that council interfere in the mode of our electing but an assistant to a turnkey of a prison—we deny its right; we reject its usurpation. Let that council lay a tax of one cent only upon any of our churches—we will not pay it. Yet, we are most obedient Papists; we believe the Pope is Christ's Vicar on earth, supreme visible head of the Church throughout the world, and lawful successor to St. Peter, Prince of the Apostles. We believe all this

power is in Pope Leo XII, and we believe that a general council is infallible in doctrinal decisions. Yet we deny to Pope and council united any power to interfere with one tittle of our political rights, as firmly as we deny the power of interfering with one tittle of our spiritual rights to the President and Congress. We will obey each in its proper place, we will resist any encroachment by one upon the rights of the other. Will my opponents permit Congress to do the duties of their convention?

I shall now proceed to examine a few facts, the plain result of which must destroy their positions. Kings and emperors of the Roman Catholic Church have frequently been at war with the Pope. Yet they did not cease to be members of the Church, and subject to his spiritual jurisdiction, although they resisted his warlike attacks. Any person in the least degree acquainted with the history of Europe can easily refer to several instances. The distinction drawn by our blessed Saviour, when He stood in the presence of Pilate, was the principle of those rulers. They were faithful to the head of the Church whose kingdom is not of this world, but they repelled the attack of an enemy to their rights. My opponents acknowledge the authority of bishops. Suppose a bishop under whom they were placed proceeded to take away their property; could they not defend their rights at law without infringing upon his spiritual authority? Are they reduced to the dilemma of being plundered or of denying an article of their religion? Can they not keep their property and deny the right of the bishop to take it away and resist his aggression, at the same time that they are canonically obedient? Can they not be faithful to him as bishop, and to themselves as men? Thus, suppose the Bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church of Maryland claimed some right which he neither had by their Church law nor by the law of the State. They may and ought to resist the aggression. Yet they would not be unfaithful to him. Let the Pope be placed in the same predicament; I can be faithful to the

Pope and to the government under which I live. I care not whether that government be administered by a Papist, by a Protestant, by a Jew, by a Mohammedan, or by a Pagan. It is then untrue to assert, as my opponents have done, that a consistent Papist and a dutiful subject of a Protestant administration must be incompatible.

IX.

Let me distinctly lay down what Roman Catholics teach concerning the Pope's power: that is, what they are bound by their profession, as Roman Catholics, to believe. They believe that he has all the power which our blessed Saviour gave to St. Peter. They do not, as Roman Catholics, believe that he has one particle more. Tiberius and Nero were temporal rulers. St. Peter did not by virtue of his authority claim to be a partner of their throne, nor did he assert that their power was derived from him; nor did he assert that it could be taken away from him. And when Constantine became a Christian, Pope Sylvester, who claimed all the power which St. Peter possessed, never claimed to be the donor of power to Constantine, nor did he add to the authority which that emperor had, and which he possessed and used as fully before his baptism as after. Constantine lost no temporal power by becoming a Christian; Sylvester gained no new power from God, from the circumstance of the emperor's conversion. If the successors of Peter gained any temporal power, it was by the concession of the people or of princes; not by the appointment of God. If they were vested with any right of arbitration between kings or princes or people, in temporal or political concerns, it was by the act of those kings and princes and people. It was not by any new revelation of any article of faith, nor was it by entering into possession or use of any old right, from using or possessing which they had been forcibly restrained.

Thus, God never gave to St. Peter any temporal power, any authority to depose kings, any authority to interfere

with political concerns. And any rights which his successors might claim for any of those purposes must be derived from some other source. A Roman Catholic has no farther connection with the Pope than as he succeeds Peter; Peter had none of those rights. As a Roman Catholic I know nothing of them in the Pope; he is equally Pope with or without them. Mr. McIlvain would not be the less pastor of his congregation for being chaplain to the Senate, and though he should lose his chaplaincy when his father will vacate his seat, he will not thereby cease to be pastor. The clergymen who are members of Congress are not, by holding their seats, less clergymen than if they had them not. Neither is the Pope less Pope because there is now attached to his office the possession of a territory which must be governed. Nor would he be less Pope though another Bonaparte should rob him and put him into prison. And Pius VII, under the lock of the man who died on St. Helena, was as much the head of our Church, as was Gregory who made Europe bow and shook her monarchs with terror.

Roman Catholics believe the Pope to be the successor of St. Peter, and therefore to be entitled to a supremacy of honor and jurisdiction through the whole of the Christian world. This honor is only that which is due to a spiritual head; this jurisdiction is only in spiritual and ecclesiastical concerns. The American Constitution leaves its citizens in perfect freedom to have whom they please to regulate their spiritual concerns. But if the Pope were to declare war against America, and any Roman Catholic under the pretext of spiritual obedience was to refuse to oppose this temporal aggressor, he would deserve to be punished for his refusal, because he owes to his country to maintain its rights. Spiritual power does not and cannot destroy the claim which the government has upon him. Suppose a clergyman of England were convicted of some crime—for instance, Dr. Dodd—and he was ordered for execution; must the law be inoperative because the crim-

inal is a clergyman? Do my opponents think that no one could be found in a Roman Catholic country to sentence or to execute a sentence upon a clergyman who was a criminal? All history testifies to the contrary. So, too, does all history show that upon the same principle Catholic kings and princes and peers and people have disobeyed improper mandates of the See of Rome, and have levied and carried on war against Popes, and still continued members of the Church.

I shall give a very few instances. In the first fact which I adduce my opponents will find the spiritual grounds for the Pope's interference, which they will agree with me in pronouncing to be wholly inapplicable to our present state of society; and of no force whatever, as respects the United States.

When in the year 1202 John of England seized upon Arthur, the son of Geoffry, and imprisoned him at Rouen, after which this boy was never heard of: John having been strongly suspected of the murder of his nephew, was summoned, as Duke of Normandy, upon the accusation of the Bishop of Rennes, to answer to Philip of France, as his sovereign. Having neglected to appear, Philip, in the presence of the peers of France, pronounced sentence: "That whereas John, Duke of Normandy, in violation of his oath to Philip his lord, had murdered Arthur, the son of his elder brother, a homager of the crown of France, and near kinsman to the king, and had perpetrated the crime within the seignory of France, he was found guilty of felony and treason, and was therefore adjudged to forfeit all the lands which he held by homage." King Philip and the Bretons proceeded to execute this sentence by taking possession of the Duchy of Normandy. John was soon obliged to fly to England, and sought the aid of the Pope, who was the identical Innocent III, under whom was held the Council of Lateran, whose canons I have had to examine. Innocent sent two legates to King Philip to require of him to desist, and to decide the controversy

between the two kings. Mark now in his letter the grounds of his right to interpose. After quoting the text from Matt. xviii, 15, 16, and 17, he proceeds:

"Now the King of England maintains that, by enforcing the execution of an unjust sentence, the King of France has trespassed against him. He has therefore admonished him of his fault in the manner prescribed by the Gospel, and meeting with no redress, has, according to the admonition of the same Gospel, appealed to the Church; how can we then, whom divine providence has placed at the head of that Church, refuse to obey the divine command? How can we hesitate to proceed according to the form pointed out by Christ Himself? We do not arrogate to ourselves any right as to judging the fee of the land or territory that belongs to the sovereign, the King of France. But we have a right to judge as to the sin committed, and it is our duty so to do whoever may be the offender. It has moreover been provided by the imperial law, that if one or two litigant parties shall prefer the judgment of the Apostolic See, the other shall be bound to submit thereto and to abide its judgment. But we say not this as if we would thereby found our jurisdiction upon civil authority. God has made it our duty to reprehend the man who falls into mortal sin, and if he neglect our reprehensions, to compel him to amend, by ecclesiastical censures. Moreover, both parties, viz., the kings, have sworn to observe the late treaty of peace; and now it is plain that Philip has broken that treaty, the cognizance of cases of perjury is well known, and is universally allowed to belong to the ecclesiastical courts. Wherefore, upon this ground also we have a right to call the princes to our tribunal."

Here we perceive the grounds on which the Pope claims a right to interfere. First, one which our Saviour meant for fraternal correction between individuals, and punishment of unjust aggressors, by the Church. The manner of punishment is specified—ecclesiastical censures. Suppose I held all this to be true; suppose I did say that it regarded

nations as well as individuals: assuming my opponents' principle of private judgment to ascertain the meaning of the text. The Pope has this right as well as they have it. He has then proved his case from the Gospel, and by their principle the Pope has a right by their Scriptures to act as he assumes, and they would be enemies of the Scriptures and of God in denying it. My principle, however, will destroy his right. As a Roman Catholic, I believe the Scriptures are not to be interpreted according to the caprice of the Pope, nor according to my opponents' caprice nor mine, but according to the unanimous consent of the Fathers. Now that consent confines the meaning of this passage to individuals, and does not extend it to governments. Wherefore, though I believe the exercise of the power was often salutary, I believe it was also often injudicious and injurious, and is applicable only to individuals. If it extends only to Church censures, what danger is there to America from that cause? Sometimes the sovereign deprived the censured person of his property; but this was by his temporal power. The Church had no such power.

As to the perjury: the law of Europe then gave its cognizance to the ecclesiastical courts. But the law of America does not. We have no dread upon this score. As to the imperial law, with that too we have no concern.

As Protestants, my opponents could not refute the Scriptural doctrine of the Pope nor evade its application. As a Catholic, I assert it goes farther in its implication than the text warrants. So Philip of France thought, and disobeyed the mandate, and deprived John of Normandy. Yet Philip never left the Church; he always continued to be a steadfast Papist.

Were I to follow up the enumeration of facts similar to this in the several countries of Christendom, I should write volumes, and each fact would more clearly prove that the spiritual obedience which a Roman Catholic owes to the Pope does not in the most remote degree interfere with

his fidelity to the government under which he lives; because the principle of the Roman Catholic is, that spiritual authority springs from God, and regards the concerns of a man's soul in respect to eternal things; temporal authority, though sanctioned by God, springs from the people, and regards the concerns of a man's well being as to the peace of this world and the goods of time. The spiritual ruler has no power to order the latter concerns, the temporal ruler has no power to order the former. But the principle of my opponents' much-admired English Church vests the management of both concerns in the same tribunal, and thus gives to the English oligarchy a more unlimited jurisdiction that could be claimed by or would be allowed to the most despotic monarch of Spain or Portugal.

Let us see a few more facts. When, in 1213, that same Innocent pronounced sentence of deposition from the throne of England against John himself, and committed its execution to Philip of France, John summoned his Catholic subjects. They were all Papists. Notwithstanding the papal sentence, they came to the coast of Kent, sailed from Portsmouth on the 15th of April, captured Philip's squadron at the mouth of the Seine, destroyed the ships in the harbor of Fecamp, and burned the town of Dieppe. But, what the Pope's sentence never could effect, John's own lust and despotism effected. He alienated the affections of his people from his throne; he made enormous exactions from the laity; he plundered the monasteries and stripped the clergy, though they all supported him against the Pope and the King of France. Yet not one of them fell under any censure, nor did any one of them, upon the principles of the Roman Catholic Church, commit the slightest act of infidelity to the Pope by opposing the army of Philip. If my opponents cannot understand this, it is because they do not know the principles of the feudal system which then prevailed, nor the principles of the Roman Catholic Church, which never changes.

When John disgraced and degraded himself by swearing fealty to the Pope, in presence of the Legate Pandulf, he

was forced to render the crown of England tributary to Rome by his own weakness, not by any principle of the Roman Catholic Church. The very men who had returned with him from his enterprise in France would have defended him against a world in arms. He had 60,000 of them, flushed with victory, still at his side. But a tyrant is always weak, and he felt that the arms which they bore might be turned against himself, not because of the Pope's interference, of which they had been aware before they assembled, and to oppose the execution of which they assembled, and to prevent the execution of which they had fought in the Channel and in France; but because of the crimes by which he was daily exasperating them. The people, as well as the barons, knew that John had acted illegally, tyrannically, and irreligiously towards the Archbishop of Canterbury (Langton) and the other bishops: they knew that John had incurred as well as deserved the censures of the Church. To all this they made no opposition; but when they found the King of France preparing to invade their country, and were called by their king to its defence, though he had deserved all the censures of the Church, they felt it to be their duty, the Pope's declarations notwithstanding, to repel every invader. Thus, in fact, they were faithful subjects to an impious king, and were not unfaithful to the head of the Roman Catholic Church, although they refused to obey the mandates of the arbiter of kings under the feudal system, and still under that system it was lawful for them to disobey. If my opponents know the nature of that system, they can explain those apparent incongruities. If they do not, I advise them, for the sake of their own character, to avoid writing about what they do not understand.

The reign of John is most fruitful in exemplifications. To pass over many others, I shall take one which regards the Great Charter. Primate Langton, upon his return, had required of John, before the removal of the excommunication, to swear, at Winchester, that he would abolish all

illegal customs, restore to every man his rights, and revive the laws of the good King Edward.

The barons met at St. Albans, under the presidency of the justiciary, Fitz Peter, and published the laws of Henry I, which were supposed to contain the provisions of Edward the Confessor. John, who found the barons had not followed him to France, which he intended to invade, returned from Jersey, and in his fury was about to do military execution upon the peers, who had published those laws, which he never seriously intended to have enforced. The primate restrained him, and insisted that if they were charged with crime, they should be tried by their peers. The barons met on the 25th of August, at St. Paul's, in London. Langton read to them the provisions of the charter of Henry I, commented upon them, enforced the necessity of restraining the king's lawless tyranny by its enactments, and prevailed on them to swear to each other, to die in defence of their liberties, sooner than make any surrender thereof.

On the 20th of November, 1214, the barons assembled at the Abbey of St. Edmunds, after having, in several previous meetings, fixed the special demands which they were to make: all having been made ready and committed to writing. One by one, each advanced to the high altar, and took a solemn oath to God and to his peers, to withdraw his allegiance from John as a tyrant, should he refuse to grant the claims of their and the public rights.

On the Feast of the Epiphany, January 6, 1215, exactly six hundred and ten years ago, five hundred and sixty years and six months before the Declaration of American Independence, the bishops and other barons followed the king to the Temple, in London, where he had shut himself up, and there presented their claims. John threatened, and required of them to assure him, under their hands and seals, that they would never again have the insolence to make such a demand; three only were found base enough to comply, viz.: the Bishop of Winchester, the Earl of Chester, and Lord William Brewer.

Finding them obstinate, the king gave, as his sureties, to furnish a favorable answer at Easter, the primate, the Bishop of Ely, and the Earl of Pembroke. Knowing that the bishops were the portion which had most influence, the insincere monarch used every effort, during the respite thus obtained, to detach them from the confederation. On the 15th of January, by a charter, he divested himself as of rights of several usurped powers which he and his predecessors had assumed in ecclesiastical concerns. He also applied to the Pope to aid him. He made a public vow to wage war against the infidel oppressors of the suffering Christians in Greece and Asia, and claimed, as a crusader, the aid of the Church, for the preservation of his rights, whilst he should be engaged in preparing for and prosecuting so sacred an undertaking. Having thus hypocritically flung the mantle of religion over his iniquity, he, on the 2d of February, ordered the sheriffs of the several counties to assemble their freemen, and cause them to swear the oath of allegiance to him. On the 19th of March, the primate, Langton, received a letter from the Pope, complaining of the injustice of refusing to John the rights which had been peaceably possessed by his brother Richard and by his father Henry, charging the archbishop with seditiously encouraging the subjects against their monarch, and commanding him to exert his authority for their reconciliation. The barons received another letter from the Pope, in which he censured them for demanding violently as a right what they might have asked as a favor. He promised that if they behaved with humility and moderation, he would intercede for them, and obtain from the king any reasonable boon. He then annuls the proceedings of the confederation, and under penalty of excommunication, forbids any further confederacy. Thus John thought himself secure from his Popish subjects. Easter came.

But the English Papists of 1215 knew their rights just as well as did the American Congress of all religions in 1775. The bishops and the barons met. No excommuni-

cations could destroy their inalienable rights. Neither a Pope nor a general council could dictate to the British barons nor to the American people the terms of the compact between them and their temporal governments. Before a Pope was commissioned, before a general council was assembled, the God of nature regulated the rights of man in the social and civil state. The commission of St. Peter gave him no authority to regulate the manner in which kingdoms should be governed.

Pandulf, the Pope's legate, and the Bishop of Exeter, contended that the primate was bound by the Pope's order to excommunicate the barons. The archbishop replied, that the king had brought in foreign troops to oppress his people, and unless they were forthwith removed, he would excommunicate them; and that to the utmost of his power he would oppose the oppression of the liberties of England. Runnymede exhibited the value of the papal interference with Roman Catholics who still were faithful to the head of their Church, but who acknowledged in him no right to interfere in their temporal government. At one side was the king, with the Pope's legate, eight bishops who had been drawn away by the means which I stated, and fifteen gentlemen. On the other side stood Fitzwalter, "the general of the army of God and of the holy Church," accompanied by the Archbishop of Canterbury, the rest of the English bishops, several abbots, and the host of the British nobility, together with their knights and esquires; and the monarch was obliged to submit.

I shall not dwell upon the resistance of the Roman Catholic bishops and barons to the repeated attempts made by the king, with the aid of the Pope, to annul the Great Charter which was thus obtained. All these, and a thousand other facts in history, plainly prove the distinction between spiritual obedience and temporal allegiance. The British Catholics gave the latter to Elizabeth, a Protestant princess, when she was excommunicated by the Pope, yet she hanged them for paying him spiritual obedience.

Thus it is clear, that a Roman Catholic might be a faithful subject of a Protestant government, at the same time that he is a faithful subject of the Pope, as my opponents are pleased to express themselves.

Were the Canadians so unfaithful to their Protestant King George, as to make it safe for our militia captains to cross the line into their territory? Why did our captains refuse to go over? They knew the Canadians were faithful Roman Catholics. Were the Canadian Papists unfaithful to the persecuting British Protestant government in 1775? Had the Pope's interference any influence upon the Popish barons of England, who opposed the Papist William Wallace? Had it any influence upon the Popish adherents of the Papist Bruce? What influence had it upon the Irish chieftains, all Papists, who remonstrated with Pope John, upon the misconduct of King Edward II, of England, and who told His Holiness that they recognized no right in him or in the King of England, to regulate their temporal government? My opponents should study history, before they presume to lay down as correct principles assumptions which all history proves to be false.

I am aware, that, for its own purposes, the English Church and State has corrupted history; but it is only the light and hasty and prejudiced reader, that can be imposed upon by the deceptive mass of muddy falsehood. Very little application of the rules of criticism is necessary to purify the collection. King Henry VIII knew the history of King John and Primate Langton, and of Henry II, and Primate Becket, and of many other kings and bishops; and as he had many delicate affairs to manage, he thought an obsequious man, like the complying Thomas Cranmer, would do well as a nominal primate, whilst he could very well be Pope. In this he was not impolitic; he was then at full liberty to plunder, and to marry, and to behead, and to burn, as he thought proper; and from that day to this, the English Church, with one exception, has been the most sleek, well-fed, obsequious, courtly Church in

the world; that troublesome quality of independence is unknown; all is perfect harmony.

I have no doubt my opponents would like to see such another gentleman-like system in America; but I promise them, with God's help, they never will. The people here have too much good sense to permit the President, or even the Senate, to add the influence of their Church or mine or any other to the power of the executive. When the people shall be guilty of this folly, their liberties are lost, and they deserve their bondage.

DISPENSATION.

I.

A WRITER for the press asserts, that "it is a doctrine of the Roman Catholic Church, that the Pope had the power of dispensing with the obligation of oaths." The proposition which he contradicts is reducible to this: "Catholics do not believe the Pope can dispense with the obligations of oaths." His proposition then must be reducible to the contradictory: "Catholics do believe the Pope can dispense with the obligation of oaths." His proofs are: "Catholic doctrine is always the same. But some Popes did dispense with certain oaths. Therefore Catholics believe the Pope can dispense with the obligation of oaths." Now I put it to the candor of the writer: Is his argument good? How many of the rules of syllogisms, which are but the maxims of right reason, does it violate?

First, suppose I allow all his facts to be true, in the sense which he wishes to have conveyed by them, what do those facts prove? They prove that Gregory VII, Innocent III, Innocent IV, Clement VI, Pius V, and Sixtus V did absolve the subjects of certain princes from their allegiance. Here, then, we have only the acts of six Popes, and by those acts no Catholic is bound. The writer might as well have produced the criminal acts of six Popes, who could be named, and conclude from those acts that Catholics believe it lawful for the Pope and people to commit sins. I beg to inform him, that the Roman Catholic doctrine is not to be learned from the acts of the Popes, as the doctrines of the Church of England is not to be learned from the acts of King Charles II, or King George IV, or the Bishop of Clogher. The first fault of his argument then was, attempting to

prove doctrine by individual acts. Even those persons who believe the Pope to be infallible, for there are such individuals, though the Roman Catholic Church does not require this belief,[1] draw a very palpable distinction between the doctrinal decision of the Pope and his private or even his public acts. Though they will receive solemn decisions of doctrine as rules for belief, they will condemn several of the papal acts.

The next fault of the argument is, that from particular premises he draws a general conclusion. We have all those facts and the others which are adduced of only one description, oaths of allegiance to sovereigns. Now, though it should be true that the Pope claimed a right of absolving from an oath of allegiance to a sovereign, it does not follow that he claimed the same right with respect to every other oath. Hence, supposing all the facts proved, the conclusion would only come to this: "It is a fact that some Popes claimed a right to dispense the subjects of some monarchs from their observance of their oath of allegiance." This conclusion is amply proved. But it does not thence follow, that "it is believed by Catholics that the Pope can dispense with the obligation of oaths generally." There might be a special ground for their power of absolving from oaths of allegiance, and still no ground for their absolving from other oaths. There might also be special grounds upon which they had this power with respect to some nations, which did not extend to other nations. This is only to be known by examination of facts.

Now let us examine the facts, to discover the principle of the papal acts. They have regard to the Emperors of Germany, to King Henry VIII of England, and to his daughter Elizabeth, and to Henry, King of Navarre. Perhaps in each of those cases we would find some special ground of justification for the interference. Surely

[1] It is now, though it was not then, a dogma of the Church that the Pope is infallible when speaking *ex cathedra*.

the writer will not say that a monarch might not have forfeited the claim of allegiance, and his subjects be therefore justly absolved from their oaths to him. The writer will not, I trust, in his zeal for our respectable President, forget the grounds of Mr. Monroe's title to our support.[1] Was not the ground of Mr. Monroe's authority a dispensation given to the inhabitants of the former British Colonies from observing an oath? Did not General Washington take an oath of allegiance to King George III, of England, and to his heirs and successors? Did not Mr. Monroe himself take this oath? Did not some of the most respectable Episcopal clergy of the Union take this oath, and also take another oath in contradiction thereto? Have they not renounced that allegiance, waged war upon that king, put his subjects to death, annoyed his faithful servants, taken his ships, confiscated his property, and done every act of hostility, notwithstanding that oath? Have not those venerable clergymen, who swore that his Majesty was the visible head on earth of the Church, renounced that headship, and separated themselves from his Majesty's jurisdiction, taken his name from their liturgies, and prayed for the success of his declared enemies? And shall we say that all the fathers of the Church and State in America were perjurers who violated their oaths? Shall we say that Mr. Monroe is but the leader of a band of powerful and organized rebels, who have violated their solemn oaths?

Look to the period of the British Revolution of 1688. Did not the bishops, and the peers, and the clergy, and the laity of England swear allegiance to James II, and afterwards rise up to oppose him and forswear that allegiance, and swear allegiance to William III, who fought against James II? Were they perjurers? Did they teach the doctrine of dispensing with oaths?

The explanation in these cases is simple. They were dispensed from the oaths by the misconduct of those to whom the oaths were taken, and there was in the oath

[1] Monroe was then President.

that implied condition which must always subsist between the governor and the governed,—justice and protection on the one side, and obedience on the other. The convention in England, and the convention in America, declared the fact of the governor having violated the contract, and thereby forfeited the right which he had, and thus absolved the people from the moral bond or obligation of the oath, which subsisted until that declaration was made; and thus the convention did in England and in America exactly what the Pope did in the case of Germany, and no more. This expresses the principle, so far as the laity are concerned, or so far as regards temporal allegiance. I shall not presume to insult the clergymen by explaining how the ecclesiastical bond was broken. They are more competent to the fulfilling of that task than I am. I do not pretend even to surmise the grounds for rejecting his Majesty's ecclesiastical authority, as I do not know George III to have been charged with any faults against the Church.

All that is necessary, I presume, as far as relates to Germany, is that I should now show that the Pope had, as regarded the emperors, the same power that the convention had in England; and I shall thus have answered that part of the case so as to satisfy the writer.

I could wish he had extended his reading a little beyond Dr. Barrow and Bishop Burnet, who had both interested motives for publishing only a part and not the whole of the facts in those several cases; and I suppose he has read more, and only needs to be reminded of some facts which have probably escaped his memory. I shall not now dwell upon them.

In the first place, he knows that the title of Emperor of the West became extinct in 476; the last who held the shadow of that dignity being Romulus Augustulus, Odoacer the Goth having assumed the reins of government as King of Italy. But in the year 800, the title of the Emperor of the Romans was created by Pope Leo III,

who, upon Christmas day in that year, conferred it upon Charlemagne in the city of Rome. By the same authority his descendants held the same title. But upon the extinction of the Carlovingian race, in the commencement of the 10th century, after the following emperors of that line had reigned, viz., Lewis the Pious, Lothaire, Lewis II, Charles II, Lewis the Stammerer, Charles the Fat, Arnulph, and Lewis IV, otherwise Lewis the Infant, Conrad, Duke of Franconia and Hesse, was in 912 elected by the German princes to the government of that part of the empire, but he was never recognized as emperor. Upon his recommendation, Henry, Duke of Saxony, was chosen in his stead, when he died in 919. He is generally known by the appellation of Henry the Fowler. He reconciled all parties to his interest, but died on his way to Rome to be crowned emperor, in 936, leaving his eldest son, Otho I, his successor. Otho was not crowned in Rome until 963, and is thus recognized as, properly speaking, the first Emperor of Germany.

One part of the contract between the Pope and the emperor was, that the latter should preserve to the former his temporal possessions against the incursions of the petty and lawless chieftains by whom he was surrounded and sometimes annoyed; and another was, that the emperor would preserve to all the Churches, and especially to that of Rome, all their rights, privileges, and immunities. If he failed in the discharge of these duties, he consented to forfeit all title to the empire.

Previous to the death of Otho III, in the year 1000, he and Pope Gregory V, who was a German and a relative of his, had reduced the number of electors of the emperors to seven princes of Germany, reserving to the Pope the power of confirming the election, without which it would be invalid, and also the right of crowning the person so elected and confirmed.

Thus we perceive, that in the beginning of the eleventh century, by the creation of the empire, by the custom of the

age, and by special diplomatic regulations, the Pope had become possessed of the right of declaring who was Emperor of Germany, and of declaring when he ceased to have a claim upon the allegiance of his vassals, by having violated the conditions of his compact: and thus Pope Gregory VII, by the law of nations, had the very same rights in relation to the Emperor of Germany, that the British and American conventions had with respect to James II and George III. The German electors had frequently declared Henry's violation of their rights, and had taken up arms against him; so too did the person who was constitutionally appointed to decide by confirmation or otherwise. Thus, in the very document which the writer quotes, the Pope, Gregory VII, states the ground of his deposing King Henry, who was not yet emperor, to be the violation of this contract. One of the grounds only out of many is quoted by the writer, and that but the sum of a special enumeration. "Who too boldly and rashly hath laid hands on Thy Church." Like the Declaration of Independence, and every other State document, it carries the reason of its proceedings in the tenor of its statements, which are numerous.

We see, therefore, upon several titles, the Pope had a right to interfere in the election and confirmation, and to judge whether allegiance was or was not due to the claimants of the imperial crown. Not by divine right, but by human and temporary institution; and his exercise of this right is no part of the Roman Catholic religion.

This Henry IV, properly speaking, he was Henry III, for, as we have seen, Henry the Fowler was not emperor, had some qualities which were to be found in another of the same name. We do not take his character from the Pope's friends, but from the Pope's avowed enemies and the eulogists of Henry, when it was possible to eulogize him; the compilers of the "Universal History," printed in London, 1782. We could give it in far worse colors

by quoting from more impartial authors; however, let us hear his friends. They state that one of his first acts, upon coming of age, was to impose taxes which were not usual. If I recollect right, one passage of the Declaration of American Independence charged George III, "for imposing taxes upon us without our consent." The Germans "murmured and traversed his design on pretence of defending their liberty, which, they affirmed, he intended to invade." Really one would think these good editors were lecturing the founders of American liberty, and defending the King of England. "They were besides irritated against him on account of his debauches, and encouraged to rebellion by Pope Alexander II, who at the earnest solicitation of Hildebrand, his successor and confidant, actually summoned the emperor to Rome to give an account of his loose life and to answer the charge of having exposed the investiture of benefices to sale."

We have before seen that by the constitution of the German empire, he could not be recognized as emperor nor claim allegiance, until he had been elected, confirmed, and crowned; as yet he was neither validly elected, confirmed, nor crowned, therefore there was no allegiance due to him as emperor. We have also seen that had he been emperor, he violated the liberties of the people by arbitrary taxation, which was unconstitutioual, and by simony, which was against the rights of the Church, he violated the contract with the Pope. Thus he was not legally emperor, and had he been legally invested, he had exposed himself legally to the loss of the title and its appendages, as fully as George III did to the loss of America.

His States presented him with a list of grievances, and concluded with assuring him that he should be respected, obeyed, and supported with their lives and fortunes, provided he would comply with those requests, but should he persist in his design to oppress them, they were resolved to defend themselves against violence and despotic power; and they did take up arms against him for his misconduct.

In all this we still find a strong resemblance to the conduct of the founders of American freedom, who in truth were the descendants of the ancestors of those brave Saxons, who thus proved that their veins still contained blood of the same nature as that which glowed in the hearts of the founders of British liberty. They were sprung from the same fathers; and it must be a gratification to the American of this day to perceive that those Popes, whom interested historians misrepresented as the despots of the dark ages, were in truth the allies of the only people who cherished freedom, and who aided that people in preserving it against the attempts of powerful despots. It must also be to them a most gratifying reflection, that the very principles for which those Popes contended, and to preserve which they endured such persecution, are the same which, brought from Saxony through Britain, have made America great and happy.

Let us now hear the chief causes of Henry's dislike to Rome. Besides the opposition to his despotic schemes, "his incontinence was so great that he seldom or never set his eyes upon a beautiful young woman without endeavoring to sacrifice her virtue to his appetite. The vigilance of his wife being an obstruction to his amours, he conceived an unjust antipathy to that unfortunate princess, and even engaged one of his courtiers to undermine her chastity, that he might have a pretext for obtaining a divorce; but her conduct was so blameless and discreet, that his design miscarried, and he in vain solicited the Pope to dissolve the marriage."

He even plotted the assassination of the principal nobility opposed to his election, but finding his plans frustrated, and the electors assembled at Mentz to choose an emperor, he hypocritically made declarations of sorrow, and procured their votes; he obtained the concurrence of Gregory VII by similar means, having acknowledged himself guilty of simony and debauchery, and promising amendment and praying for absolution, which was granted upon his apparent contrition and his solemn oath of future good conduct.

Gregory soon finding his conduct worse than ever, sent to admonish him, that unless he observed his promise, and governed with justice, and desisted from destroying religion by flagrant simony, he should proceed to depose him. Henry returned for answer, that the Pope was his vassal, that Gregory had entered into the Popedom without having been appointed by him and that he now deposed him from that Popery. Gregory excommunicated the emperor, who went to Italy, and did public penance, and was absolved by the Pope on the 28th of January, 1078, upon swearing that he would not molest the Pope in future.

The emperor had scarcely departed, after this hypocritical submission, when he became worse than ever, and openly declared his hostility to the Pope, and his determination to injure that Church which he had so often sworn to protect; whereupon Gregory, as he was constitutionally warranted to do, pronounced him deposed from the place which he had so unworthily filled, and the subjects of the empire freed from allegiance to him.

II.

I have shown that the German case did not establish the principle that the Pope has a right to dispense from all oaths. I stated the declaration of Pope Urban II regarding the case of Henry of Germany; and though Dr. Barrow, or his copyist, I cannot say which, brings forward the proposition in general terms, "subjects are by no authority constrained to pay the fidelity which they have sworn to a Christian prince who opposes God and His saints, and violates their precepts;" yet this apparently universal assertion is really but a particular proposition, the meaning of which, and the application of which, is actually restrained by the circumstances to the particular case of Germany, which was that under consideration.

One of the great causes of complaint which Catholics always have had against their opponents is, that they misrepresent the tenets of the Catholics. Thus they seldom

attack the real doctrines of the Catholic Church. There is no species of misrepresentation worse than concealing part of the truth, and giving statements which, though true in themselves, yet stripped of their circumstances, convey to the mind wrong impressions. It is the worst sort of deceit. I shall illustrate this by an example which is intelligible to the people of the South.

Suppose a traveler published to the world that in Carolina he was present when a number of men were tried for their lives by a regular constitutional court, and that the court impanelled no jury, and declared no jury was allowed by the State, and that the court further declared that the witnesses need not be confronted with the prisoners. Such a writer would convey to the world a false impression, though he would have stated nothing but what was strictly true. And he would have done exactly what was done by the person who extracted the declaration of Urban II; he would have only concealed the most material fact which was the key to the full and satisfactory explanation of the entire; and the publication of which would show that so far from this being the general law, it was an exception, viz., the case of negro slave conspirators.

If the declaration of Urban II were a general proposition of Catholic doctrine, its meaning would be "that no allegiance was due to a Christian prince who violated the precepts of God." The writer who could prove this to have been defined as faith in the Catholic Church, would indeed have for ever put down the doctrine of infallibility, and proved the whole of our system to be erroneous, for the Catholic Church condemned this doctrine as heretical when it was taught by Wickliffe and Huss, and the German boors, and some of the Puritans of England and Scotland. We shall perhaps soon be informed that it was from Urban II the doctrine was learned by John Knox and his brethren.

Henry IV was either the person whom I have described as Henry III of Germany; if so, the acts of Paschal II are explained exactly as those of Gregory and Urban have

been. What I think more probable is that he was the son who is by some called Henry V, who was, if possible, still worse than his father, a vile hypocrite, a flagitious, bloody tyrant, who usurped the empire in a manner which exhibited a complication of irregularities; and Paschal only performed his duty as principal elector and defender of the rights of the Roman empire by depriving such a monster of the sway which he held.

The next case is that of Innocent III and Otho IV. Of course the principle of solution being known, the difficulty vanishes. The acts of any Pope, with respect to his treaties with nations or sovereigns, are no part of the Roman Catholic religion; neither are Roman Catholics obliged to believe, that in making those treaties, or observing or departing from them, the Pope acted properly and religiously. For his acts he is to be judged by the Lord, and it is impossible for us, at this moment, to pass judgment upon cases with all the circumstances of which we are not sufficiently acquainted.

But a new feature is here exhibited. A general council, which was held at Rome, ordained, that if "a temporal lord being required and admonished by the Church, should neglect to purge his territory from heretical filth, he should, by the metropolitan and the other provincial bishops, be noosed in the band of excommunication; and that, if he should slight to make satisfaction within a year, it should be signified to the Pope, that he might, from that time, denounce the subjects absolved from the fealty to him, and expose the territory to be seized by Catholics." Thus it is insinuated, that as this was a general council, this declaration must be a part of our doctrine.

There are here two mistakes. The first of doctrine, the second of fact. The Catholic Church looks upon a general council to be infallible in declaring and defending what are the doctrines of faith, which have been revealed; and in declaring and defending principles of morality founded upon reason and revelation, and teaches that all her children are

bound to receive those decisions, and are bound to obey the regulations of ecclesiastical discipline, which are made for the whole Church in those councils. She recognizes in the council no farther power.

Now, this canon of the Council of Lateran, under Pope Innocent III, which is the third of the 70 canons of that Church, is not a decision concerning a doctrine of faith, is not a decision of a principle of morality, is not a regulation of ecclesiastical discipline, and therefore is no part of the Roman Catholic religion, neither has it ever been considered as such. Thus it is, to say the least, a great mistake of our doctrine to assert that this is a portion of our religion; and assuming this mistake as a principle, all the arguments drawn from it must be inapplicable.

The mistake of fact is the supposition that this council consisted merely of bishops and other churchmen, and that this canon was made by mere ecclesiastical authority.

In the first place, the two emperors and several other monarchs sent their ambassadors to the council, several of the archbishops and bishops were princes of extensive territories, and many proxies for other princes attended, so that the assembly consisted of two descriptions of persons, having separate and distinct objects, though many of the members had votes on each subject. The bishops as pastors only drew up and regulated the decisions of faith, morality, and discipline, and the temporal powers or congress of princes made regulations for temporal government; and as the object of this assembly was twofold, the canons or laws are also twofold; and each referable to the proper source of authority, as its nature is either ecclesiastical or temporal, and a few of them are mixed. Now, this third canon is of the latter sort, and it is a mixed law concurred in by both authorities. The object was the clearing of the territories of "heretical filth;" and any person who is at all acquainted with the history of the time, and has the smallest share of candor, must allow that the very existence of society required measures of extraordinary

severity to preserve a considerable part of Europe from the unnatural consequences of Manichaism, as well as from the principles of Lollardism. The principles of both those sects were what was specially described as "heretical filth," and princes, as well as prelates, found it necessary to root them out. The law was rather a temporal than an ecclesiastical canon; and as it was inserted amongst the ecclesiastical laws, in consequence first of its treating of heresy, and next of ecclesiastical persons, this circumstance of its insertion caused the misrepresentation of the council having usurped a right to depose princes.

Now I come to consider the nature of this law. It has several enactments. 1. It regulates that the punishment of condemning heretics must be left to the secular powers. This does not look like arrogating it to the Church. The Church may declare the fact of heresy as a jury does in its verdict; this is all its power in a temporal point of view—the mere simple declaration of the fact. 2. If the heretics be clergymen, they shall be first degraded from their orders, and their property confiscated to the churches whence it was derived. So far it was an act of the Council of Bishops. 3. The property of lay heretics was confiscated to the State. This was an enactment of the congress. 4. If the temporal lord (i. e., a feudatory), being required by the Church, did not clear his territory of heretical filth, he was to be excommunicated. This was ecclesiastical. 5. If he remained a year negligent, he was to be reported to the Pope, who was to declare, that by his neglect he forfeited all right to allegiance, etc. *Quo jure?* Was it by his spiritual authority? By no means—but by the consent of the congress which made and sanctioned this enactment. It was a new power granted to the Pope by States, whose representatives made the law. Thus it was no more a usurpation of the Pope to exercise this newly acquired right in all cases in which those States might have been subsequently involved, than it would be a usurpation for the President of the United States to use

the power given to him by the Congress of those States within their several territories; and in fact the whole of Christendom was met in that congress by its representatives, and freely gave its president, the Pope, this power. 6. This was a clause by the same authority reserving the rights of seignory of the lords paramount or chief emperors or kings, notwithstanding the possible forfeiture by the puisne baron, prince, vassal, or holder under a fief tenure. 7. By the same authority, this clause extended the penalties to chieftains and lords exempt, who held not in fief but in chief. All those enactments were made by the congress upon subjects under their power, but over which the Pope, by his spiritual jurisdiction, had no authority; but by this law he was invested with power, and might lawfully absolve the subjects of those States from their oaths of fealty, when the Church found the facts of heresy and negligence. I do not here mean to enter upon the examination of the propriety or impropriety of the law; but we have ascertained the fact, that in this year the law was made and the power conferred, and therefore it might by the law of nations be used, and its use was no usurpation on the part of the executive officer. The remaining enactments of the third canon are merely ecclesiastical regarding preachers.

The next fact produced is that of Pope Innocent IV declaring Frederick II to be his vassal; and in his general Council of Lyons denouncing sentence of deprivation against him in a certain form of words. I do not suppose the form is of much account if he had a right to make this assertion and to pronounce this deprivation.

The Popes did obtain and hold for a considerable time the principality of Sicily, and the usual acknowledgments were made to them as chiefs and sovereigns thereof. Frederick had only a small portion of Germany, besides the Duchy of Swabia, together with Naples and Sicily, for his hereditary dominions. These latter were fiefs of the Holy See, not in virtue of the spiritual supremacy of the Pope, but of his temporal power, and Frederick was his

vassal for those territories. . At his coronation as Emperor of Germany by Honorius III he swore to defend the possessions of the Holy See, including the fiefs of the Countess Matilda, in Fondi, and to go into Asia, upon the requisition of the Pope, to aid the crusaders. He ravaged the possessions of the Holy See several times, usurped the fiefs of Fondi, evaded more than once his pledge regarding the crusades, excited civil wars in the States of the Church, let Saracens loose upon Italy, was rejected by the German electors, is stated by his friends to have been unprincipled, ambitious, violent, and a debauchee; not only a heretic, but an atheist, and openly impious. I leave the writer then to determine upon how many grounds, according to the principles of civil polity, Frederick lost his claim to the crown of Germany; and upon how many valid grounds of the law of nations, by the principles of the age, and by how many special and positive laws, the Pope was warranted in deposing him by any form of words he might think proper. Still the Roman Catholic religion is no part of this, nor is this any part of the Roman Catholic religion. What in the name of common sense has all this to do with Mr. Monroe and Pope Pius VII?

The writer not having vouchsafed to give us a reference to the decree of Pope Boniface VIII, which he says is found in the canon law, I am not able to examine the topic as I would wish. I suppose the words are qu ted correctly. I then shall take his proposition. "We declare, say, define, and pronounce it to be of necessity to salvation, for every human creature to be subject to the Roman Pontiff." The proposition in one sense is true—in another it is false. Now, the writer who thinks well of a Church built on "the Rock of Ages," must acknowledge that it is necessary for every human creature to be subject to that power to which Christ made it subject. Roman Catholics do believe: 1. That Christ placed every human creature under the spiritual charge of His Apostles. 2. That the head of those Apostles was St. Peter. 3. That his

successor, who is also head of all the other successors of the other Apostles is the Roman Pontiff, and therefore they believe it to be necessary for every human creature, by Christ's ordinance, to be subject in spiritual things to the Roman Pontiff. In this sense the proposition is true. But what then? Therefore, the Pope can dispense with the obligations of oaths, contracts, etc. Now I shall put a case. There is in the city of New York a respectable Protestant bishop. Some persons are subject to his spiritual jurisdiction. Therefore, this respectable gentleman can dispense with the obligation of oaths, contracts, etc. The Right Rev. Dr. Hobart would protest against such a conclusion as unwarranted by common sense, and upon the same principle he would assure the writer that such supposed conclusions as Dr. Barrow's would be equally ridiculous. "But the Pope says the temporal power must be subject to the spiritual power." I too say, if there be questions of spiritual things, it must most undoubtedly. To follow up my first comparison, I have no doubt but if Governor Clinton be one of Dr. Hobart's flock, the right reverend gentleman claims just as much jurisdiction over the governor as if Mr. Clinton were merely a private citizen; for it happens, that in America the chief ruler has lost that commission of being "head on earth of the Church," which was founded by King Henry VIII in England. Hence in England, George IV is head of the Church, but in America no temporal ruler is head of the Church. But the Popes claim as head of the Church only that right which Dr. Hobart claims of governing spiritually the holder of the civil sword, equally as the victim upon whom that sword is used. So that in this respect neither Pope Boniface VIII nor Pope Leo X, nor the Lateran Council claimed more for the spiritual power in the proper sense of the proposition than good Protestants also claim. But if the Pope meant to say that the spiritual power had authority to regulate temporal concerns by virtue of its spiritual commission, the position is untrue, and is no part of the Roman Catholic religion.

"Pope Clement V declared, in the great Synod of Vienna (it ought to be the General Council of Vienne), that the emperor was subject to him." If the Pope was head of the Church, and the emperor a member of that Church, there can be no doubt but the member was subject to the head. "Therefore, the 'Pope could dispense with the obligation of oaths, contracts and agreements.'" From such bad logic, good Lord preserve us! Oh, no. Remember the rule of all reasoning. "The premises should clearly contain the conclusion." Governing the Church, and dispensing with oaths, etc., are two very different things. "Pope Clement VI pretended to depose the Emperor Lewis IV." It would have been shorter to have written: "Clement VI deposed Lewis IV." The facts are, Lewis, Duke of Bavaria, after having had a minority of the suffrages of the electors, was refused confirmation by Pope John XXII, who confirmed Frederick, that had been elected by the majority. But Lewis, being a better soldier, was successful, and not only triumphed over the Emperor Frederick, but shut him up in prison, and then having extorted from the electors an assent to his title, he went to Rome and procured some bishops to crown him as emperor, notwithstanding the Pope's opposition. Lewis then assuming the spiritual as well as temporal sword, condemned the Pope, as an heretic, excommunicated him, and proceeded to the formality of deposing him and establishing another in his stead. Meeting with a series of disasters, he, in 1330, sought pardon and reconciliation with the Pope, which was refused so long as he continued his usurpation. John dying in 1334, was succeeded by Benedict XII, who, for the same reasons, adhered to the same line of conduct as his predecessor. In 1342 Benedict was succeeded by Clement VI, and for the same reasons Clement declared Lewis an usurper, and that he never was lawful Emperor of Germany, but merely Duke of Bavaria. Lewis dying in 1346, put an end to the contest, and Charles IV of Bohemia succeeded by the regular form of

the Germanic constitution. Whether Clement's conduct in the discharge of his duty as chief elector of the Empire of the West, was correct or incorrect, has no connection whatever with the Roman Catholic religion nor with Mr. Monroe's title to the Presidency of the United States, and the duty of its citizens, of all religions, to support him in the discharge of his functions; and therefore I humbly and respectfully conceive, that no one of the German cases, nor the whole put together, will prove that it is a doctrine of the Roman Catholic religion, that "the Pope can dispense with the obligation of oaths, contracts and agreements." I shall examine the other cases in succession.

III.

The writer quotes two of these, that of the Pope against King Henry VIII and that against Elizabeth. Now, let us examine the cases by the principle. The proposition which I laid down was: "Catholics do not believe the Pope can dispense with the obligation of oaths, contracts, and agreements." Of course I meant, that it was not the doctrine of Roman Catholics that the Pope, by his spiritual authority, could dispense with these moral obligations upon conscience. The writer means to prove, that "Catholics believed that the Pope could dispense with the obligation of oaths, contracts, and agreements." Meaning, of course, that by his spiritual authority, Catholics did believe His Holiness could discharge them from the moral obligations thus incurred. To prove this, he adduces a fact, that the Pope dispensed the subjects of King Henry VIII of England from the moral obligation of their oath of allegiance. I answer, that, admitting the fact, the conclusion is not correct, because the Pope may absolve the people and yet the Pope may know he is doing wrong. The Pope may dispense with the obligations, and think he has the power, and the people still know that he has not the power, and not believe the dispensation good. And there is a third case. The Pope might, as in the German cases,

know that he had the power, and the people, knowing that he had, believe themselves dispensed with, and yet the power be in the Pope, not as head of the Church, but by virtue of his authority, in consequence of a contract, or upon some other ground; so that merely proving that the Pope declared the people dispensed from the oath, proves nothing.

I unhesitatingly assert, that by the old feudal system the Pope had the power, not as head of the Church, but upon three or four grounds. I do not mean to assert that the acts which I am about to recite were proper or becoming, but that they did take place. In the first place, Henry was King of Ireland, by virtue of a bull of a Pope. Adrian IV, at the request of Henry II, gave him a bull to conquer and to govern Ireland.[1] Though we consider that bull worth just as much as a tailor might give for the old parchment, and worth no more, yet this was the title upon which the Kings of England claimed the sovereignty of Ireland, and by virtue of which the orators and ambassadors of the British monarchs claimed, and were allowed in the general councils, a precedence to which they would not otherwise be entitled; the kingdom of Ireland being a much more ancient sovereignty than most others. Upon this ground the Pope had his first claim; if he could give, he could deprive.

In the second place, John, King of England, shamefully made his kingdom a fief of the Holy See.[2] He ought not to have done so, but the fact is he did; and the Kings of England paid tribute to Rome after this, as vassals of the Holy See. The Pope then had a claim to interfere as liege lord, by his title of lord paramount, and not by his title as head of the Church.

Again. The ambassadors of England were parties to the agreement of the potentates at the Council of Lateran, in 1215, that any prince who refused to clear his dominions

[1] The authenticity of this bull is doubted now.

[2] As a matter of fact, Henry II had already made England a fief of the Holy See.

of heresy within twelve months, should be declared deposed by the Pope; and this canon was still strongly supported in England.

Another ground was, that Henry himself did accept the title of Defender of the Faith from the Pope, for his works against Luther. Thus the Pope had several grounds or pretexts for interfering with the government of Henry VIII, not one of which concerns Mr. Monroe. The Pope did not interfere in the deposition of the king merely by spiritual power, because this was no prerogative of St. Peter, but he interferred by virtue of the concessions of English kings and of their agreement, and that of their ambassadors, and by reason of the custom of the age.

But the true question is not, whether the Pope believed he had power to depose the king, or attempt to depose him, without having the power, but whether it be a doctrine of the Roman Catholic Church, that the Pope has the power of dispensing with the obligation of oaths, contracts, and agreements. I freely concede to the writer that Popes did sometimes assume power which they really had not by law or by right; but the assumption of a Pope is not the doctrine of the Church. I will allow, that, although by the custom of the age, the Pope had many apparent plausible titles for interference in the temporal government of England, upon the grounds above stated, he had by no means the same right which his predecessors had in the German cases; for the crown of England was, and ought to be, independent of the Bishop of Rome; and Adrian had no right or power to grant Ireland to Henry II, nor had John any power to make his dominions a fief of the Holy See. All these transactions were deordinate, and arose from the unwarranted interference of the laity in ecclesiastical concerns, which improper conduct produced the reaction of the churchmen meddling in temporal affairs, and the subsequent blending of Church and State together throughout Europe.

Now, let us see the fact, for the purpose of ascertaining the Catholic doctrine. Did the British people consider

themselves freed from their allegiance? And was it the doctrine of the Church, that they were absolved? These two questions are the true test to solve the difficulty. I unhesitatingly answer, the people continued in their allegiance to Henry, notwithstanding the absolution; and those people at the time were principally Catholics. Sir Thomas More, the chancellor, was beheaded for denying the king's supremacy: that is, for not changing his religion, to conform to the king's humor; yet he never considered himself absolved from his allegiance. I, in like manner, assert, that neither Mr. Monroe, nor the Congress of the United States, nor the Governor of South Carolina, nor the Houses of Assembly of the State, have any authority to require of us to change our religion; but, that any attempt of theirs to interfere would be a tyrannical usurpation; and I also assert, that we owe allegiance to them, from which neither the Pope nor the whole Church could absolve us. Bishop Fisher was put to death for not deserting the Roman Catholic faith; yet he never considered himself, or any other Roman Catholic, freed from allegiance to the King of England, who, *de jure* and *de facto*, was Henry VIII; nor could he constitutionally, without leave of his parliament, give the Pope power to depose him, or to absolve his subjects from their allegiance.

In the first place, Mr. Hume informs us, that, although the censures were passed, they were never openly denounced, that is, published. Secondly. It is no part of the Catholic doctrine that the Pope, as head of the Church, has power to depose kings, though he has power to excommunicate or place them under spiritual censures. Thirdly. The fact is that frequently the Popes received temporal authority, by which they could lawfully depose particular monarchs, and absolve their subjects from allegiance in particular cases. Fourthly. Some Popes did endeavor to make this special concession a general law. Fifthly. Some Popes and their flatterers did endeavor to argue, that what was thus granted as a favor, or human concession, was an inherent right of

the Holy See. Sixthly. But this was never the doctrine of the Church. And, seventhly. In several places, where the Popes did unwarrantably attempt to exercise this power, the Roman Catholics could resist them, and were not therefore considered less faithful members of the Church.

If it were a doctrine of the Catholic Church, that the Pope could dispense with the obligation of the oath of allegiance to Henry VIII, when he did command the Catholics to withdraw their allegiance, they would have done so; yet we do not find they did withdraw it. Bishops, priests, and laity still adhered to him as their temporal sovereign, but they did not follow him in his religious aberrations, and they were still members of the Church. The English nobility were frequently and justly indignant, in those times, when they were Catholics, at the attempts made to assert a right of the Bishop of Rome to interfere in the temporal concerns of the nation. And now, although their sovereign was a rebel to the Church, they could see no ground for the assumption of His Holiness to depose their king and to absolve his subjects from their allegiance; therefore, they did not believe that the Pope could dispense in oaths, contracts, and agreements.

The case of Elizabeth is stronger than that of Henry. She was not constitutionally Queen of England, except by the choice and consent of the people, for she was not the legitimate daughter of Henry. Elizabeth was born of a woman who lived with Henry during the lifetime of his lawful wife. The Roman Pontiff, who did not acknowledge the validity of her mother's marriage, could not allow the legitimacy of her birth; and, down to that moment when Henry broke off communion with Rome, every Christian in England had always acknowledged that Rome was the final and superior court of appeals, to decide the validity or invalidity of marriage.

This objection was superadded to those which existed against her father, together with a new one arising from her organizing a Church in opposition to the See of Rome,

and her persecuting her Catholic subjects, and exciting the Protestants of Catholic States to oppose their rulers.

Yet, notwithstanding all this, her Catholic subjects, the priests whom she had hanged, the nobility whose titles were lost and whose lands were confiscated, all classes of her Catholic subjects declared their allegiance to her, and never were accused of disobeying her, under pretext of the bull. On the contrary, the Catholics of England declared that they could not be absolved by any person from their duty to their sovereign. It is true, that pretended plots and conspiracies were spoken of, for the purpose of leading to the murder of the Queen of Scots. It is true, that Sixtus V issued a bull of deposition, etc.; but Mr. Hume himself gives us his testimony to one fact, the truth of which upsets all those fabrications and proves our proposition.

Speaking of the preparations of Elizabeth to meet the Spanish Armada, he informs us that "the firmest support of her throne consisted in the general zeal of the people for the Protestant religion, and the strong prejudices which they had imbibed against Popery. She took care to revive in the nation this attachment to her own sect and this abhorrence of the opposite." In her speech to her troops in the camp at Tilbury, she styles the Spaniards, on account of their Catholicity, "enemies of her God." Yet the Catholics did not rise up in arms against her. Mr. Hume informs us that Elizabeth knew how they would act, for she knew the principles of their religion. "She would not believe that all her Catholic subjects could be so blinded as to sacrifice to bigotry their duty to their sovereign, and the liberty and independence of their native country. She rejected all violent councils by which she was urged to seek pretences for dispatching the leaders of that party." This writer will see by this the explanation of many of the Popish plots; for an Elizabeth was not always Queen of Protestant England. "She would not confine any considerable number of them." Though to

gratify the wishes of her tolerant subjects of other denominations, she was always obliged to keep some in confinement, and to have some occasionally hanged, embowelled, beheaded and quartered, and sometimes burned. "And the Catholics, sensible of this good usage"—I know not whether this good usage would be greatly relished by our Protestant friends—"generally expressed great zeal for the public service. Some gentlemen of that sect, conscious that they could not justly expect any trust or authority, entered themselves as volunteers in the fleet or army." And why, I would ask Mr. Hume, would it be injustice to place trust in those men or to confide authority to them? And yet we are perpetually stunned with the repetition of Protestant liberality and Popish bigotry! How strong is the force of habit! "Some 'Catholics' equipped ships at their own charge and gave the command of them to Protestants." I call upon my friend to produce an instance of persecuted Protestants equipping at their own charge ships to attack a Protestant power at war with their persecutors, and giving the command to Catholics! "Others were active in animating their tenants, and vassals, and neighbors to the defence of their country."

I could multiply quotations, but it would be useless. Neither Queen Elizabeth nor those Catholics believed that it was a doctrine of the Catholic Church, that the Pope had the power of dispensing with the obligation of oaths, contracts, or agreements; and the English cases prove as little as the German.

IV.

The last case of those adduced is that of Henry, King of Navarre. The argument is this: "Sixtus V absolved the persons who had sworn allegiance to Henry, King of Navarre, and to the Prince of Condè, from the obligation of that oath; therefore it is plain that Catholics believe that the Pope can dispense with the obligation of oaths, contracts, and agreements." I admit the fact that on September 9, 1585,

Sixtus V did issue a bull excommunicating Henry and the Prince of Condè, and absolving their vassals from allegiance, etc. But I deny the conclusion to be legitimate.

First. Suppose the Pope acted against the doctrine of the Church, his act would be no proof that the doctrine was consonant to this act. To state that the acts of the Popes are no evidence of the doctrine is then by no means incorrect. We find many instances where the Papal acts were in direct opposition to the Catholic doctrine. Did the Catholic Church teach that it was lawful for Alexander VI to commit murder or any of the other crimes which disgrace his character?

Again, we are not to decide from the acts of the Pope, but from the conduct of the people, what were the feelings and the dispositions of the people. Now, if the Catholics who had sworn allegiance to those princes were still faithful, notwithstanding the bull, will it not be more natural to conclude that those Catholics did not believe the Pope had the power of dispensing from the obligation of their oaths? And the fact is, they were faithful; and not only they were so, but the great body of the French Catholics, who were opposed to the King of Navarre at that time, condemned the Papal act, and denied the power of His Holiness to absolve those people from their oaths. Thus the evidence is, that the Roman Catholics, to whom the bull was directed, did not believe the Pope had the power of dispensing with this obligation of oaths, contracts, and agreements.

The state of France and Navarre was at this period most unfortunate. The war between the Huguenots and the League was destructive; the family of Guise looked upon the King of Navarre and his adherents as rebels to their liege lord the King of France. The King of Navarre had embraced the Roman Catholic faith and relapsed into Calvinism.

The leaders of the League, the chiefs of the house of Guise, represented to the Pope, that by the feudal regula-

tions, the King of Navarre, having disobeyed her liege lord the King of France, had lost all claim to allegiance from his own vassals; and also, by the regulations and agreements of the princes in several councils, the King of Navarre had lost all title to his crown by having relapsed into heresy: they therefore called upon the Pope to issue his bull, declaring, according to those provisions and the custom of the times, that the King of Navarre and the Prince of Condè had lost their titles, and that their subjects were absolved from their oaths:—not by the spiritual authority of the Church, but by the regulations of the States and princes.

France was Catholic, yet the greatest part of France opposed this bull, as Davila and De Thou inform us. The Parliament was Catholic, yet the whole Parliament waited upon King Henry III, requesting he would order the bull to be torn, and those who solicited the bull to be punished. It was never accepted in France—it was never published. Henry himself appealed against it, and had his appeal filed in Rome. Wraxall, in his history of France, tells us: "The Catholics themselves, far from approving the excommunication, saw with regret and concern that its effects would be more beneficial than injurious to the party against whom it was directed. . . . . Even Sixtus himself . . . . uniformly refused to open the treasury of the Church, or to contribute in any manner to the war declared against the Huguenots."

Thus it is evident, that no Catholic who had sworn allegiance to those princes withdrew this allegiance in consequence of this bull; and it is plain that the Catholics of France and Navarre generally believed that they were not dispensed from the obligation of their oaths, although there were at least plausible grounds for the conduct of the Pope in the circumstances of the case.

Thus, neither the German, the English, nor the French cases will prove that it is the doctrine of the Catholic Church or that Catholics believe that the Pope can dispense with the obligation of oaths, contracts, or agreements.

The writer concludes by stating: "The foregoing extracts will, I trust, be deemed sufficient to warrant the 'People in the South' in believing that the Pope does or did claim and exercise the right of 'dispensing with the obligation of oaths.'" Had he given the conclusion thus: "The extracts prove that some Popes did claim and exercise the right of dispensing with oaths of allegiance in particular cases;" I would allow his conclusion was fairly drawn; but this proposition does not contradict mine: "Catholics do not believe the Pope can dispense with the obligation of oaths, contracts, and agreements." The question was, what do Catholics believe, not, what did some Popes claim. Some Popes claimed what Catholics have never conceded to their ambition.

The writer next states: "The Pope is a temporal sovereign, with troops at his command, as well as a bishop directing the spiritual concerns of the Church of Rome. In which capacity he pretends to this dispensing power, I am at a loss to determine." I am at no loss however to inform him, in neither capacity: because he does not pretend to it nor claim it at present. We have seen, by the examination of the German cases, that it was founded upon special concessions, and not upon general right. The Popes did originally claim it upon the ground of those concessions, and the claim was valid. Some of their flatterers sought to make it an essential prerogative of the spiritual governor of the Church, but this claim was evidently unsupported; for, as this writer very properly observes, the Scriptures do not show us that St. Peter received any such commission; and I assure him that neither tradition nor the Mishna testify any such commission; and the Catholic Church has never acknowledged it; and he could have adduced many better texts of Scripture to disprove the claim as of divine right, than that of St. Peter, which proves nothing in the case. Roman Catholics deny it to be one of their doctrines, and still my friend will insist upon their acknowledging it to be one of their doctrines. This indeed is generous, to make us believe it whether we will or not.

My object was to show this friend of mine that his premises did not contain his conclusions, and that even his conclusion did not contradict my assertion. I believe I have succeeded in the attainment of this object. I now repeat, that it is no doctrine of the Roman Catholic Church that the Pope can dispense in the obligation of oaths, contracts, and agreements.

The writer, however, has gone farther. In his zeal he has not only forgotten texts of Scripture, but he has accused the inspired writer of blasphemy. "Pope Innocent IV declared that 'he held the place of Jesus Christ on earth.' I shudder whilst I copy this blasphemy." Now it must be evident to every person, that the Pope claims no more in this expression than St. Paul does when he says: "For we are God's coadjutors."[1] "Let a man so account of us as of the ministers of Christ, and the dispensers of the mysteries of God."[2] "We are ambassadors for Christ."[3] "He that heareth you, heareth Me, he that despiseth you, despiseth Me, and he that despiseth Me, despiseth Him that sent Me,"[4] were the words of the Saviour to minor ambassadors. My friend then must either deny this to be Scripture, or deny the Pope to have apostolic power, or charge the Saviour and his Apostle with the blasphemy. For when the Saviour was leaving this earth, He left the Apostles to hold His place on earth, and therefore it is no blasphemy to say what is correctly the fact. I could remind my friend, perhaps, of the time and the place, when and where, he stated that he held himself the place of Jesus Christ on earth, and yet did not shudder at solemnly and deliberately asserting, if he will so have it, the blasphemy. "Pope Pius V declared, as we have seen, that he was 'constituted prince over all nations and all kingdoms, that he might pluck up, destroy, dissipate, ruinate, plant, and build.' The bull of Paul III contains the same declaration, and quotes the Prophet Jeremiah for his authority. In looking at this authority, we find it is Jehovah speaking to the house of Israel!"[5]

[1] 1 Cor., c. iii, 9. [2] Ib., c. iv. [3] 2 Cor., c. v, 20. [4] St. Luke, c. x, 16.
[5] Note to Jerem., c. xviii, 7-11.

Now, if a Roman Catholic were to do what has been done here, either by my friend or by Dr. Barrow, he would deserve perpetual execration; but others are so often in the habit of doing what has here been done, that they are not so much to be blamed. In Jeremiah xviii, 7, we read as follows the words of Jehovah: "I will suddenly speak against a nation and against a kingdom, to root out, and to pull down, and to destroy it. If that nation against which I have spoken, shall repent of their evil, I also will repent of the evil that I have thought to do against them. And I will suddenly speak of a nation and of a kingdom, to build up and to plant it. If it shall do evil in My sight, that it obey not My voice, I will repent of the good that I have spoken to do to it. Now, therefore, tell the men of Judah, and the inhabitants of Jerusalem, saying, Thus saith the Lord: Behold, I frame evil against you, and devise a device against you: let every man return from his evil way, and make ye your ways and your doings good." In Jeremiah i, 10, addressed to the Prophet by Jehovah, are these words: "So I have constituted thee this day over nations and kingdoms, to root up, and to pull down, and to waste, and to destroy, and to build up, and to plant."

Would any man of common sense say, after having seen both those passages and the expressions of the bull, that the first, and not the second, was the text alluded to by the Pope? And what would any person say of the candor of the man who would publish that the Pope asserted that he was Jehovah, and not Jeremiah? Who constituted Jehovah prince? No person. The self-existent Deity was not constituted—he was prince by his own authority. But Jeremiah was constituted prince, etc. The Pope says he is constituted. The allusion is then plain. The words of the bull and words of the first chapter are identically the same. The allusion is then plainly to the first chapter, and not to the eighteenth. The first chapter is actually quoted in the original bull, not the eighteenth. What then

can be thought of the man who, whether it be Dr. Barrow or the writer, states that the allusion is to the text of the eighteenth chapter, and that the Pope assumes the place of Jehovah, when in fact the allusion is to the text of the first chapter, and the Pope assumes only the character of the prophet Jeremiah? This is what I call distinct, deliberate misrepresentation; it is an unbecoming trick, of which truth stands in no need, and of which a man having the least disposition to honesty, would be ashamed.

V.

I have shown that the writer failed in his attempts to prove that it was a doctrine of the Roman Catholic religion, that the Pope could dispense with the obligation of oaths, contracts, and agreements. I showed that the cases adduced by him did not come under the principle which he contended for; that they all had reference to oaths of allegiance, and that in the German cases the Popes had, by the law of nations, and by the special constitution of the German empire, a right to interfere; that in the English cases, though there was no strict right, according to the modern principles, there was a right of absolving from the oath according to the notions then entertained, by the concession of English kings, even of Henry VIII himself, who received from the Pope a title of "Defender of the Faith," which his successors have retained, though they have been almost uniformly the persecutors of the faith which he then defended; which right was conceded and established by the consent of the ambassadors of the kings, in the temporal and civil regulations of several councils; and as by the then laws of the realm, the crown of England was to go to the legitimate issue of the king, and by the law of Christendom the See of Rome was to judge of the legitimacy, and by the decision of that See Elizabeth was illegitimate, and therefore not entitled to the throne. That in the case of Navarre, the king was not a lord paramount and independent, but a prince holding as

a fief to a liege lord, to whom he was opposed, and at the request of whose prime minister the Pope, according to the laws then in force, knowing the fact of rebellious opposition which was alleged by the party of Guise, was bound to pronounce his subjects absolved from their oath to him who did not observe his oath to his liege lord.

Thus, we have seen that no one of these cases bears any analogy to the case of an American citizen, who owes no conditional allegiance to his State; whose government has conceded no right to any other power to interfere in its concerns; which has never been a party to those regulations; and which derives its rights and authority from the will of the people, and the law of God giving sanction to that will, freely and fully expressed by the regular organs of the nation.

But suppose the Popes did arrogate such a power unjustly to themselves in the cases of England and France. The people, who were Roman Catholics, did not acknowledge any right of the Popes to grant them such absolution. Yet those people held the Roman Catholic faith; therefore it is no doctrine of the Roman Catholic faith that the Pope could dispense with their oaths of allegiance.

Nor was this all: suppose even the Popes did hold such a doctrine; I can gratify the writer by showing him the distinct act of the Pope disclaiming any such power, and the distinct statement, by six very high authorities, that so far from being part of the doctrine of the Roman Catholic religion, it is distinctly opposed to its spirit and practice.

The calumny against the Roman Catholic religion, like most others which are still maintained and cherished in America, originated in England, a country whose writers, under the semblance of history, have published more slanders against Roman Catholics and their religion, than all the other writers who ever stuffed falsehoods into their works in any other nation, or perhaps in all other nations of the world. The whole weight of English authority, and

the unrestrained genius of English invention, and distortion, and fallacy, had been let loose and excited against the Roman Catholic religion during two centuries; and from the nursery to the senate, wooden shoes and Popery were the theme of abuse. King-killing doctrines were charged upon them by the high Tories, whilst the Whigs cried out that they were the most pernicious Jacobites, who held the doctrines of passive obedience and non-resistance, and that they looked upon every king to be a god. Their destruction was sealed, and whatever party held the reins, they were certain of being ground under the wheels of the State, whilst they were misrepresented to the nation. The pulpit and the press, the courts, the parliaments, the ale-houses, all were employed in calumniating them; and the Roman Catholics had neither press nor pulpit to rebut the charges, and by dint of repetition even the framers of lies began to imagine what was re-echoed from so many quarters must be true.

Towards the end of the last century, it was found necessary, for political purposes, to mitigate the persecution; and to afford some plausible pretext, and to preserve some appearance of decency, and consistency, and reason, Mr. Pitt affected to think that Catholics might be spared a little, provided they really did not hold those doctrines which their predecessors held; but as their doctrine was unchangeable, he feared it was impossible for them to show that they did not hold the king-killing and deposing and other such doctrines. The Catholics told him, their doctrines were unchangeable it was true, but that their predecessors were calumniated,—they never held such doctrines; and they too were calumniated,—neither they nor the other Roman Catholics held any such doctrines. The wily statesman appeared to be astonished,—and said, if their universities would testify that this imputed doctrine was no part of their creed, something might be done to relieve them.[1]

[1] The questions and answers are given in "Calumnies on Catholics" in this volume, and we refer the reader to Section v of that article,

After having thus given the answers of those Catholic universities, I next give the decision of the late Pope Pius VI. The Roman Catholics in Ireland were permitted to swear allegiance to the king in 1772; but besides allegiance, there was a test of doctrine proposed to them; the form was submitted by the laity to the bishops, and subsequently was by them, together with their opinions thereupon, submitted to the Pope, Pius VI, after his accession to the pontificate, and it was solemnly approved by the Cardinals, and sanctioned by the Pope, as containing the spirit and expression of Catholic faith. The following is an abstract thereof, in the form in which it has since then been sworn by the Roman Catholics of Great Britain and Ireland: "I do swear that I do reject and detest as unchristian and impious to believe, that it is lawful to murder or destroy any person or persons whatsoever, for or under the pretence of their being heretics; and also that unchristian and impious principle, that no faith is to be kept with heretics; I further declare that it is no article of my faith, and that I do renounce, reject and abjure the opinion, that princes excommunicated by the Pope and council, or by any authority of the See of Rome, or by any authority whatsoever, may be deposed or murdered by their subjects, or by any person whatsoever." . . . "I do declare that I do not believe that the Pope of Rome, or any other foreign prince, prelate, state, or potentate hath or ought to have, any temporal or jurisdiction, power, superiority, or pre-eminence, directly or indirectly, within this realm; and I do solemnly, in the presence of God, and of His only Son, Jesus Christ, my Redeemer, profess, testify and declare, that I do make this declaration, and and every part thereof, in the plain and ordinary sense of the words of this oath, without any evasion, equivocation, or mental reservation whatever, and without any dispensation already granted by the Pope, or authority of the See of Rome, or any other person whatever; and without thinking that I am or can be acquitted before God or man,

or absolved of this declaration, or any part thereof, although the Pope or any other person or persons, or authority whatsoever, shall dispense with or annul the same, or declare that it was null and void from the beginning. So help me God."

The Roman Catholic bishops of Ireland published the answer of the Pope and of the Sacred Congregation, declaring this to be consonant with what always was the Catholic doctrine, and declaring whatever was opposed thereto to be opposed to the Catholic faith. The bishops exhorted their flocks to take the oath, and they themselves set the example. Thus this writer, who always likes to look at the bright side of the question, and has so much respect for that Church built on "the Rock of Ages," will be gratified in finding his opinion to have been erroneous; and as becomes a man of candor and religion, raised to so respectable a situation as he holds, I doubt not he will as openly avow his mistake. I have given him historical inquiry, public documents, the decisions of the Pope and cardinals, of six universities, and the solemn oaths of thirty-two bishops and their successors, and the solemn oaths of millions of men, who have endured persecution rather than take an oath which they could not with a safe conscience take; and I humbly conceive this is better evidence than the misrepresentation of Doctor Barrow, who was an interested writer in the midst of the prejudices of a persecuting nation.

But lest this should not be sufficient, I shall lay before my friend another document, which was drawn up by the Catholic committee in Dublin, and published by them on the 17th of March, 1792, after it had received the sanction of the archbishops and bishops of Ireland, and which was subsequently moulded into the form of an oath, and approved of by the Pope and cardinals as consonant with Catholic doctrine, and then taken generally by the archbishops, bishops, priests, and laity of Ireland. "We, the Catholics of Ireland, in deference to the opinion of many respectable bodies and individuals among our Protestant brethren, do hereby in the

face of our country, of all Europe, and before God, make this, our deliberate and solemn declaration. We abjure, disavow, and condemn the opinion, that princes excommunicated by the Pope and council, or by any ecclesiastical authority whatsoever, may therefore be deposed or murdered by their subjects, or by any other persons. We hold such doctrine in detestation, as wicked and impious; and we declare, that we do not believe that either the Pope, with or without a general council, or any prelate or priest, or any ecclesiastical power whatsoever, can absolve the subjects of this kingdom, or any of them, from their allegiance to his majesty King George III, who is, by authority of Parliament, the lawful king of this realm. 2. We abjure, condemn, and detest as unchristian and impious, the principle that it is lawful to murder, or destroy, or anywise injure any person whatsoever, for or under the pretense of being heretics; and we declare solemnly before God, that we believe no act in itself unjust, immoral, or wicked, can ever be justified or excused by, or under the pretense or color that it was done either for the good of the Church, or in obedience to any ecclesiastical power whatsoever. 3. We further declare, that we hold it as an unchristian and impious principle, that 'no faith is to be kept with heretics.' This doctrine we detest and reprobate, not only as contrary to our religion, but as destructive of morality, of society, and even of common honesty; and it is our firm belief, that an oath made to any person not of the Catholic religion, is equally binding as if it were made to any Catholic whatsoever. 4. We have been charged with holding, as an article of our belief, that the Pope, with or without a general council, or that certain ecclesiastical powers, can acquit or absolve us before God from our oath of allegiance, or even from the just oaths or contracts entered into between man and man: Now we utterly renounce, abjure, and deny that we hold or maintain any such belief, as being contrary to the peace and happiness of society, inconsistent with morality, and above all, repugnant to the true spirit of the Catholic religion."

The declaration goes on to state several other calumnies, and to deny and to refute them. I would recommend to my friend and to all others who wish to form correct opinions of the Roman Catholics and of their religion, to read Catholic as well as Protestant writers; for without meaning any imputation personally upon those who differ from us in belief, I owe it to truth and to justice to state that of upwards of one hundred authors of the several Protestant communions, which I have read upon the subject of the Catholic religion, I could not name three who have not been guilty of the most glaring misrepresentation; and no class of those writers have been so grossly erroneous in their statements as the English authors. Scarcely a single assertion of theirs concerning the doctrine of Catholics is correct; and they have done more to corrupt and to pervert Church history than any other people that ever existed.

I would recommend to my friend the perusal of the following extract of a pastoral letter from a Roman Catholic bishop of Waterford, in Ireland, to his clergy. Besides showing them how little connection the Catholic religion has with politics, it exhibits that even where Catholics were persecuted by Protestants, their principles, like those of the first Christians, were those of peace and not of rebellion: "In all your proceedings, very reverend and dearly beloved brethren, avoid intermixing with the politics of the world with the sublime and heavenly maxims of the Catholic religion; they have not the smallest connection with each other; the one is spiritual, the other temporal; the one regards the transitory things of this world, the other the eternal affairs of the world to come. As the Catholic faith is a religion preached to all nations and to all people, so it is suitable to all climes and all forms of government, monarchies or republics, aristocracies or democracies. Despotic or popular governments are not the concerns of the Catholic faith; it may well suit a small sect to regulate its creed and form of worship according to the shape and form of government of the limited boundaries where that

sect arose, exists and dies away. Not so the religion which the prophet foretold should extend from the rising to the setting sun, which has been propagated and promulgated from Peru to China, from the East to the West Indies, from pole to pole, teaching the same doctrine, administering the same sacraments, and offering up the adorable sacrifice of the Redeemer, wherever man is found or God adored. It is therefore called the Catholic or universal religion. It may well suit the laity of your respective districts to pursue their temporal concerns and their temporal politics, by such ways as appear to them fair, peaceable, and loyal; and their past conduct is a proof that they are incapable of pursuing them by any other means. If their conduct has always been loyal and peaceable, even in the worst of times; if even when religious penalties made them total strangers to their native land; if when the ruling party, with insolence in their looks and oppression in their hands, ground them down, when some of the most powerful men in the nation declared in the senate that they hoped to see the day when no Catholic would dare to speak to a Protestant with his hat on; when even the course of justice was perverted and the channels of it dried up, according to the prejudices and party views of the judges who sat upon the bench, and were paid for the impartial administration of it, by taxes levied upon the oppressed sufferers; yet even in these provoking times, if the body of Catholics remained inflexibly attached to their religion and to their king, what have you to dread from their proceedings, when not only the judges are equitable and humane, but also a great part of these impolitic religious penalties are removed, and the rest of them in such a state of progress to be totally removed; that however a junto, for their own interested or other sinister views, may raise mobs to try to throw obstacles against the total repeal of them, yet all their efforts must be useless. The vast rock is already detached from the mountain's brow, and whoever opposes its descent and removal must be

crushed by his own rash endeavors. The Popery laws are on the eve of being extinguished for ever; and may no wicked hand ever again attempt to divide this land by making religious distinctions a mark to divide, to disturb, to oppress it.

Does my friend mean to create religious dissensions in America by exciting unfounded prejudices against the Roman Catholics? Does he regret the absence of division? Is he jealous of the recognition of the Roman Catholic by the Constitution? Would he draw here and wield that blood-stained sword which has spread such ruin through Europe? I trust those are not his views.

What have the Catholic bishops of this country done to render them objects of suspicion to the government? Do they swear temporal or civil obedience to the Pope? If they do not, where is the necessity of submitting to the jurists a question of the possibility of taking the two oaths of spiritual obedience to the Pope and temporal obedience to the State? Neither is this objection new. It was raised in England, and it was there discussed, examined, and proved to be but a play upon the prejudices of the people to whom the Pope had long been exhibited as the "raw head and bloody bones" to terrify aged children. It was examined in France, in Spain, in Portugal, in Ireland, in every part of Europe. In China and several parts of Asia, and in all those places which were as jealous of their temporal rights as America is, it was declared that it was by no means opposed to the civil allegiance due the State; and the bishops, on the same day, usually swear the two oaths of temporal fealty to the State and spiritual fealty to the Pope. The circumstance of his being a temporal prince makes no change in the conditions, for it is not obedience to his temporal but to his spiritual authority which is promised. Jurists have already decided the case in every one of those countries which I have mentioned, and many of those jurists were not Roman Catholics, yet they all determined that a

citizen of any State may take it, and also the oath of fealty to the State. Do the United States claim spiritual obedience from the citizens? No. They leave the people free to pay to whom they please any spiritual obedience they think proper; and the Tartar, the Turk, the Greek, the Russian may, by the spirit of the Constitution, live here, and, provided they pay civil obedience to the State, be in spiritual submission to the Grand Lama, the Caliph, the Patriarch of Constantinople, or the Synod of St. Petersburg; so may the Roman Catholic to the Pope. The conscience of each individual is to regulate his religion. The bishop of a Protestant Church has just as little right to regulate it as the bishop of a Catholic Church; and may the people of this country be ever ready to resist any wicked attempt to divide this Union by making religious distinctions a pretext to disturb or to oppress any well-conducted citizen.

What does the oath say? 1. The person taking it promises obedience to the Pope as successor of St. Peter. St. Peter never was a temporal prince; the Apostle had supreme spiritual authority. It is then spiritual obedience he promises. 2. He promises that he will not consent to any plot to kill or maim the Pope; to this, as to all the following clauses of a similar description, is added, "salvo meo ordine—saving my order;" this expressed salvo distinctly excepts if the Pope shall invade the territory to which that bishop belongs, for then the law of nature and of nations requires the bishop to exhort his flock to oppose the unjust aggressor: and in the cases of some Popes who, forgetting their duty, did join in unjust wars, the bishops did oppose them under this salvo, though they had taken this oath, and were always considered as having done their duty. 3. He promises to keep the counsels secret; this too comes under the salvo; that is the counsels appertaining to the good of religion, not prejudicial to the rights of States or individuals. 4. He promises that he will help to keep for the Church the temporalities of the papacy;

for it has always been considered a great benefit to have the head of the Church independent of the temporal control of any State or sovereign, because it prevents jealousy of other nations, and undue influence by his own sovereign to this clause; however, the salvo too applies, for he is not required to arm or to excite to arms in its preservation. 5. That he will assist the legates or ambassadors of the Church as far as he can and they require. 6. That he will preserve the primacy and superiority of the Holy See. Every Roman Catholic believes it to be derived from divine institution; it is therefore his duty to preserve the institutions of God. The words "increase" and "advance" mean no more than that he shall not endeavor to diminish and lessen them by sinister interpretations. His own order requires the preservation of its own rights; to increase the power of that over himself unduly would diminish his own, and hence the "salvo meo ordine" is here again in force. 7. That he will make known plots against the Pope. 8. That he will preserve the deposit of faith, and the discipline, and rules, and laws of the ancient Church. 9. That he will endeavor to follow after and to argue against heresy and schism. This clause has been badly translated, with the evident intention of conveying a false impression to the mind. "Hereticos, etc., persequar et impugnabo." Mr. Ainsworth gives seven meanings for the verb "persequar," and no one of them is persecute: the meaning here is follow after; and "impugnabo" means assail by argument; and "hereticos" has never been understood as meaning that the individuals were to be followed after, but the doctrines. Thus the meaning of this much-misrepresented phrase is nothing more than the very same which a Protestant bishop solemnly promises that he will "root out and contend against erroneous doctrines;" not meaning by the sword of persecution, but by the sword of the Word. Thus the clause is quite innoxious. However, as it was liable to misconstruction, it was in the pontificate of Pius VI regulated, that where the meaning was misrepre-

sented the clause might be omitted; and no bishop in America has sworn it. The other clauses are not objected to.

I now assure the writer who has, I should hope unintentionally, but grossly, misrepresented our religion, and I assure him in sincerity, in the words of a Secretary to the Catholic Board of Ireland, in his letter to a Protestant historian who misrepresented the acts of that body at the very time of their session, "although we profess the Roman Catholic religion, we would not be of that communion one single hour, were its tenets such as they are represented through that baneful prejudice so prevalent in Great Britain and Ireland, which proves such an effectual drawback to the otherwise inevitable prosperity of the country. And we cannot sufficiently lament seeing unfounded calumnies so industriously circulated, as they only tend to keep alive prejudices which all liberal men reprobate as pestiferous to society."

I feel religion to be an important concern. I am convinced that no accident of birth or of education, that no antiquity or respectability of a Church, can be a warrant for our rejecting the truth. I was born of Roman Catholic parents, educated in the Roman Catholic religion. I find it to be venerable for its antiquity, the religion of the most enlightened nations, of the greatest empires, of the most powerful monarchs, of the most learned men, of the wisest statesmen, and most enlightened philosophers, during a long succession of ages. All those circumstances weigh nothing with me in the examination which I have made. I have read and studied the tenets of those who have separated from that Church, because from her every other Christian sect has mediately or immediately departed. I have weighed the alleged reasons for their separation. I have not taken their tenets, their reasons, their allegations from their adversaries, but from themselves: and thus I have made my decision. I respect the judgment of those who think differently from me. I freely concede to them, as I firmly demand for myself, the right to form the

important decision in the choice of religious observance, with a solemn and awful responsibility to God alone. But whilst I shall have the opportunity of correcting the mistakes of my friends, or the misrepresentations of my enemies, I shall do so with calm and undeviating perseverance, not by empty assertion, but by historical inquiry and the exhibition of facts.

At present I close my task; it remains with my fellow-Catholics to determine whether I shall resume it. Should no opportunity be afforded me, I must rest patiently content to witness, as I have long done in silence, our religion reviled and our tenets misrepresented, to a people who are anxious for the discovery of truth, but who are amused with fabrications—to a people who condemn us because they do not know us.

THE BULLS OF THE CRUSADES.[1]

I.

It is not without feelings of deep regret that I am compelled to charge the editor of the *North American Review* with having done serious injustice to my religion in his number for July last. I hope, I trust it was on his part unintentional; yet, whatever might have been his motive and his impression, the fact is that he has libelled the Roman Catholic religion. Were the facts which he alleges true, I should not dissent from his conclusions; for some of those he adduces the authority of writers whom he, I suppose, believed to be good witnesses. I would then exculpate him from so much; but he states other facts as if he had before him the documents upon which he rested as authority; and if he had those documents, and read them with the slightest attention, upon reperusing his own article he must perceive a total aberration in his statements.

The article of which I complain is Art. x, p. 158, on South America. In all that he writes concerning the political bondage of the Spanish colonies, whatever my convictions or feelings may be, I at present have no concern. In all his hopes and wishes for the welfare and prosperity of our neighboring republics, I most heartily concur. But in all that he has written concerning my religion, I beg to

[1] This Essay, occasioned by an article in the *North American Review* for July, 1824, in which were contained some vague and general denunciations of the corruption of the Catholic religion in the South American States, is chiefly devoted to an exposure of some of the historical fallacies and misrepresentations of laws, usages, and doctrines, upon which such charges are usually founded. The greater part is occupied with an accurate explanation of the Bulls of the Crusades and the Bull of Composition, with the special privileges enjoyed by force of these in the dominions of the King of Spain. The Essay was published in the *United States Catholic Miscellany*, vol. iii, 1824.

inform him that he does not appear to be sufficiently acquainted with the subject of which he treats, and that he assumes as facts many things which are untrue.

In p. 164 he informs us:

"In the future pages of our journal, we hope to exhibit from time to time as full and minute a view of the revolutionary history of South America as the nature of our work will admit. We have access to materials which we trust will enable us to do reasonable justice to a subject which is much less understood in this country than its merits deserve, or than our interests as a nation would seem to require, especially when relations of the most intimate kind are daily gaining strength between the United States and the new republics at the South."

This is a reason why I am the more anxious that he should be better informed as regards my religion; for we do not wish to be misrepresented to our fellow-citizens and to the reading world by an authority which is deservedly respected. I am aware that the editor condemns my religion as corrupted and superstitious; I am aware that he is under what I will call an erroneous impression, that it is unfavorable to republicanism. Upon these topics I think very differently from him; but this is not the ground of my complaint. I do not even object that in p. 192 he writes of Roman Catholics: "The spiritual guides of the people were the worst enemies to their peace and happiness; precept and example conspired to scatter poison in the hearts of the unsuspecting, to corrupt the springs of good principle, and extinguish the light of moral truth." I do not complain of this, and more than this: I should blush to write it of the Unitarians; and when I designate this division of persons, it is not to charge them with being more corrupt than others, but to ask the editor of the *Review* what would be his feelings did I wantonly thus attack that body to which I understand he belongs.

But I do complain that the whole portion of his article which describes the Bulls of the Crusades is a palpable

misstatement. As yet, I acquit the editor of the moral turpitude of intentional misrepresentation; but he must permit me to prove my assertion; and though my feelings have been deeply wounded, I shall, I trust, avoid that sort of disrespectful, I may call it contemptuous, language with which it is not even, by scholars and gentlemen, deemed illiberal to assail my Church.

Here is the first extract:

"But the most extraordinary imposition in the whole catalogue was the tax levied through the instrumentality of the Church, which practiced on the credulity, corrupted the morals, and degraded the character of the people, at the same time it picked their pockets. As long ago as the time of the Crusades, bulls were granted by the Pope to certain Spaniards, allowing dispensations for the zeal they displayed in exterminating the infidels, and as an inducement to perseverance in so pious a work. Custom, which establishes everything, brought these bulls into general use; and for many ages they have been palmed off on the people in Spain, ignorant and wise, as possessing a virtue and a power which could only come from heaven. And, as if to fix the last seal of degradation on the Americans, these precious devices of superstition and crime were scattered profusely over the whole extent of the New World, and there employed, by alarming the religious fears of the people on the one hand, and encouraging their vices on the other, to wring from them the little that remained after the torturing engine of taxation had done its heaviest work.

"The bulls were issued every two years, sent over to America from Spain, and sold out by the priests under the direction of a commissary appointed to superintend this branch of the revenue. They were of four kinds: 1. The bull for the living, or Bula de Cruzada, so called because it has some traditionary connection with the Bulls of the Crusades. It was deemed essential for every person to possess this bull, and its virtues were innumerable. Whoever purchased it might

be absolved from all crimes, except heresy, by any priest; and even of heresy he could never be suspected with this shield to protect him. On fast days he might eat anything but meat, and on other days he was exempted from many of the rigorous injunctions of the Church. Two of these bulls, if they had been paid for, communicated double the benefits of one. 2. The bull for eating milk and eggs during Lent. This was intended only for ecclesiastics and persons not holding the first, which entitled the possessor to all the advantages of both. 3. The bull of the dead, Bula de Defuntos, which was indispensable to rescue departed souls from purgatory. It was bought by the relations of a deceased person as soon as possible after death; and poor people were thrown into agonies of grief and lamentation, if they were not able to purchase this passport for the spirit of a relative suffering the miseries of purgatory. 4. The bull of composition, which released persons who had stolen goods from the obligation to restore them to the owner. One slight condition, it is true, was attached to this bull, which was, that the person, when stealing, had not been moved thereto by any forethought of the virtue of a bull to make the property his own and his conscience white. Bating this small condition, the bull converted all stolen goods into the true and lawful property of the thief. It had the power, moreover, to correct the moral offences of false weights and measures, tricks and fraud in trade; and, in short, all those little obliquities of principle and conduct, to which swindlers resort to rob honest people of their possessions. 'It assures the purchaser,' says Depons, 'the absolute property in whatever he may obtain, by modes that ought to have conducted him to the gallows.' The price of these bulls depended on the amount of goods stolen; but it is just to add that only fifty of them could be taken by the same person in a year.

"The price of the Bula de Cruzada was fixed by the commissary, and varied according to the quality of the

purchasers. In the mandate of the commissary general for the year 1801, he says: 'The price is a little raised, but it is on account of the new expenses of government, and of the necessity of extinguishing the royal certificates, which the scarcity of money in a time of war has compelled the king to issue.' At that time a viceroy paid fifteen dollars and other persons of wealth and distinction paid five. If any man practiced deception in this matter, and bought a bull at a lower rate than his rank or property demanded, the bull was without virtue, and the purchaser had the comfort of reflecting that he had defrauded himself and thrown away his money. Such a deception was seldom known, even where the amount of a man's property had escaped the scrutiny of the officers; and no sources of the revenue were more certain and productive than this scandalous traffic in scraps of brown paper. It must be remembered that these bulls were available for two years only, and then the people were again to be plundered by this infamous, juggling artifice to stir up their passions and interests, and even to quicken their crimes, where this could be done with a better prospect of grasping their money. But this league of the powers of darkness is fast dissolving; religion could not be mocked nor justice outraged any longer; and if the revolution had done no other thing than relieve the minds of sixteen millions of people from a thraldom so barbarous and debasing, the deed would of itself be a good reward for the sacrifices and sufferings thus far endured by the South Americans in gaining their independence."

The history of the origin and continuance of these bulls might at first sight appear of no importance to their present nature; however, such an impression would be erroneous, for without some knowledge of their history, it would be impossible to have a correct idea of their nature. I shall, therefore, as briefly as possible, give such a sketch as will be, I trust, sufficient. In page 184 of the *Review*, the editor has the following passage: "The alcavalda origi-

nated in Old Spain during the wars against the Moors, and was granted to defray the expenses of those wars. It was limited to three years, but was afterwards extended; and against all the principles of equitable government, it was entailed as an eternal inheritance on the Spanish provinces in South America."

Now, my object is not to advocate either this tax upon sales which is here described, nor to enter into an examination of the justice or injustice of extending it to the American colonies,—but to show a fact, viz., that the tax for defraying the expenses of the wars against the Moors was extended to New Spain, as well as to Old Spain.

I find another fact which is acknowledged by the reviewer in page 196, viz.: that in the year 1519, Charles V changed the nature of the government, making the American territory an intregal part of the Spanish kingdom. In point of law, therefore, I apprehend it would not be very preposterous to assert, that the taxes to which one portion of the kingdom was liable might be extended to the other portion. The Americans might not have been fairly dealt with, either by their own local rulers, by the Council of the Indies, or by the king; but still this would not destroy the principle of the liability to taxation. I also find the fact that they were made liable to the tax alcavalda, which was imposed to defray the expense of the Moorish wars. Upon the same principle they were made liable to the tax of the Bula de Cruzada, which was one of exactly the same description as that of alcavalda. Thus we find it was not an ecclesiastical tax, but a civil tax paid to the king for the expenses of the State.

My next inquiry regards its origin.

Of course I do not expect the reviewer to believe the truth of our religious doctrines, neither am I now entering upon the discussion of their truth, but I am about to state, in fact, what are some of our doctrines.

We believe that the Church has power to regulate ecclesiastical discipline, and that she received this power from our

Lord Jesus Christ. We believe that a part of the discipline consists in observing days of fast and days of abstinence, and that she has authority to specify those days, and to regulate the extent of that abstinence. We believe, of course, that she has the power of repealing those laws which she thus makes, and of modifying them, and of dispensing occasionally, when she shall see cause, with the observance of some or all of them. We believe this dispensation may be granted by the Pope, who is the head of the Church, to individuals or to collective bodies. Upon those principles I shall explain the part regarding fasting and abstinence.

Another point of doctrine in our Church, is that in giving jurisdiction to a priest to hear confessions, the bishop has it in his power to give it either fully or partially. Of course if only partial jurisdiction has been given, and the clergyman finds the person who applies for his ministry to be included in the exceptions or reservations which affect his jurisdiction, this person should apply to a priest having full powers, or, as it is usually expressed, power to absolve from all crimes and censures. But of course this does not mean that he has power to absolve from any crime, unless the penitent has dispositions which will justify him before God. This will explain that part regarding the choice of a confessor.

I proceed to examine facts. Towards the close of the eleventh century, Peter the Hermit filled the centre of Europe with the tale of sufferings of the Christians in the East, and Pope Urban II, at the Council of Clermont, in 1095, published the first Crusade to deliver the Greek and Asiatic Churches from the cruel persecution, humiliation, and massacres of the Mahometans. On this occasion, the remission of all canonical penances, full or plenary absolution from all ecclesiastical censures which had been incurred for previous crimes, and plenary indulgence, or the remission of all the temporal punishment due to sins which had been remitted by the mercy of God, through the merits of

our Redeemer, together with a dispensation from certain fasts and abstinences, was by this Bull of the Crusade then published granted to all those who, with proper dispositions, undertook an enterprise which, after solemn deliberation, had been pronounced just, necessary and meritorious, and which appeared to be more called for by the circumstances of the times than the present state of Greece demands the sympathy and aid of modern Christians.

The Bull of the Crusade was then, in this view, a law exempting a class of persons who were looked upon as engaged in a service meritorious in the sight of God and man, useful to religion and humanity, exempting those men from the operation of a general ecclesiastical law, and extending to them certain spiritual benefits of which they were supposed capable, for reasons which were deemed sufficient. To enter upon the history of the Crusades is no part of my object; I shall not therefore pursue it. The first bull of this sort given to Spain was by Pope Gelasius II, in 1118.

Spain had long groaned under the Moorish yoke, and her sons and her kings frequently attempted her deliverance. In the year 1128, exactly ten years after their first establishment at Jerusalem, six of the nine original Knights Templar, who came to France, applied to the Council of Bishops, then sitting at Troyes, for a constitution and rules; the council acceded to their request and referred their formation to Bernard, the famous Abbot of Claraval. The rule was strict, and amongst other regulations was one of abstinence on Mondays, Wednesdays and Saturdays, throughout the year, and fast and abstinence from milk and eggs on Fridays. They got some possessions in Spain upon condition of defending them against the Moors. About 1160 a report was current that the Arabs were bringing a great army to attack the town of Calatrava, in Castile, which was one of their commanderies. Knowing their weakness, the knights resigned the town to Sancho III, King of Castile. An abbot of Citeaux got the place for his

order upon the same conditions that the Templars had held it, and the Archbishop of Toledo granted privileges similar to those of the Bull of the Crusade, to such persons as would aid the abbot and his monks to keep the city. Twenty thousand warriors assembled, the place was not attacked, the military members of the monastery had many skirmishes in which they were successful, and in 1163 Pope Alexander III confirmed the order under the title of that of Calatrava. This was the second grant of similar dispensations to those contained in the bull to any part of Spain.

A number of other military orders now sprang up and obtained extensive grants and privileges for preserving the country from the Mussulman ravages.

In 1210 Alphonsus IX, King of Castile, being sorely pressed by the infidels, besought the aid of the Christian princes and people, and especially of the Pope. Innocent III exhorted the bishops of France and Provence particularly to assist him, and formally granted the dispensations of the Bull of the Crusade to those who would join his army before the Octave of Pentecost, 1211; and had prayers on his behalf offered up at Rome. He was joined by a vast number of Crusaders, and amongst others, by the Kings of Navarre and of Arragon, and on the 16th of July he obtained one of the most signal victories on record. To go through the subsequent history of the Spanish wars is not necessary. I shall just touch upon one or two other facts very briefly.

On the eve of the feast of St. Peter, in 1236, Ferdinand, in whom the Kingdoms of Leon and Castile were united, took the city of Cordova, which had been one of the strongest holds of the Moorish power; but his revenues were greatly impaired, and it was necessary to have money as well as men to protect the Christians. The exemptions of the bull had been hitherto confined to those who gave personal service in the army. The king wrote to Pope Gregory IX, requesting he would obtain pecuniary aid

from the clergy. The Pope wrote to the Archbishop of Toledo and to the Bishops of Burgos and of Osma, exhorting them to make and to procure contributions from the clergy and the monasteries, and exhorting the laity to contribute, and extending to those who, in proportion to their means, would aid by contributions the same privileges as if they served in the field.

The long struggles with the Moors caused the same necessity for the continuation of this bull that existed for its original publication. And when, in 1483, Ferdinand and Isabella were endeavoring to regain Granada, and thus to secure the permanent safety of the peninsula against the irruptions of the ancient enemies of their people, they found themselves greatly in want of means. The then Pope, Sixtus IV, had exerted himself to procure them from the clergy and people. Innocent VIII succeeded Sixtus in 1484, and in the next year he confirmed the act of his predecessor, so that the king prepared to attack Granada with a considerable force. In the next year, 1486, the grand master of the Order of Calatrava having died, the knights prepared to go into an election; but Ferdinand and Isabella had procured from Innocent VIII an injunction by which the administration of the order and the nomination of its grand master was given to Ferdinand during his life, and upon a memorial of the kings to the Pope, it was evident that the orders had not rendered all the services they ought, that the kings had been at very great expense, and that the only mode of recompense which was left for their service and expenditure was to be found in the receipt of the revenues of the military orders, which had not done their duty, but had been too often the cause of dissension and of civil wars. However, it was not until the year 1500, that, under Pope Alexander VI, the grandmastership of the orders of Calatrava and St. James of Alcantary was finally united to the crown of Spain.

Meantime, however, Ferdinand was making progress; in 1488, after the siege of Baca, many of the principal Moors

withdrew to Africa. In the next year he obtained not only the ordinary contributions, but the Bishops of Avila and of Leon were commissioned to make extraordinary collections. By means of these he raised an army of 50,000 infantry and 12,000 cavalry, with which he vigorously pursued the war. In March, 1491, the Marquis of Villana went up to the enemy's country. Ferdinand and Isabella both went with the army to the conquest of this last retreat. At length a capitulation took place, and the final expulsion of the Moors was the consequence, though not immediately. Thus, in order to repay, in some measure, the expenses of a protracted warfare of upwards of six hundred years, the people were exhorted to contribute by a light tax, in proportion to their means, towards defraying the expenses; and as the contest was principally for the preservation of the doctrine of our Lord Jesus Christ against Mahometans, the constituted authorities of the Church of our Lord Jesus Christ encouraged the faithful to contribute to the expenditures by a light tax, to be paid to that government which preserved the religion of our Saviour. The mode of encouragement was by granting certain exemptions from the severe discipline of the Church law to the contributors, and by those means repaying the government which protected religion.

One question only can be raised: Had those persons power to dispense with the observance of the law? There is no question but they had, for he who makes a law can dispense with its observance.

The reviewer, I suppose, looks upon the laws regarding fast and abstinence, and perhaps our entire discipline, "as affording a gloomy spectacle to the philanthropist or the friend of human improvement and happiness." I shall not now quarrel with him for his opinion, but I give my own, viz., that a contribution of alms, or, if he will call it so, a tax, was well bestowed to preserve Christianity where Mahometanism would have swayed, and whence it would have made its inroads upon the west of Europe, in con-

junction with the ravages that it was making in the East. And we farther are of opinion that when the question was, shall we relax a part of non-essential Church discipline or expose the Church to destruction, there could be no doubt as to the decision. The system of loans was then unknown. But, in fact, ought not this tax properly be viewed more in the light of an interest which the posterity of the warriors and people of that day continue to pay for the preservation of the blessing which has been transmitted to them, if Christianity is a blessing? The Church viewing things in this light, encourages the people to pay the tax, by granting certain privileges to the contributors.

Now that we see the origin and nature of the Bula de Cruzada, I ask, why was it extended to the Spanish possessions in America? The reviewer gives us the plain and obvious reason; p. 206, he tells that the old Spaniards for many years constituted the chief part of the effective population, and willingly submitted to a government instituted in the country to which their associations and attachments were confined. He also gives us in p. 166 a second reason, viz., because in 1519, which was certainly before the many years to which he alludes had passed away, the American possessions became an integral portion of Spain. I give him a third reason, that the exemption consequent upon this tax paid for such a purpose, is in the Roman Catholic Church considered a very extraordinary favor and privilege, which Spaniards enjoy as a reward for the zeal and fidelity of their ancestors.

Now I come to examine the special provisions of this bull. For the reasons above mentioned it is not to be obtained at present in any other place but the territory of the King of Spain. If it has been continued in Mexico or Colombia or any of the republics which have cast off the Spanish yoke, I know not. The reviewer asserts that last year the bulls were sold in Mexico. If so, it must have been by a special continuation of power upon some new ground. It certainly could not be under the ancient

regulation. I am ignorant of the facts. But I know that the case has been regularly decided: 1. That any place withdrawing allegiance from the crown of Spain, loses the privilege. 2. That upon special considerations the Pope may renew for them the privilege without requiring, as a condition, their return to the subjection from which they had withdrawn.

The purchase of the bula was a perfectly voluntary act on the part of each individual. By not purchasing he only placed himself in the situation of any other Roman Catholic out of the Spanish dominions: he committed no crime, he incurred no censure, he deprived himself of no sacrament. He kept his money in his pocket and observed the laws of the Church. In this I can perceive nothing either "to alarm the religious fears" of the people, or to "wring from them" the little that remained after the torturing engine of taxation had done its heaviest work. I can also plainly perceive the error of the reviewer when he tells us: "It was deemed essential for every person to possess this bull;" for, in truth, it was essential for no person, being matter of perfect option.

I have been somewhat tedious, but the charges made upon our Church were of the most destructive character, and by a respectable authority. I now say that although the writer may be of opinion that our belief is erroneous, and may consider the Church's discipline to be incorrect, yet he must feel that his article was constructed upon unsafe grounds, so far as I have examined; but what remains must be closely scrutinized.

II.

I now proceed to examine his "virtues" of these "scraps of brown paper." What then is the virtue of the scrap of brown paper? Nothing. This is an unfair mode of treating a question; neither does it manifest any wit. For when a person exhibits to you the deeds which are evidence of his right to property, when he exhibits to you

his commission as an officer, or as a magistrate, or as an ambassador, it is not by the color of the paper you are to try whether he owns the property or possesses the power. In this case, the scrap of brown paper is the evidence of having obtained a certain privilege, the ground of which we have before seen. The holder presented himself to confess to a priest who had the common approbation of the bishop, but who had not ordinarily reserved jurisdiction. The penitent could be absolved, not because he had a scrap of brown paper, but because, for what was deemed sufficient cause, this priest had in this case been vested with all jurisdiction by the act of the Pope and the consent of the bishop.

A person going to war might fall into a crime, the jurisdiction to absolve from which was usually reserved, and he might not be able to meet a clergyman having extra jurisdiction. The Bull of the Crusade, in this case, vested, as regarded him, every approved priest with extra jurisdiction, and when the same privilege was extended to contributors in money, they should produce to the priest the evidence of their privilege, which evidence might be upon coarse or fine paper. The quality of the paper made no difference. Now let us see the nature of this absolution from crime by the priest: "Plenam omnium suorum peccatorum (si de illis corde contriti, et ore confessi fuerint) aut non valentes confiteri id corde desideraverint indulgentiam, et remissionem;" that is, "full remission and indulgence of all their sins (if they have heartfelt contrition, and shall have made oral confession), or not being able to confess, shall have desired it in their hearts." To the clause giving the power of selecting any approved confessor, whether his ordinary jurisdiction was limited or not, the reviewer has put an exception—"except heresy; and even of heresy he could never be suspected with this shield to protect him." I have carefully perused several copies of the bull in different languages, and not one of them that I have seen contains even the most remote allusion to any such exception. Upon what authority,

then, was it inserted? And why was the exception really contained in the clause omitted? The following is the contained exception: "Modo in casibus in quibus necessaria erit, per ipsos, vel dato impedimento, per hœredes aut alios satisfactio fiat:" so "that in those cases in which it shall be necessary, satisfaction be made by them, or they being impeded, by their heirs or by others." Thus, the persons who had injured their neighbors in property or character, could not obtain the privileges of the bull without making the necessary satisfaction. Every Roman Catholic knows what that satisfaction is, viz., restitution. But we shall have more of that hereafter. This clause also specifies, lest it might be in any way overlooked, the absolute necessity of hearty contrition for sins and negligences. Shall we be told that the doctrine of contrition of the heart for sin being necessary for reconciliation with heaven is "encouraging their vices," and that they who taught it "practiced on the credulity, corrupted the morals, and degraded the character of the people, at the same time that they picked their pockets?" For aught I know, this "might be a precious device of superstition and crime." But I think it is a salutary doctrine, and the only foundation of sound morality.

"On fast days he might eat anything but meat, and on other days he was exempted from many of the rigorous injunctions of the Church." The first part of this is correct, and is almost the only exemption from the law of discipline; the other part is so vague, that it may be true, or not, as the word rigorous is understood. I shall now take what he calls the second bull.

The distinction here is one which is founded upon a general principle of the Church, that as the clergy ought to give good example to the laity, they ought to be more rigorously observant of discipline, and ought for any necessary relaxation or indulgence to make larger sacrifices. Thus, the common bull was taken by the laity, and bula parva by the clergy. The prelates paid highest and had

least relaxation of discipline, and this principle so regulated the tax and the relaxation, until it came to the laity, that the more dignified the clergyman, the more he paid, and the less relaxation he obtained. The laity took the common bull, but viceroys and the nobility paid more than they whose income was small and who were untitled. But for all the laity the privileges were the same. Monks and nuns and friars were not allowed any relaxations. Now the innumerable virtues may be easily summed up.

1. If any church or place should fall under interdict, these persons may use it for their devotion, provided they were not partakers in the crime which induced the interdict. They may in the territory under censure use their own private oratories for divine worship upon the same conditions, provided that on each occasion they devoutly prayed to God to restore peace and harmony to His people, and to free them from the persecutions and insults of Mahometans and other infidels. They may have Mass celebrated in those places an hour earlier or an hour later than the canonical time. They may in those places be admitted to the sacraments, except the Easter Communion; and should they die during the interdict, their obsequies may be celebrated in a moderate way.

2. The laity may on days of abstinence and fast use all food which would otherwise be prohibited on those days, except flesh meat. The clergy follow special and more restricted rules as above.

3. Those who shall through motives of piety, by fasting, prayer, or works of charity, or religious exercises voluntarily undertaken, endeavor to obtain from God His merciful aid for the protection of the true religion and the defeat of its oppressors, having the bull, shall receive the remission of certain penances and the participation in the prayers and merits of other pious persons.

4. Persons of a like description, who shall on particular days unite their devout prayers with those of their brethren who offer them up for the like purpose five times before

one altar, or at five different altars, shall obtain the same benefit as they who make the same stations at Rome.

5. That they may with greater purity of heart pray to God, and be more acceptably heard by Him, they have power to present themselves to any approved confessor, who shall be thereby authorized, upon their having the proper disposition of heart, especially true contrition for sins and negligences, and making the proper restitution to any person whom they have injured, to absolve them from all sin and censures, howsoever and to whomsoever reserved, and after enjoining salutary penance, to communicate to them a plenary indulgence. Once this power, and to a lesser extent at any other time through the year, and to its fullest extent at the hour of their death.

6. That their confessor shall have power, upon examination, to commute vows made by them into the performance of other good but more convenient works, except in three cases, and except such commutation would be an act of injustice to a third person, who has not consented to the same.

Now as regards the third head, the Bull of the Dead, (Bula de Defuntos), I shall find it necessary to enter somewhat more at large into my explanation of one or two doctrines of my Church, which the reviewer, I have no doubt, rejects as foolish and untenable. For this I shall not quarrel with him; I believe them firmly, and have no doubt whatever that God has revealed their truth; but I do not now enter upon proofs, I merely give explanations.

We believe that there is a purgatory, and that the souls therein detained may be assisted and benefitted by the suffrages of the faithful. We believe that Christ left in His Church the power of granting indulgences, and that those indulgences may be usefully applied by way of suffrage to the aid and benefit of those suffering souls. These are doctrines of the truth of which we are firmly convinced, but as they are doctrines which in this country

are greatly and generally misunderstood, I shall develop them more fully. We believe purgatory to be a place of punishment where some souls suffer for a time before they are admitted into heaven. We believe there is a place of eternal punishment, to which all those souls that depart from this life in a state of mortal sin, enemies of God, will be irrevocably condemned. This place is called hell. We believe that no sin is remitted, nor grace obtained, except through the merits of our Lord Jesus Christ. We believe that those merits are efficacious, if He will, to remove the guilt of sin from the soul, and to release also from the punishment which is due to that guilt. We believe the guilt to be different from the punishment; the guilt may be incurred several years before the infliction of the punishment: or the punishment may be inflicted immediately after the guilt is incurred; punishment follows the guilt, but is not the guilt. We believe that punishment for the guilt of sin may be temporary as regards this life: may also be temporary in the next life, or may be eternal as regards the next world. We believe it to be eternal in hell. We believe that when God removes the guilt of sin through the merits of our Lord Jesus Christ, He may remit the eternal punishment and not remit the temporary punishment. We believe that in removing the guilt and remitting the eternal punishment, He generally inflicts a temporary punishment, the extent of which is known to Him but unknown to us, which must be endured by the justified soul, unless it be removed in one of those ways which will be efficacious for its removal. We believe that all the sins of men are not mortal sins, which deserve punishment during eternity in hell. We believe that although in baptism and on other occasions, God does remit the guilt and all the punishment due to sin, He often, on other occasions, inflicts a temporary punishment instead of the eternal punishment which He mercifully remits. We believe that all they who die in venial sin, and all who have not fully endured the tem-

porary penalty affixed by God upon the remission of mortal sin, do suffer more or less in purgatory and are afterwards admitted into heaven. We believe that all they who, justified by the merits of Christ, die without the guilt of any sin, and having no arrear of temporary punishment unremitted, are the only persons who immediately enter heaven. We believe purgatory is not, of course, a permanent state. We think the suppositions which I have made are reasonable, and that the facts which I have stated are revealed by heaven.

The communion of saints is another article of the Roman Catholic faith; by this we believe that all they who belong to the Church and can be aided in their necessities, will be benefitted by the prayers and good works of persons who, through the merits of Christ, are acceptable to God.

We believe persons who are in a state of temporary affliction may be aided by the suffrages, which means the prayers and good works, of acceptable supplicants offered on their behalf. Hence we believe upon those principles and upon the testimony of revelation, that the souls in purgatory may be assisted by the suffrages of their brethren.

I next come to state the doctrine of indulgences. An indulgence is not leave to commit sin; is not pardon of the guilt of sin; is not remission of the eternal punishment due to mortal sin: but is a total or partial remission of the canonical penance or of the temporary punishment which is due to sin after its guilt has been remitted, and which remission can be had only by the means established by God, accompanied with the dispositions required by God. We believe this power of indulgences was left by Christ in His Church. We believe it consists in the authorized minister of the God of heaven in His Church, granting by the authority of God an application of the superabundant means of reconciliation left by the ordinance of Christ, to the obtaining from God partial or total remission of temporary punishment to certain persons, for sufficient reasons. We

believe this application cannot be arbitrarily and wantonly made, and if so made it is inefficacious. We believe that it must be made for good and sufficient cause, profitable to religion and the improvement of morals, and if not so made, it is inefficacious. We believe that no application of indulgence can be profitably made to a person who is not in the state of friendship with God, and truly serving Him in spirit and in truth, and if any benefit is expected from the use of an indulgence by a person in the state of mortal sin or disposed to commit mortal sin, such expectation is a foolish delusion. We believe that besides being in the friendship of God, a person in order to profit by an indulgence must faithfully perform the required duties. Thus we believe, that no ecclesiastical authority can grant an indulgence for mere temporal purposes, and any whose object would tend to such purposes and end in them would be altogether useless and invalid. But we believe that the contribution of alms for a purpose beneficial to religion is not for a mere temporal purpose, but to obtain spiritual benefit by temporal means; as to raise an army to protect a Christian nation from destruction by infidels. We also believe, that be the contribution ever so great in money, the contributor will not receive any benefit of the indulgence unless he first becomes reconciled to God by the means which God prescribes, and fully and sincerely determines to lead a virtuous life.

Now the Bula de Cruzada expresses all this in a manner which, to Roman Catholics, is fully clear and much more forcibly conveyed than it is here by me. Hence, if the traffic in these bits of brown paper be a scandalous imposition, the means of detecting the imposition are afforded to the purchasers, because they have in print the conditions, which to them are fully intelligible. To one who is not a Roman Catholic, and who is too proud of his ignorance respecting tenets which he condemns without inquiry, in the technical expressions and in the phrases there might be some obscurity, which he ought to attribute to his own

self-sufficiency in not caring to inquire; and should he write about what he has never sought to know, can we be astonished at the exhibition of blunders which he would, perhaps, glory in for not having taken pains to prevent?

Now, the writer of the *Review* did not understand the Catholic doctrine, and yet he has most majestically condemned what he did not take the trouble to study. I prefer this to the other side of the alternative; for if he did know the Catholic doctrine, I should be reluctantly compelled to think most unfavorably of his moral feelings. I should consider him to be a deliberate and wanton libeller of the largest Christian body in the universe.

The bull says: They who contribute to repay the Kings of Spain for the heavy losses and expenses incurred in preserving Christianity against the Mussulmans, shall be exempt from some of the rigorous discipline of the Church; and those of them who do besides, with true sorrow of heart for sin, endeavor to obtain pardon for those sins through the sacraments of our Lord Jesus Christ, received with proper dispositions, making satisfaction to their injured neighbors, shall receive an indulgence; and those of them who by prayers and good works, will endeavor to render God propitious to His Church, shall also receive an indulgence. No one is obliged to contribute, but this encouragement is held forth to the contributors.

The reviewer says: "It is deemed essential for every person to possess the bull. This precious device of superstition and of crime was employed by alarming the religious fears of the people on one hand, and encouraging their vices on the other, to wring from them the little that remained after the torturing engine of taxation had done its heaviest work; this tax corrupted the morals of the people at the same time that it picked their pockets."

Now I would humbly ask how an optional contribution can be called a tax? How that which might be conscientiously omitted could be deemed essential? How the religious fears of the people were alarmed by leaving them

an unbiassed choice? How money was wrung from them which they were not placed under any necessity of paying? How pockets were picked in the case before us? How this custom which made true repentance of the heart the first requisite could be an encouragement of vice? How reconciliation to heaven and satisfaction to the injured neighbor could be a device of crime and superstition?

I do, with all due humility, suggest to the editor of the *Review*, that the people of this Union are not now to be misled by words; that the mind of America looks for facts; and that, so far as the Catholic religion is concerned, mere school declamation, and rounded periods, and degrading epithets of abuse prettily strung together will not serve for information. The mind that in South America conceived and carried through the mighty work of its useful revolution is not so puerile as to permit superstition and crime to domineer over a land which it has emancipated. Nor is the mind which is awake and healthfully energetic and now putting forth its vigor in this favored land so sunk in the prejudices of Great Britain as to be led by a cry of "No Popery," and to believe that everything which was described as horrible and superstitious, is such in fact, merely because the pilgrims said so.

We will give the reviewer leave to designate all the Catholic creed folly and all its discipline superstition, if he will, but I assure him that he is grossly in error if he believes that creed or that discipline encourage vice or engender crimes. Upon close examination, he will find both theory and fact against his imagination.

We believe the suffrages of the living are beneficial to the dead who are in need of them and capable of being relieved. We do not believe the saints in heaven need those suffrages. We do not believe the reprobate in hell are capable of relief. We believe the souls in purgatory do need aid and may be assisted. But though we know this general doctrine, we cannot know the fact that a particular individual is in purgatory, nor what special quantity of

prayer or other suffrage would be adequate to full relief. It is true that God does know, and may inform us if He will, but He has not done so, and we are not in every case to expect a special revelation of the fact. Such a revelation would be an extraordinary interference. The Church teaches the general doctrine; the Church does not know the special fact: no individual or body in the Church can tell who is in purgatory, nor what suffrages would be adequate to release one sufferer therefrom. A dark curtain divides us from the world of spirits. Our mighty Father could shoot the beam of knowledge through the immense mass of clouds if He would; but He does not. His voice has penetrated through the chaos, and by the words of revelation He has taught us the general doctrine, He has exhorted us to the charity of aiding those who suffer, and taught us that our prayer will avail, but He has not informed us to what extent. We then, with eyes suffused with tears, yet lifted in hope, and hands stretched out in supplication, offer for our departed friends the suffrages of our prayers, of our works, of our piety, and through the merits of Christ we beseech for them a speedy release from the house of bondage. The Bula de Defuntos is a suffrage of this sort, applicable to the aid of those capable of being assisted, but giving no certainty of release.

The reviewer will probably smile at our superstitious infatuation in praying for the dead. We look upon it to be an injunction of heaven, and we do not envy him the coldness, the barrenness, the desolation of his mock philosophy, whilst we indulge, under the sanction of God's revelation, the holiest propensity of our nature, by which the charities of religion and the feelings of warm affection are made to survive within us, and even after their object has faded to our view, after the worm has consumed all that was mortal of our friends, we still commune in the language of spirits, and feel how strongly the bonds of religion can unite those whom the desolations of nature have severed.

But the reviewer is grossly incorrect when he affirms that this bull was indispensable to rescue the departed souls from purgatory; it is not indispensable, and it could not be obtained except in the Spanish dominions; so that, if his proposition was true, no one but a Spaniard could ever be rescued from purgatory.

The poor people, whom he describes in mock commiseration, knew well that this was no passport, though their affection and their piety might have made them anxious to obtain every species of relief.

III.

I now come to the most serious part of the charge against our religion and the gross portion of the libel. I shall insert the fact charged upon us.

"4. The Bull of Composition which released persons who had stolen goods from the obligation to restore them to the owner. One slight condition, it is true, was attached to this bull, which was, that the person, when stealing, had not been moved thereto by any forethought of the virtue of a bull to make the property his own and his conscience white. Bating this small condition, the bull converted all stolen goods into the true and lawful property of the thief. It had the power, moreover, to correct the moral offences of false weights and measures, tricks and fraud in trade; and, in short, all these little obliquities of principles and conduct to which swindlers resort to rob honest people of their possessions. 'It assures the purchaser,' says Depons, 'the absolute property in whatever he may obtain by modes that ought to have conducted him to the gallows.' The price of these bulls depended on the amount of goods stolen; but it is just to add that only fifty of them could be taken by the same person in the year."

I never read a more unfounded and libellous paragraph than the above. It distinctly exhibits the Roman Catholic Church as entering into partnership with thieves and rob-

bers, and undertaking, for a share of the plunder, to whiten their consciences. When the reader shall have seen the true state of things, let him judge for himself. I must again lay down Catholic principles before I can explain the facts.

We believe that the Church has no power to deprive any man of his property; for when our Lord established the Church, the authority which He gave was not temporal, but spiritual. We believe that no man has power to remit to another a debt which he owes, unless the debt be owing to him who remits it. Composition being a species of remission, we of course do not believe the Church has any power to make a composition with a debtor, and remit to him what he owes to another who is his creditor, or who has been injured by him, for this would be to exercise over property a dominion which God has never bestowed upon the Church. We believe that no man who has injured his neighbor in his property or character, can be truly contrite for his sin so committed, unless he has the disposition to make all the due satisfaction in his power to the injured neighbor. We believe that without this contrition and satisfaction, the sin will not be remitted by God.

The bull, as I have stated in that part regarding the remission of crimes and penalties, had this express condition: "Modo in casibus in quibus necessaria erit, per ipsos, vel dato impedimento, per hœredes aut alios satisfactio fiat"—"Provided, that in those cases where it shall be necessary, satisfaction be made by them, or they not being able, by their heirs or by others." This is a principle which nothing can subvert; until the last farthing shall be paid, there is no escaping from the judgments of God.

What is the difference of practice between a Protestant and a Catholic on this head, for there is no difference of principle? It is more strict on the side of the Catholic. I put a case for elucidation. A Catholic and a Protestant

have been both unjust; each repents. The Protestant feels that he ought to repair the injury; he makes his own estimate, I will admit conscientiously; he restores and prays to God for pardon, determining not to be again unjust. The Catholic repents and goes to confession, he informs a priest who is answerable at the risk of his own soul to decide to the best of his knowledge upon every case. The penitent is examined, the circumstances are weighed, the consequences inquired into. The decision is made by one not interested in diminishing the amount to be restored, by one who is answerable to the tribunal of God for any injustice which he may sanction, by one who has studied morality, and especially the principles of justice and contracts, in order to be able fairly to decide those cases, and to destroy the illusions of self-love in his penitents, to answer the sophistry which the love of money will dictate, and to speak the words of divine justice to the transgressor: after having been advised thus, and having repented and restored, the Catholic seeks pardon from God. I unhesitatingly assert: there is less danger of the Catholic who confesses not making proper satisfaction, than of his being deluded and deceived.

But will not the Bull of Composition enable his confessor to go in shares with him and whiten his conscience? No! Payment to his confesser is not restitution. Giving money to his confessor is no satisfaction for his injustice; neither does he give money to his confessor. I have known much of confession, but I never yet knew of money being paid for it, nor on account of it. But I have known money given to the confessor to be by him paid to the injured party, lest the penitent should be discovered; for a man may repent and make restitution, but is not bound to expose himself; and I have in those cases known the confessor, as he ought to do, procure the receipt of the persons to whom the money was given, which receipt he gave to his penitent to prove that he fulfilled his duty and discharged his trust. A Catholic

finding money given by a penitent to a confessor, knows why it is given; the same act may wear to Protestants a different aspect; most of their prejudices arise from such imperfect judgments.

What then is the Bull of Composition? I must state a few more principles before I can explain.

Sometimes a man has injured his neighbor, and he cannot discover whither the injured person is gone, nor where his children may be found, but the property which he has unjustly obtained is not therefore transferred to him. Sometimes the property to be restored to individuals is but of small amount to each, and the persons to whom restitution should be made are at a great distance, not greatly in need, and not expected to return, and there is no mode of communicating with them, or of transmitting it to them; yet the dishonest possessor cannot retain it. Sometimes the injured person has died leaving no heirs, to whom restitution could be made; yet the possessor cannot retain property which he has unjustly acquired.

A variety of cases of this desciption come repeatedly under the view of the clergymen who hear confessions in our Church. The principles of justice are plain, evident, unchangeable. 1. "Suum cuique tributo"—"Give to every one what belongs to him." 2. "Res clamat domino"—"The property seeks for the master." 3. "Fraus sua nemini patrocinari debet"—"No person should be a gainer by his dishonesty." 4. "Res fructificat domino"—"Property increases for its owner." 5. "Alteri ne feceris quod tibi non fieri vis"—"Do not unto others as you would not wish them to do unto you." Now upon those maxims the confessor cannot admit the penitent to the sacraments until after full restitution shall have been made to the injured person, if the said person can by any reasonable exertion be discovered, and if the penitent can in any way by any fair exertion make it; or being unable now to do so, will enjoin his heirs or other friends upon whom he may have a claim, to do so. There is no useful receiving of the

sacrament without this, and without the useful receiving of the sacrament, none of the benefits of this bull can be obtained. Thus, where the injured person is known and restitution can be made, it is absolutely and indispensably necessary to make it to himself or to secure it to him. Can I then be blamed at feeling warmly and perhaps almost indignantly on finding the Church to which I have the happiness to belong, and which has always been guided by those principles, traduced and villified, and abused and misrepresented to the American people in such a work as the *North American Review?*

Then is there no composition? Yes, but a very different kind from that which has been stated. Take my first supposition; a man who feels that he has been unjust confesses it. The priest tells him to restore the amount to the owner. The penitent answers that he cannot discover where the owner now is, nor whither he has gone, nor can he find any of his connections. The amount of the injustice is ascertained, and the penitent is told to purchase as many bulls as will cover the sum, and having done so, he exhibits them to the confessor as evidence of his having made the payment. This is called composition. And these are called the Bulls of Composition. Now there are here several indispensable conditions. 1. The penitent must make oath that he has used all diligence to find the injured party or his heirs, and has not been able to discover them nor any of them. 2. The penitent is distinctly informed that if injustice was committed with any view to making the restitution by this composition, it will not release his conscience, because this would be affording room for a malicious disposition to injure a person who ought to be protected, and quieting the conscience of the criminal by paying to the treasury a sum of money of which he defrauded another. This would enable him to gratify his revenge or malice, and produce many other evils. 3. It is restricted to the amount of the price of fifty of those bulls, because it is supposed that although small debts may

be overlooked, or small creditors not be found, still the presumption is, that persons to whom large sums are due could be discovered; and if they cannot, special reference to a higher tribunal than ordinary must be had, for making particular investigation and special composition. 4. Should the injured person be discovered after this composition, and the unjust person find that his composition was not fully made, he is in conscience bound to restore the balance to the injured party. And if the creditor can show that the debtor could have found him by using greater diligence, he can compel him to pay the entire to himself. I apprehend that when all those conditions are fulfilled, the bull is found to have very little efficacy in converting the stolen goods into the true and lawful property of the thief.

Now as to the power of correcting the moral offences of false weights, etc. The penitent examined before God how much he had gained by his fraud; the confessor having ascertained the amount, told him that, as he injured a community, he must make general restitution, then told him how many bulls to purchase; he bought them, was exhorted to repent, and to ask pardon of God, to have recourse to the means established by Christ for forgiveness, to be honest in future and thus dismissed with his "moral offences corrected," a heart changed, and very little profit of his crimes.

I have not the honor of knowing M. Depons; but I unhesitatingly aver that I can have no respect for the authority of a man, who, with those facts under his eye, could write that the Bull of Composition "assures to the purchaser the absolute property, in whatever he may acquire by modes that ought to have conducted him to the gallows."

There are two other cases in which the Bull of Composition might be taken. The first, where a clergyman received the income of his place for the performance of spiritual duties, which he neglected to fulfill, or which he fulfilled badly, imperfectly. In this case he was evidently bound to restore the goods for which he did not make the proper return. He could not take bulls to more than half

the amount, the other half he should return to the fund of the particular church. This was a special case, and is an exception; for upon the general principle he would be bound to return the entire to the injured church, as he knew the defrauded owner, and could reach it, but as the fund created by the bulls was intended for the good of religion, the Church to which the restitution ought to be made consented, by her chief pastor, to give half the proceeds of such restitution to the Crusade treasury.

Another case of exception regards legacies left by the way of restitution for goods badly acquired. The Spanish and civil law both required certain formalities to be gone through within a year from notice received in such cases by the legatees. If they neglected within the year to go through the form, the heirs of the deceased were authorized to pay half the amount to the treasury of the Crusade, by taking bulls or other evidence of the payment, and the bull declared that having thus honestly complied with the provisions of the law, they were in conscience exonerated. But this did not extend to any other species of legacy nor to any other debt.

Having taken this view of the nature of the Bull of Composition, my readers will be better enabled to judge of the true meaning of the following extract:

"That the commissary shall have power to make composition for property unjustly held, also for the moiety of all legacies which are made for things unlawfully taken, if the legatees shall, during a year, have been negligent in making their claims, and for legacies which shall have been found made, or which may be made during the aforesaid year, if the legatees cannot be discovered; also for property unjustly taken, or acquired by usurious wickedness or otherwise badly; if, however, in all those cases (except those of the aforesaid year's neglect), the persons to whom the restitution or payment should be made, cannot be found, (the restorer having made oath that he had used diligence to find the legatees or the creditor, and could by no means find them)."

Now, in the name of common justice, in the name of religion, in the name of truth and of honor, I ask the reviewer whether this is entering into partnership with thieves and plunderers, to whiten their consciences for a share of the plunder?

But why give the money to the Crusade fund? I shall answer, but first I must explain.

It is now clear that it is a principle of Catholic moralists, as it is of common justice, that no person who unjustly retains what belongs to his neighbor can obtain forgiveness from God unless he shall have made restitution. When the owner is known, it cannot be given to any other person except by his express authority. If a man holds ten dollars belonging to his neighbor, whom he knows, and subscribes one hundred and ten dollars towards building a church or for any other good purpose, meaning to give one hundred as his donation, and to pay the ten on behalf of his injured neighbor, he is not thereby exonerated from the debt of that neighbor; because payment to the Church is not payment to him. He not only still owes the ten dollars, but is, moreover, answerable for all the bad consequences of his unjust retaining of that money. Let him build a hundred churches and hospitals, and take fifty Bulls of Crusades, these ten dollars still remain due; and if the injured person, for want of ten dollars, is cast into prison, or loses the fair opportunity of making a good purchase, the church-builder and bull-buyer is answerable before God for all the consequences. Nothing can weaken the force of this immutable principle of right. The duty of the debtor is to pay his creditor; the right of the creditor is to build churches or buy bulls or fling his money into the fire, as he pleases. The man who assumes to be liberal, or charitable, or pious, with money which does not belong to him, is a rogue—generally the worst kind of rogue, a hypocrite.

But another principle of justice is equally clear: when you are bound to restore, but cannot find your creditor, this acci-

dent does not give you a right to the fruit of your dishonesty. The property is not yours. How is it to be disposed of? In that way which it is reasonably supposed would be most agreeable to the creditor. Give to his children, or to his relations, or to those whom he used to aid and serve. You cannot find any of these; you have used proper though unavailing diligence. Then follow his presumed will: give it to that useful public institution which you believe he would himself prefer: give it to the poor, and the alms will, before God, be received on his account. But if any nation has made a public regulation upon the subject, you are to follow the decision of the law, in preference to your own private judgment. Spain has made this public regulation; and upon that ground the principle in Spain is, "when you have injured your neighbor, repent and restore to him his property; if you cannot find him, pay it to the treasury of the nation, through the commissary of the Bula de Cruzada." The principle in Spain is, "your self-love and your avarice are likely to delude you in estimating the amount that you should restore. Go tell your case to a clergyman who has nothing to gain or to lose, and who must therefore be impartial, who is answerable to God for the decision, and therefore likely to be conscientious, who has studied the principles of justice, and after examination, been admitted to his place, and is therefore likely to be correct. Be guided by him: if you have reason to doubt the correctness of his judgment, go to another, or go to his superior, and remember the admonition, 'what will it profit a man to gain the whole world and to lose his own soul?'"

It may, perhaps, be the effect of prejudice, or of partiality in me, but I have always thought this discipline of the Church was better calculated to promote the interests of society and of religion, better fitted to protect the property of individuals, and the morality of the public, than the mere general preaching of the same principles, without the special application of them to individual cases, as practiced in the Church.

The only difference between the Spanish dominions and other portions of the Catholic world on this subject, is, that in Spain and its dependencies the precise mode of making this sort of restoration is pointed out: in other places, the person bound to make the restoration has greater room for choice as to what object the money shall be applied; there is no choice as regards the immutable principles of justice.

I have now given to the people of America the true statement of facts, and the correct exhibition of principles, the misrepresentations of both of which formed the ground-work of the flippant abuse and unmeasured language of the reviewer. Let him then look to his own phraseology and say was it deserved, if my statement is correct. For the correctness of that statement I am ready to stand amenable to the tribunal of the candor and investigation of this world, and I stake the salvation of my soul in the next. My asseveration is a solemn appeal to heaven: for we Catholics have been most cruelly ill-treated. Our religion has been accused by those who did not know it, with plundering the people by infamous juggling artifice, to stir up their passions and interests; and even to quicken their crimes, when this could be done with a better prospect of grasping their money. It was accused of "forming a league with the powers of darkness." It was accused "of mocking religion." It was accused "of outraging justice." It was accused "of keeping sixteen millions of people in a barbarous and debasing thraldom." Bear with me, fellow-citizens, for awhile. This charge has been ushered forth under the auspices of your most conspicuous literary chieftain. Are we guilty? Read the proofs against us; read our answer. Too long have you formed your judgments of us upon the exclusive testimony, shall we call it? no! vituperation of our opponents. Hear us; examine us. But before you vilify, listen and reflect.

TRANSUBSTANTIATION PROVED.[1]

A PASSAGE taken from the works of Tertullian, which appears to contradict the doctrine of the Church, on the dogma of transubstantiation, has been sent to me for explanation, by two or three esteemed friends of our communion. It is amongst those adduced by Mr. Ratio, in the *Missionary*, and has been for some time bandied about by a Protestant clergyman of North Carolina, for whom I entertain sentiments of regard. In general I do not consider myself called upon to devote my time to explanations upon every objection to a particular tenet; for if I were so bound, I would no longer be master of myself. But upon the present occasion, I shall take up the passage which has been now adduced against the doctrine for probably the ten-thousandth time within the last three hundred years, because, as far as I can observe, the answer has not reached the objectors nor the Catholics in the present instance.

I must premise a few remarks. Suppose Tertullian did not believe in the doctrine of the real presence of Christ in the holy Eucharist, but believed that sacrament to be only a figure of Christ's body and blood, should we therefore believe that all the other writers of the same and of the previous and subsequent ages, who did believe in the doctrine of the real presence, taught differently from the Church, and that Tertullian alone believed with the Church? A single name, how great soever, is not authority. Though the doctrine of Tertullian in regard to the Eucharist was in accordance with that of the Church, still at the latter period of his life he fell into the errors of Montanus, and, so far as they went, he differed from the great body of Christians. If, therefore, a passage was found in his works in favor of the figura-

[1] An Article in the *United States Catholic Miscellany*, vol. iii, 1824.

tive commemoration, it would no more prove that to have been the true doctrine, than the passages which are found in favor of the Montanist heresy prove that heresy to have been the true doctrine. Such a passage would only prove that the writer held and taught that doctrine.

My next remark is, that when the Catholic writers quote passages from the Fathers, they only produce public, competent witnesses, to testify what was the doctrine of the Church in their day. Suppose Tertullian's works favored the figurative commemoration, and that many and unsuspected teachers of the same age testified the doctrine of the real presence, we should decide by the number and the character of the witnesses, and say that the doctrine of the day was to be found by the testimony of the great body and not that of an individual.

Next: The sense of a writer is not to be gathered from an isolated passage, but from the examination of the writer's object and comparison with several other passages. Any person in the least degree conversant with the rules of sound criticism, must at once perceive that an isolated passage taken without reference to its general object, and the circumstances with which it is accompanied, so far from giving information, will mislead. This reminds me of the man who insisted he could prove atheism to be a Scriptural doctrine, and turning to the 13th Psalm, (14th, Protestant version,) read very distinctly the following words which are found in its first verse: "There is no God." His half discomfited adversary, however, seizing the book, looked eagerly and found the words, it is true, as they were read, but he exultingly read the preceding passage: "The fool hath said in his heart," and gave his opponent the choice between folly and defeat. The man of the strict letter was not, however, to be so easily put down, for he contended that it was not in his heart he said so, but with his lips. To be serious, however: It is clear an isolated passage will not be proof, unless the sense which it has in its separate state be also that which it has in its conjunction with the context.

Another principle of explanation, which every good critic and every honest man adheres to, is, to pay full deference to peculiarities in style of the writer, because the object is not to find what the words can be brought to mean, but what was the meaning of the writer.

These observations being premised, I could furnish from Tertullian's works three other texts which would appear more forcibly to establish the figurative commemoration of the Eucharist than the one in question, and I could produce very few in plain support of our own doctrine; yet I have no doubt that he believed upon this head as we do.

The passage in question is taken from his 4th book against Marcion, and is the following: "Acceptem panem, et distributum discipulis corpus suum illum fecit: Hoc est corpus meum dicendo, id est figura corporis mei." The translation which Mr. Ratio gives of the passage is the following: "The bread being taken and distributed to His disciples, Christ made it His body, saying, This is My body, that is, the figure of My body."

In the first place I object to this translation; not that the words might not be translated so, but because they ought not to be translated so. I do not say that it is not a good syntactical translation of those Latin words as they are found so isolated, but it is not a correct representation of the meaning of Tertullian in that passage. First, the context will not admit this translation as correct; next, the style of Tertullian will prove it incorrect; and thirdly, it would make Tertullian assert what was not the fact.

To take the last. It makes Tertullian assert, that our Saviour said what the Evangelists do not record, and what no person ever asserted the Saviour to have said, viz., that at the institution of the Eucharist Christ added to the words which the Evangelists relate, "This is My body," those other words, "that is, the figure of My body." The good gentlemen who are so anxious to preserve the bare letter of the Scriptures from notes or com-

ment as to threaten us with all the plagues that are written in the Book, if we add one word thereto, ought not even upon the authority of Tertullian to have added five or six words without some scruple of conscience. But, I will be told, they are not added to the Scriptures, they are the explanation of Tertullian. Then it is no crime to add a note to help out the Scriptures, which are so obscure as that therein a body means the figure of a body. I shall be told this is quibbling; I shall soon, I trust, show that it is not. If Tertullian's meaning then was that our Lord said these words, he asserts that which is not true. It will then be admitted that Tertullian does not give them as spoken by our Saviour, but as his own comment. The words of our Lord were, "This is My body," and Tertullian says that by those words He made the bread His body. Mark: Tertullian does not say, Christ by these words, "This is My body," "made the bread His body, that is, the figure of His body." Thus, he neither says that the Saviour used these explanatory words, "that is, the figure of My body," nor does he say that the Saviour made the bread the figure of His body, but he distinctly says, that "He made it His body." But what are we to do with those words, "that is, the figure of My body?" Have they no meaning, no force? Are we to throw them away? Were they not written by Tertullian? I shall keep the words very carefully, and put them into their proper place, because Tertullian wrote them, and his sentence would be very inapplicable to its object without them.

What was his object? To refute Marcion. One of Marcion's errors was that our Saviour had not a real body. Tertullian's object was to prove that Christ had a real body and that in the new law He fulfilled the figures of the old law, by substituting the realities, and in this very place he is proving the fact that Christ had real flesh and blood, from the circumstance that in the old law which was a figure of the new there were several figures of the body and blood of Christ, which

were all completed by the substitution of the reality of the body in the new for the figure of the body in the old. And in this special place his argument is to the following effect: "In the old law, the bread of proposition, etc., was a figure of the body of Christ, for which He was to substitute the reality in the new law, and He did substitute the reality when at His last supper He took bread and gave it to His disciples, and by the words 'This,' which in the old law was a figure of His body, 'is My body,' made it His body, therefore Christ had a real body and not a figure of a body, for He put His body instead of the figure of His body, which in the old law was bread."

Now I have to show the grounds of my statement. First, there is no question but the error of Marcion was what I state; next, the object of Tertullian was what I state; again, there is no question that his general line of proof is what I have laid down. Then if Tertullian's special argument was not what I have exhibited, his whole passage is nonsense, and so far from refuting Marcion, which all acknowledge he did, his words are without object, connection, or meaning; and so far from doing any violence to his style, I translate it most accurately. Whoever examines his works will discover them to exhibit a rapidity of thought which rushed to give his whole conception and then turned back to explain. This renders his style uneven, sometimes obscure, always crabbed and negligent; because whilst he wrote rapidly, he also endeavored to be concise. I shall adduce one or two instances of his peculiarity of style. In his book against Praxeas he has this passage: "Christus mortuus est, id est unctus." Translated as the passage in the objection is translated by Ratio, it reads, "Christ was dead, that is, anointed;" this is perfect nonsense, for it is asserting death to mean being anointed if it would mean anything. Tertullian first gave his whole proposition, "Christ is dead," then turning back to explain what he before omitted, but wishes to state, he adds, "that is anointed."

Where was the omission? After the principal word "Christ." Thus the meaning of his sentence is obviously this, "Christ, that is, the anointed, is dead." Common sense shows this to be the meaning, and this is perfectly intelligible when we know that the word Christ signifies anointed. A little farther on we have this passage: "Id quod est unctum, mortuum ostendit, id est carnem." Now by Mr. Ratio's rule we should translate it thus: "That which is anointed He shows dead, that is, flesh," and by construction dead must mean the same as flesh. But knowing the writer's style makes common sense give us the meaning, "that which is anointed, that is flesh, he shows dead."

By the same rule we translate the passage in question: "Acceptem panem et distributum discipulis corpus suum illum fecit: Hoc est corpus meum dicendo, id est figura corporis mei:" thus: "That bread which was taken and distributed to His disciples He made His body, saying, This, that is, what was the figure of My body, is My body." In translating it thus I am certain, for many reasons, that I give Tertullian's meaning. First, it agrees perfectly with his style, as we have seen. Secondly, I do not make the writer contradict himself, as the other translation does; for that makes him say that Christ made the bread His body, and then asserts that it was not His body, for it was only the figure of His body. Thirdly, the very words which follow prove my meaning to be that of the writer; those words are: "Figura autem non fuisset, nisi veritatis esset corpus." Now those words are the conclusion of his argument upon this topic, in this sentence against Marcion, which argument we have before alluded to: "The old law contained figures of the realities of the new law. Bread, in the old law, was a figure of the body of Christ; in the new law, Christ put the reality in place of the figure. He changed the bread which was the figure of His body, into His body, when He said, 'This is My body.' But it, the bread, would not have been a figure of His body, unless that sacrament was the body

of truth." That is, there could have been no figure in the old law, unless there was a reality in the other. The writer's object was to refute Marcion who held, amongst other errors, that Christ had not a body. Unless he admitted that Christ's real body was in the Eucharist, this line of argument would have been ridiculous, for Marcion could have easily retorted: "In the old law bread was a figure of the body of Christ, yet you avow that in the old law Christ had not a body. Now in the new law you say bread is a figure of Christ's body; your argument proves nothing against me, for I only require in the new law what you grant in the old law. In the old law there was a figure in bread and no real body, in the new law there is a figure in bread and no real body." Fourthly, Tertullian takes up for his principle that which was used by St. Paul, viz, that the prophecies of the old law faintly showed the facts of the new; and that the figures of the old law were its facts which were but shadows or types of the facts in the new law. In this same book against Marcion, a little forward, is this passage: "Cur panem corpus suum appellat, et non magis peponem, quem Marcion loco cordis habuit non intelligens veterem fuisse istam figuram corporis Christi, dicentis per Hieremiam; Venite conjiciamus lignum in panem ajus; scilicet crucem in corpus ejus? Itaque illuminator antiquitatum quid tunc voluerit significasse panem, satis declaravit, corpus suum vocans panem." "Why He calls bread, and not rather other food which Marcion had instead of a heart, His body, not understanding that that was an ancient figure of the body of Christ, saying by Jeremias: Come let us cast wood upon His bread, to wit, the cross upon His body? Thus the illustrator of intiquities has sufficiently declared what He then wished bread to signify, calling bread His body." The writer shows in a variety of places, that in the old law bread was a figure of the body, and in the passage under consideration he shows Marcion that those figures were fulfilled by placing the reality in their stead. Thus by His words He made the bread which in the old law was

the figure of His body, His body, by the words "this is My body," and bread would not have been a figure of His body, if His body was not given under the appearance of the bread. Jeremias foresaw the facts, and tells us that the wood of the cross is to be laid upon the flesh of Christ, when He carried it to the place of His crucifixion. Therefore he says to Marcion, Christ had real flesh upon which that cross was laid as Jeremias prophecied. Fifthly. explaining the prophecy of Jacob, Genesis xlix, he has this passage in the same book and for the same object: "Lavabit in vino stolam suam: et in sanguine uvœ pallium suum, stolam carnem demonstrat, et vinum sanguinem. Ita et nunc sanguinem suum in vino consecravit, qui tunc vinum in sanguine figuravit." "He will wash His stole in wine, and His cloak in the blood of the grape. The stole shows the flesh, and the wine the blood. So now, He who then figured wine in blood, has consecrated His blood in wine." The words "figured wine in blood," have according to Tertullian's style, this meaning, "made wine, which is the blood of the grape, a figure of His blood." Tertullian's explanations of this prophecy fully accord with his explanation of the prophecy of Jeremias. The stole shows the flesh: He will wash His flesh in His blood; bread is a figure of His body, wine is a figure of His blood, He makes the bread His body, He has consecrated His blood in wine. The object of the writer was to show that Christ did not destroy the old law, but fulfill its figurative institutions and prophecies; instead of the figure bread, He gave His flesh, instead of the figure wine, He fulfills the prophecy by consecrating blood in wine; this argument against Marcion is then conclusive. Thus the old figures are fulfilled by the substitution of the reality, and Christ has real flesh and real blood, which He gave in place of the old figures.

Thus, from the style of the writer and from his context I find his meaning, and do not quibble upon an isolated paragraph, which might bear to be translated in two or three different ways.

I now take a new view of the question. Tertullian's doctrine was not contradictory to itself upon this subject. It was consistent. Therefore, if I can find in his works other passages which exhibit a doctrine not of figurative but of real presence, it will confirm what I have written, if that confirmation should be necessary.

A few observations as to the circumstances under which he wrote may be necessary to show why the expressions of this and other writers of the same period are so obscure. Christians were under the persecution and were generally cautious of attracting much notice; they were ridiculed and were desirous of avoiding the irritation of their feelings; nothing was more fashionable than to hold up their doctrines and ceremonies to contempt; hence they studiously spoke and wrote in so guarded a manner as to be intelligible to each other, and not to the pagans, except in their apologetic works, and even in those they avoided particulars as much as possible. Thus it is only by a minute knowledge of special facts that their language is frequently to be understood. Tertullian flourished about the year 200. Amongst his works are two books to his wife. In the second he is stating the inconveniences which arise from a Christian wife being wedded to a pagan husband, and amongst others he mentions that which will arise from the difficulty of her receiving Communion: for she must altogether abstain from the Eucharist, or else it must be exposed to the contempt of her husband.

To understand the ground of his difficulty, we must advert to a custom which existed in those times of persecution. Christians who were faithful and approved of, were frequently permitted to take home the holy Eucharist, under the appearance of bread only, and keep it, lest upon the sudden breaking out of a persecution they might be deprived of their clergy, or lest they might be seized upon, and in order to give them the opportunity of Communion in either case, they were allowed to keep the holy Sacrament. Tertullian then expresses his difficulty

thus: "Non sciet maritus quid secreto ante omnem cibum gustes; et si sciverit, panem, non illum credit esse qui dicitur"—"Your husband will not know what you may taste privately, before all food; and if he shall know, he believes it to be bread, not Him who is said to be there." The guarded phraseology of Tertullian is sufficiently intelligible to one who has been taught that it is not bread, but Him, viz., Christ, who is there in the Sacrament which, then and now, in our Church was and is taken before all food, fasting, according to a discipline introduced originally by St. Paul, at Corinth, to remedy an evil which he describes.[1]

Tertullian's difficulty could have been easily removed by a wife who could tell her husband: "This is sanctified bread, which is to me a figure to remind me of the principal doctrine of my belief." There would be nothing in this which her pagan husband could not as fully believe as she could. But it would be very difficult indeed for her to persuade a pagan that it was Christ who was there, and her faith would be put to many trials by his contempt of her supposed folly; and the object of the writer was to guard against those trials of her faith.

In his book "De Corona Militis," he mentions a few of the customs of Christians. Amongst them he states the great anxiety of the faithful to guard against any falling of a particle, or shedding of a drop from the chalice, evidently upon the principle and in conformity with the decree of Pope Pius I, who presided over the Church from the year 142 to 157. The following is the extract from the decree: "Si per negligentiam aliquid de sanguine Domini stillaverit in terram, lingua lambetur, et tabula radetur, si non fuerit tabula, ut non conculcatur, locus corradetur, et igne consumatur, et cinis intra altare recondetur, et sacerdos quadraginta diebus pæniteat. Et si super altare stillaverit calix, sorbeat minister stillam et tribus diebus pæniteat," etc.—"If through negligence any of the blood of the Lord shall have dropped upon the ground, let it be licked up with the tongue, and the

[1] 1 Cor., c. xi, v. 20.

board be scraped. If there be no board, that it should not be trodden upon, let the place be scraped up, and the scrapings burned with fire, and the ashes be laid up within the altar, and let the priest do penance during forty days. If the chalice shall have left a drop upon the altar, let him who administers suck it up and do penance during three days," etc.

Origen, who lived nearly at the same period as Tertullian, in his 13th Homily on Genesis, explaining chapter 25, has these words: "Nostis qui divinis mysteriis interesse consuevistis, quomodo cum suscipitur corpus Domini, cum omni cautela et veneratione, servatis ne ex eo parum quid decidat," etc.—"You who are accustomed to be present at the divine mysteries know how, when the body of the Lord is taken, you keep it with all caution and veneration lest the smallest particle should fall," etc.

It will not then be doing any violence to the passage of Tertullian, to explain its meaning by the law which regarded the custom and by the more distinct testimony of Origen, whom we may call his contemporary.

In Tertullian's book "On the Resurrection," he uses as an argument in proof that our bodies will arise, from the topic that the sacraments must all come in contact with the body, before the soul will receive their benefit. The following is one passage: "Caro abluitur, ut anima emaculetur; caro ungitur ut anima consecretur; caro corpore et sanguine Christi vescitur, ut anima saguinetur"—"The flesh is washed that the soul might be cleansed; the flesh is anointed that the soul might be consecrated; the flesh is fed with the body and blood of Christ that the soul might be nourished." In this place his argument would not have any force, nor would his words have their meaning if the flesh being fed with the body and blood of Christ, meant only the flesh is fed with bread, which is a figure, because still it would be only bread, and not the body of Christ.

To understand the next passage, we must be aware of the mode in which Communion was then given. The

communicants held a small clean cloth of linen on the palm of the right hand, the Sacrament was laid upon this, and they conveyed It themselves to the mouth. Tertullian in his book on "Idolatry," reproving those who gave the Sacrament into the hands of those who made idols in the way of their trade, has the following passage: "Proh scelus! Semel Judæi Christo manus intulerant, isti quotidie corpus ejus lacessunt. O! manus præscindendæ," etc.—"Oh, wickedness! The Jews once had laid hands upon Christ, these men every day abuse His body. Oh, hands which should be cut off," etc.

There is another passage in the first book of this writer, against Marcion, which is quoted to show that he held the figurative sense. Speaking of the Eucharist it states: "Nec panem, quo ipsum suum corpus repræsentat"—"Nor the bread with which He represents His own very body." Thus we are told the bread was by this writer stated to represent His body, that is to be a figure of His body, therefore not His body. The question here is, how the word "repræsentat" ought to be translated. No doubt it can be rendered into the English word represents, but the question really is not how it can, but how it ought to be translated. I say the verb "repræsentat" may be translated, "correctly exhibited" or "presented;" I could adduce many classical passages to prove this; but the question is, what was Tertullian's meaning? We find him use the word again in his 4th book against Marcion; in this passage stating the testimony of the voice of the eternal Father from heaven, testifying for the Son on Thabor. "Itaque jam repræsentans eum: Hic est filius meus dilectus," etc.—"Therefore now representing Him: this is My beloved Son," etc. Tertullian could not mean that it was a figure of Christ and not the real Christ which was upon Thabor, especially when his object was to prove that Christ had a real body; the word "repræsentat" must then be translated "exhibited" or "presented." We will then have the Father presenting His Son on Thabor, by His testimony, and we will have Jesus Christ

not representing a figure of His body in His bread, but presenting His body therein.

I feel that I have been very tedious, but I was desirous to show that the testimony of our Church is not that little quibbling carping at possible translations of ambiguous passages, but the result of deep research, close examination, accurate comparison, and the full investigation of facts. Thus I thought it but right to show that although a few ambiguous passages might be adduced to throw doubts upon the fact that our doctrines were held by all the Fathers, still it would be folly in me to fill up my paper with critical exhibitions like the present upon every one of those which might be adduced. From the respectability of some of the applications on the present occasion, I thought myself called upon to give this article.

I shall add but one topic before I hasten to its conclusion. Tertullian was never suspected by his contemporaries nor by the writers since his day of having erred upon the doctrine of the Eucharist, though he did err with the Montanists. Now if he taught, as the Sacramentarians do, the doctrine of only a figurative presence, he would have been as speedily arraigned and convicted for that as for his Montanist errors, by the host of writers whom I can adduce in the age in which he lived, and those ages which have since elapsed, teaching as we do. Yet they are all silent as to this alleged error of his respecting the Eucharist. They all assumed and believed that he taught as they did, and they taught not a figurative but a real presence of Christ's body and blood in the Sacrament.

My facts then are—1. That Tertullian did in some passages plainly teach the doctrine of the real presence. 2. That in describing some circumstances regarding the Sacrament, he alludes to those customs and laws which existed amongst the persons who held the doctrine of the real presence, and with whom he was in accord upon the subject. 3. That the passages which appear to favor the

figurative meaning do so only when translated in contradiction to his style of writing, and taken in an isolated way. 4. That those same passages, translated in accordance with his style, and paying due regard to the context, support the doctrine of the real presence. 5. That if he did not hold the doctrine of the real presence, his arguments against Marcion, which were universally acknowledged to be powerful, conclusive and unanswerable, would have no force or value. 6. That if those passages support the figurative sense, Tertullian has been guilty in those books of many self contradictions. And 7. That he was charged with no error on this score by those writers who, in his day and during 1,300 years afterwards, read his works, and believed the doctrine of the real presence.

Whence I conclude that Tertullian did hold the doctrine of the real presence, and that those passages which are adduced from his writings as opposed thereto, have not the meaning which is attempted to be put upon them by those persons who adduce them against us.

AMERICAN CATHOLICITY.

I.

I AM led, after much reflection, to enter more at large into this subject, than was my original intention; and in the details which I give, and the views that I take, several friends for whom I have the highest esteem may not fully concur; but I consider it to be my duty to write as I think, and should I make any erroneous statement, to give the opportunity for its correction; and if my views be erroneous, I beg of my friends to set me right.

I have been long under the impression, that not only in Europe, but even in the United States, very delusive fancies have been entertained of the progress of the Catholic Church in our Union, and even many mistakes as to the means most conducive to its propagation. I have no doubt upon my mind that, within fifty years, millions have been lost to the Catholic Church in the United States, nor do I believe that the fact has been sufficiently brought into notice, nor the proper remedies as yet applied to correct this evil. This is not the time, nor this the place, to state what efforts have been made to draw attention to the mischief and to what was thought to be a remedy; nor is it intended to insinuate by this, that there was in any quarter a want of zeal and devotion to religion on the part of any persons concerned, though they may differ in their views.

To any one who for a moment calmly considers the question nothing can be more plain than that, instead of an increase of the members naturally belonging to the Catholic Church in the United States, there has been actually a serious loss.

[1] This article consists of a communication made to the Propagation Society in Lyons, France, dated September 28, 1836.

The question is not whether the number of Catholics in the country has actually increased: because to answer this you have only to look at the cities and the towns, and everywhere you have the strongest and most irrefragable evidence of accession of numbers, in the thousands who rise up before you. There can be no doubt of the multiplication of missions and of priests, of the erection of churches, of the opening of colleges, of the creation of monasteries, of the amelioration of schools, of the establishing of printing presses, and of the dissemination of books, however injudiciously the publishers may have acted in several instances. I do not then mean to say that the number of Catholics is this day less than it was fifty years ago, nor as small as it was five years since; but I do assert that the loss of numbers to the Catholic Church has been exceedingly great, when we take into account the Catholic population at the time of the American Revolution, the acquisition of territory previously occupied by Catholics, the arrivals of Catholic immigrants, and the conversions to the Catholic religion.

I submit the following rough estimate as calculated to give a notion of this loss: Fifty years ago the population of the United States was three millions; to-day it is fifteen millions. I shall suppose the natural increase of the original three to give us seven millions of our present number; this will leave us eight millions of immigrants and their descendants, together with those obtained by the acquisition of Louisiana and Florida. Of the population acquired by immigration and by cession, we may estimate at least one-half to have been Catholics: and supposing the children to have adhered to the religion of their parents, if there were no loss we should have at least four millions of Catholics from these sources, without regarding the portion which was Catholic fifty years ago, and its natural increase and the many converts and their descendants. Yet there are many who this day are well informed upon the subject of our churches, who doubt if we have one million of Catholics.

Four years since my estimate was little more than half a million. Upon my first arrival in the United States, in 1820, I saw in a public document, coming from a respectable source, the estimate to be 100,000, and this favorable, and from a gentleman by no means unfriendly. I have since then made more close inquiries, taken more special notice of details, and received better information, and I think the estimate may be safely fixed at 1,200,000. This is indeed a plain and simple view, and, as has been justly remarked, coincides pretty accurately in the result to which it would lead, with the estimate that I formerly gave of the number of descendants of Catholics, who in the Diocese of Charleston are found in the various sects. If I say, upon the foregoing data, that we ought, if there were no loss, to have five millions of Catholics, and that we have less than one million and a quarter, there must have been a loss of three millions and three-quarters at least; and the persons so lost are found amongst the various sects to the amount of thrice the number of the Catholic population of the whole country. I estimate the Catholics of my diocese at less than 12,000, and the descendants of Catholics in the various sects at about 38,000 or 40,000. The coincidence of the results creates a strong probability, it is indeed presumptive evidence, of the correctness of each estimate. And we may unhesitatingly assert, that the Catholic Church has, within the last fifty years, lost millions of members in the United States.[1]

Upon every view which I can take of this subject, and during several years I have endeavored to examine it very closely, I have been led, in a variety of places at several epochs, to special details which have been partial causes of this great and long-existing evil; but however their several causes may seem to differ, and under what peculiar circumstances soever they may have arisen, I consider they may generally be reduced to the one great

[1] The Catholic population of the United States to-day is estimated at between 7,000,000 and 8,000,000. There are those who say it ought from natural increase and immigration be at least 20,000,000.

head, viz.: The absence of a clergy sufficiently numerous and properly qualified for the missions of the United States.

Before I shall proceed farther, I shall try to unmask one of the most fatal errors that I have observed on this subject.

The mind of Europe has been led to undervalue the nature of American institutions, and to look upon the society of the United States as considerably under the standard of that in Europe. So far as religion, and especially the ministry, is concerned, this mistake has not seldom led to very pernicious results. Frequently in European companies, where upon most other topics I could receive great accessions to my little stock of knowledge, I have been led to doubt whether I heard correctly the very strange questions that were addressed to me respecting our laws, our manners, our society, our institutions, and our habits. I was often obliged to avoid enlarging upon the topics, and more than once to evade the questions upon the very painful conviction that it would be worse than useless to give information to those who were determined not to believe. They could very readily admit all that I chose to say about Indians, huts, lakes, wild beasts, serpents, assaults, murders, and escapes, but it was out of the question that my assertions would be equally well received if I insinuated that anything in legislation, manufactures, literature or the polish of society was comparable to even what was ordinary on the other side of the Atlantic. In fact it would seem as if a century had rolled away, and had left America and Europe in precisely the same relative position as to improvement, as they were when the first European adventurers undertook to stem the torrent of the Mississippi, making a tedious and exhausting effort to overcome, in six months, the obstacles of a voyage which now is little more than an excursion of a few days in a steamboat. The result of this notion was that anything was good enough for America; and the Catholic Church has frequently felt the effects of this

mistake. It has more than once happened that men with acquirements and manners scarcely fit for Indians, have been deemed fit for any part of this region of Indians, and were thus inconsiderately sent into the midst of a community at least equally intelligent and penetrating and inquiring as any in the world.

The best way to give some correct notions upon the subject of which I treat, will be to draw an historical sketch of the Catholic religion in the regions which now form the territory of the United States. That view must, of course, be general, and very rapidly taken, and, for the sake of greater accuracy, it must be divided into several epochs, according to the various changes, whether of government or of other institutions or circumstances, that effected their religious position.

These regions consist of three distinct portions. First, those places which were under Protestant dominion from the time of their discovery until the period of the American Revolution. Secondly, those places which had, up to that period, been chiefly, if not altogether, under the dominion of Catholic powers. And thirdly, that great region to the west of Missouri and the lakes, which was, and in a great measure, still is, the wild domain of the Indian, who knows little of either.[1]

II.

The first portion includes the New England States, viz.: Maine, Vermont, New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Rhode Island and Connecticut, which form the present Diocese of Boston: New York, Delaware, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Kentucky, Tennessee, Maryland, Virginia, the two Carolinas, Georgia, and the greater portion of Alabama. The English and the Dutch were the original settlers of most of those regions. Great Britain may be regarded as the possessor from their colonial formation, the Dutch having held possession of New York and New Jersey only during a short period; and the

[1] It is curious to read this statement of 1836 with the development of 1884 before one.

principle of religious administration, as respected Catholics, having been the same under each.

The second portion embraces Indiana, Illinois, Missouri, Arkansas, part of Michigan (since this was written, Wisconsin and Iowa have been established), Louisiana, Mississippi, Florida, and a portion of Alabama. Of this extensive territory, France and Spain had possession, whether conjointly or successively. It is unnecessary, for my present purpose, to notice the immense range of territory which stretches off westward from these States, and which forms the third division.

Before proceeding to notice the actual condition of this second portion, at the several periods when its various regions passed away from the dominion of the Catholic powers, I deem it necessary to make a short statement of what I have been informed was, and in many instances continues to be, the system of France and of Spain respecting religion in those colonies. I cannot vouch for the truth of my information, and, should I have been misinformed, I shall feel very happy at having my misstatements corrected.

The policy of France was, not to permit the establishment of a bishop in her colonies, but to procure from the Holy See, that a priest should be appointed prefect apostolic, with quasi-episcopal power and detached jurisdiction, to superintend the other clergy and to administer the sacrament of confirmation. I know, from my own observation, that such is the mode of administration in most of her colonies. (Algiers is an exception since this document was drawn up). To various inquiries that I made for the reason of this policy, I was told that it was adopted in order not to embarrass the governor, by creating so high a dignitary as a bishop; and who should necessarily receive the great attention which such officers are known to pay to prelates; and not to expose bishops to the indignity that might be the consequence of any neglect of the superior colonial officers, should it be possible that any of them could so far forget what was due to religion,

as to be wanting in proper civility to the bishop. It is not my business to canvass the value of the reason alleged; but I feel quite at liberty to observe that the natural consequence of this palpable departure from the polity established by our Saviour and acted upon by the Apostles, has generally been the destruction of discipline amongst at least the secular clergy who were affected thereby: and if we are to believe one-fourth of what is generally credited respecting that discipline in the French colonies previous to 1790, this statement would be fully sustained.

I am here called upon to draw a contrast between what is known to have been the state of the Canadian colony, in which there was a bishop established at Quebec, and those places which were administered by prefects apostolic. In Canada religion was respectably sustained, the faith preserved, discipline flourished: a clergy was maintained and perpetuated; and an edifying body of priests and people continued firmly attached to their ancient institutions, and virtuously fulfilling their duties, even under a government hostile to their faith, and using its best efforts to undermine their religion. Justice also obliges me to testify, that from what I have seen and learned in Guadeloupe, during a short visit to that island in 1833, I found that, notwithstanding the defects of the system, the excellent prefect and his clergy were meritoriously regular and zealous, and that religion had proper respect from the sensible and judicious governor of that colony.

Not only is this system calculated to do a serious injury to discipline, but in some colonies the priests are at so great a distance from their superior, as to be seldom, if ever, under his supervision. In many instances, a great portion of the colonists are persons, who, not being able conveniently to remain in the mother country, repair to those distant settlements to escape inconvenience or to retrieve their fortune. They are not, then, the most healthy moral portion of the population. Amongst such

a people it is no ready task for a clergyman, under the most favorable circumstances, to make great progress in the work of reformation, or to preserve himself unstained.

Spain had not that semblance of respect for the episcopal character, which would prevent her having bishops established in her colonies. But they were necessarily few and very distant; and though numbers of them are said to have been excellent men, yet it was believed that several others were persons whom the government that presented them did not like to set aside from promotion, but did not wish to see wearing mitres in Europe. It is also said that in many instances, in the French as in the Spanish colonies, priests that would not be tolerated in the mother country, forced their way into places for which they were by no means qualified. Thus, in those regions where the clergy wanted most rigid superintendence, there was the least efficient discipline. This may perhaps account for the situation in which the Churches of Louisiana and Florida were at the period of their cession to the United States. To my own knowledge, there was in Florida but one single efficient priest, who, not liking the change, retired to Cuba, and subsequently to Ireland, of which he was a native. I have heard nearly a similar account of Louisiana. So that when they were transferred to the United States, those regions contained an uninstructed and neglected population professing the Catholic religion, without Catholic customs or religious knowledge, nearly bereft of a Catholic clergy. A large portion of this mass consisted of negro slaves.

In no country where slavery exists was there, I believe, a better system of legal provisions for the religious and moral cultivation of this class, than in the Spanish possessions; nor do I think there could be, generally speaking, a better mode devised for preventing some of the worst consequences to morality and religion, which are unfortunately almost inseparable from slavery in the colonies, than that which Spain had adopted, perhaps devised. This, however, was for many years a dead letter in the

places of which I write, whilst under the latter days of Spanish dominion, and under the occasional possession by France, neither the legal provisions, nor the moral system, nor any substitute for either, was in existence. These considerations, taken together with the former remarks, will enable the readers of this paper to form some opinion of what sort of Catholic population was added to that of the United States by the cession of Louisiana and of Florida. No sooner did they become portions of this country, than all religious denominations and preachers of all opinions poured rapidly into those places, where larger bodies of untouched land offered the hope of greater returns for their industry.

Long previous to the American Revolution, whilst Britain yet held our States as colonies, Canada was ceded by capitulation to the crown of England. At that period, the Catholic missionaries had their congregations upon the Wabash, the Illinois, and other places which form the States of Michigan, Indiana and Illinois. The red man, induced to leave the superstition and the idolatry of his fathers, worshiped God in spirit and in truth, partaking of the sacraments of our Redeemer with full faith, humble confidence and tender piety. But, soon after this transfer was effected, the missionary was obstructed, and the children of the forest, yet tenacious of their creed, wept by the side of the father of rivers, and mingled their lamentations with the wailings of the wind, upon witnessing the desolation of their rude but venerated altars. The axe of the backwoodsman has felled the forest, the bounding deer has migrated towards the setting sun, the ploughshare has furrowed the surface of the land, cities have arisen, the power of steam has overcome the resistance of the waters, the bones of the ancient worshipers have mouldered into dust; but still Kaskaskia and many a similar spot exhibit to us the ruins of those early Christian schools, where the Ottawa and the Illinois and the Pottowattomie exchanged their wampum and smoked their calumet and buried their hatchet; whilst their eyes

shed unwonted tears at the recital of the sorrows of the Son of God. England became the mistress of these lands, and caused the Christian sacrifice to be taken away. The Revolution soon followed; and the American eagle, whilst he rose in the vigor of youth and the joy of victory, beheld no Catholic worship in the regions which oppression, strife and war had now made desolate. The mighty wilderness was left to become the habitation of successive immigrants from the East, who have produced the changes to which I have alluded.

III.

I have now to draw attention to those places, which, from their original settlement, were under Protestant domination. They are to be considered as seriously differing from each other in a religious point of view. New England was settled, it is true, under English authority and by English Protestants, but they were not of the English Church; they were the Puritans, who complained that "the Reformation," as it is fashionable amongst some to call the great religious defection of the Sixteenth century, was by no means sufficiently perfect in England. They complained that several anti-Scriptural doctrines were retained in the established Protestant religion of that country, and that very many of its usages and ceremonies were superstitious, anti-Christian and idolatrous. They were driven from England by Protestant persecution. They first went to Holland, where they looked for more congenial opinions; they felt, even there, great disappointments, and then set out for this new world, to colonize a region which they had procured from the British crown, and for the occupation of which they made some settlement with the Indians.

The Puritans were inimical to the Church of England, and they would not permit those who differed from them in religious opinions to remain in their colony; and as differences of this description necessarily must arise amongst all those who adopt the principle of individual

inalienable right to the interpretation of the Holy Scriptures, they had in process of time their differences, persecutions, and separations into various colonies, but all agreed in a common determination of not tolerating Catholics. We may say the same of their Dutch neighbors, who settled in New Amsterdam, now called New York, and in a part of New Jersey, and when the English succeeded the Dutch in their dominion over those regions, they unflinchingly adhered to a similar principle.

Virginia was a common name given at that period to the entire region which comprises not only that State, but also the Carolinas and the whole of the then unknown wilderness stretching away to the west, and going south to the unascertained boundaries of what was called Florida. In this region, the settlers professed the religion of the English Protestant Established Church, and embodied during their infancy in their code all the ferocious laws of England against the Catholics. A spirit of mutual animosity and a practice of mutual persecution caused New England and Virginia, though colonized from the same country, to cherish animosity and rancorous dislike towards each other.

Meantime, a small body of English Catholics, with whom a few Irish of the same religion associated, came over with Lord Baltimore, who, because he was a Catholic, was obliged to leave his country. They settled in Maryland, upon lands of which he had obtained a grant, and for governing the colony of which he had a charter. This little Catholic society made perfect religious liberty for every Christian the basis of their legislation, and were the first who gave the example of establishing religious freedom at this side of the Atlantic. After various efforts of the Virginians for their ruin or expulsion, they were permitted to remain in peace. In a short time the colony became prosperous, and the Virginian Dissenter and the New England Protestant Episcopalian, flying from the persecution with which each worried the other, were hospitably received by the Marylander, and not only pro-

tected in their civil rights, but admitted to a full participation of political power; and it was thus that Maryland, Catholic Maryland at that time, led the way to the temple of religious liberty and to the concord of brethren.

Very soon after this, a number of Quakers accompanied William Penn to the colony which he undertook to establish between Maryland and New Jersey. In this new settlement, there was no law to punish any man for his religious opinions; but it was not till after a considerable lapse of time that any Catholic had settled there.

The revolution which took place in England, in 1641, having placed the Presbyterians and other Calvinists in power, its influence extended to the colonies; and within less than a quarter of a century from the period of their arrival, the Catholics of Maryland found themselves deprived of their civil, religious, and political rights, and overwhelmed by a band of strangers who, flying from each others' cruelty, were received into this asylum of Christian charity, and they now united to oppress and to persecute the Catholics who had given them a shelter and a home. The laws which were passed subsequently in England against Catholics under Charles II, and by which they were stripped of most of the remnant which they held after the tyrannical persecution of the cruel Elizabeth and of the cold-blooded, hypocritical pedant, James I, as well as the robberies of the succeeding period, now were made of force in the colonies, and vigorously carried into effect. Nor did the new legislators of Maryland deem the subsequent barbarous additions made under the heartless Anne sufficient: they devised and introduced others, as if to show their greater ingenuity in adding the last affliction which could perfect the malice of the British enactments.

Probably it will not be amiss here, to advert a little to the character of one of those laws which, to the ordinary reader, would not otherwise appear in their true position, and which, by reason of unfortunate prejudices, are not duly appreciated by all who peruse them. They

appear to be laws merely relating to Irish servants arriving in the colony. Their true nature can be known only by looking into the history of Ireland itself, that we may there learn who these servants were; nor will this be without an important bearing upon what regards, this day, the missions of the United States, and perhaps of many other distant regions.

It is notorious, that when in the excess of his rage, and filled with the spirit of revenge, Henry VIII, of England, compelled his parliaments to legalize his innovations in religion, very little was effected in Ireland. Numbers of old and settled families in such parts of that country as acknowledged its subjection to the English crown were firmly attached to their religion. They, together with the whole body of the Irish that yet preserved their independence, continued steadfast adherents to the Catholic Church. Upon the accession of Elizabeth, her interest, as well as her pride, forced her to separate England from the Holy See. (Rome could not acknowledge the right of heirship in the issue of a notorious adultery). Her father's imperious spirit dwelt fully and powerfully in her soul, and her parliaments were her crouching slaves. Secure of England, she sought to complete the conquest of Ireland, not only by reducing to her obedience that portion which was not as yet under her dominion, but also by forcing her newly made religion upon all the inhabitants. The descendants of the ancient Irish and English settlers were alike ordered to lay aside the religion of their fathers, and to practice that which the queen had framed. Many of the Irish chieftains were unwilling to bend their necks to the yoke, and the whole body of the people refused to give up their faith or to forsake their altars. The history of her partial success is an account of perfidy, of famine, of blood, and of woe. Confiscation of their lands, loss of their titles, beggary, exile, or death were the portion allotted to those who remained faithful to their God. The tragedies enacted by Elizabeth's cruel officers scarcely find a parallel. Yet her power did not extend as far as her malevolence.

James I succeeded to her throne, and without the abilities of Elizabeth, he pursued the path which she had opened. For Ireland he was a disastrous despot. Whole provinces were made desolate, and colonies of Presbyterians were introduced from Scotland to occupy those lands from which the Irish Catholics had been swept with a besom of destruction. They are the "Scotch-Irish." Charles I succeeded to James, and with increased ruin to the desolated land. Europe was appalled at the horrors that had been perpetrated, and looked with execration on the authors of the calamities of this devoted country. The oppressors, in order to create some semblance of excuse, added calumny to their other crimes, and that the world might be induced to imagine that there was some justifying ground for their cruelty, the Irish nation was said to be stupid, cruel, barbarous, ignorant, and intractable: every bad quality was imputed to them, merely because they were faithful to their religion, and tenacious of their property and their rights. It is indeed true it could soon be said that they were poor, because they were plundered; and they were then called a beggarly rabble. Still the fastnesses of the country offered an asylum to a few of the ancient princes of the land and their impoverished adherents, who were thus forced into the semblance of outlawed brigands.

England had lost her hierarchy. Ireland saw her cathedrals and her other church property in the hands of men intruded by force and protected by armies of mercenaries, who vituperated and blasphemed that religion for whose service those cathedrals were erected and that property consecrated. Though she could not save the temporalities of her prelates from the grasp of their persecutors, nor always protect themselves from assassination or prison, yet she preserved their succession. It is well known that many suffered martyrdom, and multitudes made glorious confessions of their faith; but their fidelity to heaven was made treason to the government. "This man is no friend to Cæsar." The Catholic clergy were from that

day to the present denounced by the sycophants of their oppressors, and by their dupes and their tools, as agitators and conspirators, plotting and exciting the people to sedition.

Cromwell sprang from the scaffold of the unfortunate persecutor, who is ludicrously styled in the English liturgy, "King Charles the Martyr," to the domination which is called a protectorate; and with him fanaticism, hypocrisy, and rapine enjoyed their day of triumph. His myrmidons overran Ireland, penetrated to almost all its recesses, despoiling most of those who had escaped former plunderers, and stripping even those who, under the Tudor and the Stuart, had been enriched by the robbery of the Catholics. A more mean and voracious horde was never poured upon any other region, than were the soldiers of this revolutionary English army, who now were put into possession of a large bulk of the land of Ireland; and to these the unfortunate Irish Catholics were made hewers of wood and drawers of water. This epoch in Ireland corresponds with that of the plunder of the Catholics of Maryland, by authority of the same power that raised to possession of the wealth of Ireland the gang of unprincipled adventurers who overspread that country. I do not recollect more than two branches of any respectable Irish families that have preserved any of their property by apostacy: these are a younger branch of the O'Neills, in the North, now decorated with an English title, and one sept of the O'Briens, at the South, now known by the title of Thomond, but better known in Irish by the appellation of *Totane*, from the incendiarism and plunder of some monasteries. If there were others, they were not worthy of notice.

It is human nature, that they who by such a process get into elevated situations should strive to make the world believe that the persons, into whose places they have made their way, were not worthy to hold them. This horde rose into wealth and power upon the principle of abolishing nobility and titles of distinction, as incom-

patible with the laws of God and the rights of man. Upon the restoration of Charles II to the British throne, they changed sides in order to secure their possessions; and they made interest at court by the most perfect obsequiousness, and often by the meanest servility, to procure titles of nobility; and in process of time their children became the most conspicuous members of the peerage of Ireland.

The next blow which the Irish Catholics received was, when upon the flight of the unfortunate James II they capitulated and received William and Mary as their sovereigns, upon the condition of enjoying religious liberty. Previous to this, the troops of William were arrested at the walls of Limerick; the unaided Irish forces rendered the issue of the contest exceedingly doubtful. The English and Dutch commanders were privately instructed to come to any arrangement that would not be greatly mischievous or dishonorable, and the treaty was drawn up, but the articles were not yet subscribed, when the Catholics were informed that the fleet of France, with abundant aid, was at the mouth of the Shannon; and they were urged to withhold their signatures. They answered, that though their names had not been affixed, their consent had been given and their honor was engaged. They trusted to the faith and honor of a king: they were doomed to feel the scourging of a parliament chiefly composed of the Cromwellian gentry, and finding that instead of the liberty which they expected upon the faith of their contract, they were doomed to undergo more tyranny than even theretofore, they abandoned themselves to despair; and multitudes of them quitted, with tears of sorrow and of indignation, the land of their fathers.

Many of those exiles for their faith were hospitably received by the kings of France and Spain and by the Catholic powers of Germany. Some of the most ancient and respectable families in Europe have at this day the blood of those men flowing in their veins. Some of those hapless but voluntary exiles wandered across the Atlantic:

they had heard of a Catholic settlement in Maryland, and they knew not the history of that perfidy which destroyed the principles of its establishment. They cherished the hope that upon a foreign shore they would not meet that contumely and that oppression which were their portion at home. Several of those whose ancestors had enjoyed princely domains during centuries, sought to sustain themselves by laborious industry: of these some engaged, as a compensation for their passage, to work in the new country for a stipulated time at a rate lower than the usual wages. They were thus to redeem their debt by a limited servitude, and were called Irish redemptioners or Irish servants. The laws, now enacted in Ireland, inflicted banishment to a colony and service therein, as a penalty for the crime of practicing many duties of the Catholic religion, and the person transported under those laws were also known as Irish servants.

At the period of which I write negroes were imported from Africa into the British colonies, and a tax was exacted for each slave upon the importer. The legislative body of Maryland of that day stands, I believe, alone and dishonorably conspicuous for having, amongst its other enactments of persecution, sought to degrade still lower the confessor of the faith, by imposing exactly the same tax upon the introduction of an "Irish servant" and the importaton of a negro slave! The Irish Catholic, however, did not find this to be altogether a novelty; for the Protestant parliament of the land that he left had set exactly the same price upon the head of a friar and the head of a wolf, when it sought the extermination of both! Yet there was this notable difference made by the American law between the Africans and the Irish: the negro slave was subject to no penalty for practicing the idolatry of his father's land, while the statute-book was filled with enactments to punish the Irish servant or freeman, if he ventured to worship God with those Christian rites which St. Patrick had peaceably established when he preached the doctrine of the Redeemer in the

Emerald Isle. Thus the negro, though a slave, had that religious freedom which was denied to the Irish Catholic, even if he should be free.

Not only, then, did the Irish Catholic find all the laws of persecution, under which he was tortured at home in that land, upon entering which he was degraded and taxed, but even many vexations were superadded.

Without some knowledge of this portion of history, it is impossible to explain, properly, the difficulties which have retarded the progress of the Catholic religion in the United States. The true key to the explanation of many of these difficulties, which bewilder the unobserving, is to be found in a history which is overlooked or undervalued. No one will venture to assert that a generation is unaffected by the position of that which preceded it; and the vast majority of the Catholic population of the United States are descendants of those men, of whose struggles at home for the preservation of their religion and the defence of their country, I have endeavored to trace an outline. England has, unfortunately, too well succeeded in linking contumely to their name in all her colonies; and though the United States have cast away the yoke under which she held them, many other causes combined to continue against the Irish Catholic, more or less, to the present day, the sneer of the supercilious, the contempt of the conceited, and the dull prosing of those who imagine themselves wise. That which more than a century of fashion has made habitual, is not to be overcome in a year, and to any Irish Catholic who has dwelt in this country during one-fourth of the period of my sojourn, it will be painfully plain that, although the evil is slowly diminishing, its influence is not confined to the American nor to the anti-Catholic. When a race is once degraded, however unjustly, it is a weakness of our nature that, however we may be identified with them upon some points, we are desirous of showing that the similitude is not complete. You may be an Irishman but not a Catholic; you may be Catholic but not Irish; it is clear

you are not an Irish Catholic in either case! But when the great majority of the Catholics of the United States were either Irish or of Irish descent, the force of the prejudice against the Irish Catholic bore against the Catholic religion in the United States; and the influence of this prejudice has been far more mischievous than is generally believed.

IV.

Thus, they who know anything of American history will perceive, that nothing can be more erroneous than the notion, that, at the period of our revolution, Maryland was a Catholic settlement. The descendants of Lord Baltimore had abandoned their religion, and the great bulk of the population at the period of the Declaration of Independence was Protestant of one denomination or another. A few, and but a very few, of the Catholic families had preserved their religion, and a portion of their property. Some of the "Irish servants," as they were called, adhered to the creed of their fathers; few of them, however, had been able to have recourse to its ministry, and still fewer to transmit it to their descendants. The difficulty of obtaining the aid of the ministry was, in most places, exceedingly great, because the clergy being the special objects of the persecuting code, and being very few, they were generally concealed from the zealots who hunted after them from bigotry, and the irreligious who chased them for mere wantonness and sport.

Upon a general principle, which, however correct in theory, yet is frequently found to work mischievously in practice, as these were colonies of Great Britain, they were considered to be in charge of the vicar apostolic of the London district, when such a prelate had been established, and this dignitary being himself surrounded by difficulties, exposed to persecution, and unable to aid them, was just as little likely to know their wants or have power to apply remedies to their evils, as was the Khan of Tartary.

Such was the situation of what began as a Catholic colony under the auspices of the crown of Great Britain and with the promise of royal protection. Such were the returns made by their Protestant neighbors to those Catholics who first established religious liberty upon the shores of America. This is but a faint outline of the misconduct of that party which taunts Catholics with bigotry and illiberality, and which boasts of the great edifice of civil and religious freedom, which, they allege, was raised in our republic by the genius of Protestantism. Such is an imperfect sketch of the way in which their wealth was obtained by the progenitors of those men who reproach the Irish and the American Catholics with their poverty. I shall add but one other detail to the recital. In doing so, I shall exhibit another way in which the wealth of several of the Irish nobility and landed gentry has been accumulated; nor is America altogether free from the taint.

Some of the Irish and a few of the American Catholics sought, through the friendship and honor of their Protestant neighbors, to preserve at the same time their property and their faith. They gave absolute titles of their lands, by a legal transfer, to their Protestant friends, who undertook privately, by a pledge of honor, which was all they could give, that whilst their ostensible ownership covered it from confiscation and rapine, they would administer it for the benefit of the Catholic family that confided in their friendship, and would reconvey it to the proper owners by sufficient titles, when the law should permit Catholics to become proprietors. Several Protestants have honorably fulfilled this sacred trust, and have thus saved much for the victims of the law, if the outrageous robbery which they sanctioned be not a desecration of the name of law. But, for others, the temptation was too great to be resisted; and many a high-headed, titled, and domineering Irish persecutor this day holds the wealth of which he boasts by a title thus infamously transmitted. This vile code, also, gave at once to the child of any Catholic, who

at any age should apostatize, the whole real property of the family, to the exclusion of the parents and of the other children, and Protestant trustees were to be appointed to hold it for him, until he arrived at the age of twenty-one years.

Nor was this all. Even personal property was subjected, in a variety of ways, to plunder. Perhaps one anecdote will be a sufficient specimen of the system. I shall relate it, as I heard it from the late venerable Bishop of Cork, Doctor Moylan, who died in 1815. It occurred in his boyhood, and is highly creditable to the Protestant Bishop Browne, of Cork, at the time when this system of robbery was in full force. I am not certain, whether it was not Timothy McCarthy (called *Rabagh*, or, as a lane, where he lived in obscure retreat, is now called, *Rawbuck*, by mistake) was the then Bishop of Cork, or his successor, Bishop Walsh. By the aid of some of his flock he procured two horses, to enable him to make the visitation of his diocese, accompanied by one of his priests, or to fly from his pursuers, as the case might require. The law forbade any Catholic to possess a horse of the value of more than five pounds, and authorized any Protestant, upon the payment of five pounds, to take away, for himself, any horse that a Catholic owned. A person called on the bishop to inform him that his horses would probably be demanded under this law; their value was more than six times the amount. Whilst they were yet devising how to save the horses, an agent from the Protestant bishop entered, paid down ten pounds, demanded the horses, insisted upon their delivery, and carried them away; in a short time afterwards, another similar demand was made, but the horses were no longer there. A note was soon received from the Protestant bishop, informing the Catholic prelate, that being quite aware of the determination of several Protestants to secure for themselves the horses, under the provisions of the law, he had sent early to secure them for himself, and having taken them into his possession, he now sent them back to their former owner

as a loan to be kept and used until they should be sent for. This was not the only instance in which the benevolence of even the dignitaries of the Protestant Church mitigated the provisions of this atrocious code. In America, equally as in Ireland, were the Catholics decimated in numbers and in property by its operation; and thus Maryland was made one of those colonies in which, though some Catholics were left, still the spirit of hostility to Catholics was made most manifest. And in Maryland, as in Ireland, if we find evidence of Protestant cruelty and oppression, we also find many noble instances of Protestant generosity, of Protestant friendship, and of Protestant protection.

I have mentioned Pennsylvania as a colony, in which no laws were enacted to restrain religious freedom. Its legislature adhered to this principle, and, as it bordered upon Maryland, when the persecution became vigorous in this colony, several Catholics retired from Maryland into Pennsylvania, but they had scarcely any opportunity of seeing a priest, nor was the term "religious liberty" sufficiently understood by the Quakers to comprehend Catholicity. It is true, that they neither hanged, whipped, banished, nor fined the members of our Church for their faith, nor did they tax them as "Irish servants;" but there is that solemn, distant, cold, systematic avoidance which proclaims, in a way sufficiently intelligible, the dislike and condemnation which one avoids to express by words. I know of no better description of this conduct, than is contained in a common story told of a Quaker's conduct to a dog which he disliked. Looking at him as he saw some persons approach, he thus soliloquized: "I shall neither hang thee, nor shoot thee, nor strike thee, but I shall call thee by a name," and as the people were within hearing, he exclaimed: "Mad dog!" The unfortunate animal was pursued by the crowd and stoned to death, whilst the man who gave the name stood by, expressing his compassion for the suffering dog, and subsequently lectured the crowd for their cruelty to dumb beasts. I do not by any means seek to

convey by this repetition of a common story my notion of the character of the "Society of Friends," amongst whom I have met several of the most benevolent individuals and kindest benefactors; but I give it as descriptive of what I do consider to have been the conduct of Pennsylvania towards the Catholics. And I shall give one instance as a sample of the facts upon which I have come to my conclusion.

About a century since a few Catholics in Philadelphia wished to erect a small chapel in an obscure corner of the city. No difficulty had, I believe, ever been raised to obstruct any of the several sectaries that were spread through the colony; but it was deemed necessary by those who then ruled, to send for advice upon the subject to the privy council in London. It was asked, as no law existed to prohibit them in the colony of Pennsylvania, yet as this people was everywhere contradicted, would it be proper to permit their raising this edifice? The spirit of the answer corresponded with that of the application. There was no legal power, it said, to prevent the Catholics doing as they desired, but it was the wish of the council that as many difficulties as possible should be raised. And as the obedient rulers of the colony did not wish to incur the displeasure of their British masters, it is unnecessary to remark, that difficulties, and perplexity, and delays were not wanting. This suffices to show the situation of the Catholics in Pennsylvania; and everywhere else there was positive, direct exclusion of anything Catholic. After the perusal of these details, the reader will be better prepared to judge of the difficulties experienced by Irish Catholics immigrating to these colonies.

Previous to 1776, few Irish Catholics settled in any of the colonies except Maryland and Pennsylvania. Some "Irish servants" had been transported to Virginia, and a number of German Catholics had located themselves in Pennsylvania. But the want of a clergy was so great, that no priest was to be met with in more than three or four spots of this extensive region. Thus deprived of all spiritual aid, separated from their former associates,

estranged from their kindred, mingled amongst sectaries, accustomed to hear their religion misrepresented and its professors villified and abused, and seeing no prospect of being able to resume its practices, great numbers of these persons made no profession of their faith. They were gradually drawn to attend the preaching and prayers of the sects; they intermarried with the members of these strange Churches; their children, frequently unconscious of the religion of the parent, were educated in direct hostility to its tenets and its practices; so that, in fact, the descendants of far the greater portion of those Catholics who immigrated into the British American colonies are now not only sectaries, but many of them the most virulent opponents of the Church of their ancestors. Notwithstanding these obstacles, it is said, and I believe upon good grounds, that the greater portion of the regular troops furnished by Pennsylvania during the Revolutionary War, from 1776 to 1783—or, as they are called, the Pennsylvania Line—were Irish Catholics. This shows that, though the loss of the Catholic Church was exceedingly great, by reason of the various causes to which I have alluded, yet at the period of the Revolution there was in the country a good number of Catholics, a considerable portion of whom, at least more than one-third, were natives of Ireland.

The success of the Revolutionary army established a new state of society. Gradually the laws of persecution were torn away from the statute-books of most of the new republics. But however favorable this might have been, it could not supply a clergy nor abolish long-standing and deeply-rooted prejudices, which had been sedulously nourished by continued misrepresentations. And even after the Revolution, years had passed away before several of the States could be induced to repeal the British laws against the Catholics. It is only last year that North Carolina has placed them on an equality with her other citizens; and New Jersey has still a foul blot on her constitution.[1]

[1] No State now discriminates against Catholics except in public education.

It is now necessary, before coming to view the state of religion after the American Revolution, to cast an eye back to a few of the consequences of the transfer of Canada.

We may consider Canada as consisting of some of that portion which is now called Lower, and which extends from Montreal to Quebec, on both sides of the river St. Lawrence, and thence to the mouth of that river, for little more was then settled. We may look upon the rest of Lower Canada, and of what is now called the Upper Province and all the western territory, together with what is now called New Brunswick and Nova Scotia, as at that period of little or no importance. All this vast region, which was transferred by France to England, together with Canada, at the capitulation of Quebec, I shall consider as an out-territory.

During the French administration, Canada was managed in its religious concerns, generally, with great prudence and great zeal. A bishopric was established at Quebec: parishes were formed, organized, and provided with a good and useful clergy, who spoke the same language, who had the same origin, and the same manners and habits as the colonists. Seminaries for the education of the clergy, colleges for the laity, and convents and schools for the instruction of female children, were erected and endowed; hospitals and other charitable institutions were provided. All had the most perfect analogy to the bulk of the settlers, so far as regarded language, manners, habits and religion. Everything was prosperous. Jesuits and other qualified missionaries made occasional settlements amongst the Indians in the out-territory.

The government of England was hostile to the religion of the people. We have seen how violent were the prejudices and how cruel the laws of the colonies to the south. So that, although by the articles of cession much had been secured by France for the protection of the religion of the new subjects of the British crown, yet they were exposed to great dangers. The successive English governors of

Canada received the most precise and insidious private instructions from the English privy council, to undermine the Catholic religion in this newly acquired colony, for the purpose of making the English Protestant form of religion dominant and established. But, though the clergy and their faithful flocks and the interests of religion suffered seriously, all efforts of this description were fruitless, and Canada continued faithful to her God and to His Church.

The English government was, by its very position, forced to do homage to that religion which it wished to destroy; and it was no time to come to a rupture with the Canadians, when the old colonies were making complaints and presenting demands, after petition had been found unavailing. England, then, yielding to the dictates of good sense and sound policy, began to act with more moderation in her opposition to the religious feelings of her Canadian subjects; and she reaped the benefit of her change of conduct, whilst the bigotry and intolerance of some of her revolting colonies materially aided to secure to her the co-operation and fidelity of this newly acquired and important Catholic settlement.

Amongst the various complaints made by the thirteen colonies which subsequently became the United States, many were of great weight and manifest justice; but others were palpably unfounded, some frivolous. One of the most conspicuous of these latter was the charge put forth by some of the colonies in their list of grievances, that the King of Great Britain was a tyrant, because he sought to destroy the liberties of the other colonies, and to introduce despotism, by favoring and sustaining, some of them went so far as to say, by tolerating Popery in Canada. They all appeared to use it as a ground for urging against this monarch their charge of a deliberate attempt to destroy their liberties. And yet, notwithstanding this act of so astonishing a character, the Congress of the United States actually sent a delegation in which there was a Catholic, Charles Carroll of Carrollton, and

which, upon the suggestion of Franklin, one of its members, was accompanied by a Catholic priest, the Rev. John Carroll, a Jesuit, and subsequently the first bishop and first archbishop of the Catholic Church in the United States, to ask the Canadians to join in their Revolution! It is not surprising that they could not succeed. I have my information from the lips of Charles Carroll. Canada had seen, she had heard enough. Canada had not forgotten the martyrdom of Father Sebastian Rasles, whom some of the soldiers of Massachusetts had murdered, in the midst of his congregation of Indians, on the 23d of August, 1724, and whose dead body they treated with even worse indignity than Buzzell and his mob treated the bodies at Mount Benedict more than a century afterwards. Canada recollected many similar acts of kindness, received in like manner from the colonists of New England. This is sufficient to show the spirit which then pervaded the land. And we surely should consider the Canadians as the most besotted of all beings, were they prevailed upon to give up the protection which England began to afford, in order to make common cause with the colonies, which, whatever their own grievances might have been, complained that conduct far different from such protection was tyranny to them. As Great Britain herself was led by her fears and her necessities to relax her persecutions, so, too, the United States forgot the tyranny of tolerating the Catholic religion, in their fear that without Canadian aid they might not be successful. And the lessons thus taught have since been improved upon; considerable progress has been made within sixty years.

The Catholics had several missions in the out-territory amongst the Indians, many of whom had been united to the Church, and whose conduct was edifying. The Jesuits had been principally engaged in this apostolic duty, and they had large funds applicable to this purpose, besides those necessary for the maintenance of their own institutions. The British gradually sent the Jesuits from those missions, seized upon their funds and buildings, and threw

back the whole of this immense range of country, if I may so express it, into its original desolation; and thus, that portion of it to the west, which came into the possession of the United States—though formerly, as we have seen, occupied by missionaries—was, at the period of the Revolution, totally without religious opportunities, nor has it since been practicable to make any extensive efforts to seek after and to instruct those red descendants of the first fervent Christian converts. Some of them, it is true, are now again gathered into a few congregations in the British possessions; others have wandered through the western forests towards the Pacific.

Amongst the most wealthy and respectable colonists of the South were many families of Huguenots, whom England received upon the revocation of the edict of Nantes, and whom she placed in a region where, by their industry and perseverance, they had acquired for their descendants wealth and power. It was natural that they should entertain and cherish prejudices against that religion from which, they had been taught, their fathers had suffered much; but justice requires the avowal that they have never manifested a spirit of persecution. At the period to which we have now arrived, there was scarcely a Catholic to be found in the whole extent of the Carolinas or Georgia, nor was there a priest in this region for many years after the Revolution. Great numbers of the Presbyterians, who were invited to immigrate into Carolina, were the descendants of those Scotch settlers who had been planted, as I before described, in the north of Ireland, upon the extermination of the Irish Catholics under Elizabeth and James I. Several large settlements had also been made directly from Scotland; and an extensive body of the land was occupied by German Protestants, and a few of the same religion from Switzerland. Still the great landed proprietors were of English or of French descent.

V.

This brings us to the period when the territory ceased to be under the government of England, and when, by a

treaty of peace with that power, the independence of the United States was fully and formally recognized. It is obvious, that up to this period, the number of Catholics must have been considerably less than what it would have been had there existed a sufficient clergy and no persecution. It is at this moment difficult to say what was the number of Catholics, but I think the clergy would be numbered very fully in putting it down at twenty-five. Indeed, I consider this as overrating it. Many causes now combined to diminish the long existing prejudices. Not only had Catholics fought and fallen in the Revolutionary struggle, but Catholic France had aided with her army and her navy; her Catholic chaplains had celebrated our offices in the camps and in the cities; Catholic Poles had fought by the side of the American soldiers, had led their troops into the thickest of the fight, and had sacrificed their lives for the cause of American freedom; the best and most gallant and hardy portion of their own troops, the Pennsylvania Line, was chiefly composed of Irish Catholics. The commander-in-chief, the noble and generous Washington, had testified to their bravery and their devotion. A Catholic was the man who probably had staked the largest property in their cause, amongst that patriot band that had pledged life and fortune and sacred honor to sustain the Declaration of Independence. He had gone with Franklin and another, accompanied by a Catholic priest, through pathless woods and unexplored mountains, a long and perilous journey, to try whether they could wipe away from the mind of the Catholic colony of Canada the unfavorable impressions which the ignorance, the folly and the bigotry of those hostile to his creed had made, to the detriment of his country. The feelings of hostility to Catholics and the prejudices against our religion thus began, at the period of the Revolution, gradually to decline. Liberty of worship was soon restored in some of the States, penalties were blotted from the statute-book: yet was the public mind quite uninformed respecting our tenets and our principles;

the ancient notions in regard to Catholic doctrines and practices continued to subsist, though feelings of kindness began to be entertained.

Probably this would have been an exceedingly favorable moment to have taken advantage of such a disposition; but to do so would require a body of clergymen well-informed, prudent and far more numerous than existed in the States. Just prejudices, if I may use the expression, were entertained against Great Britain, so that if England had had priests to spare, it is doubtful how far they would have been acceptable. That nation, so far as regarded our religion, was then in a very different position from that which she at present occupies, though even now she cannot furnish a clergy sufficient for her own demands, and the late vicar apostolic of the London district not long since remarked in answer to official inquiries, that it was impossible to foresee the period when England would be likely to furnish priests for her own colonies. At the time of which I treat, her few clergy were ground down under an afflicting persecution; she had no place in the kingdom for the education of her candidates, and was of course totally unable to do anything for America. Ireland was in a still worse position; yet the loss of the American colonies created in Great Britain a wholesome dread of too far exasperating the plundered population of this ill-treated land. In order to try and secure their attachment, during the war with France and the contest with the Revolutionary colonies, the government of Ireland had considerably mitigated the ferocity of its persecution. The Irish Catholics wanted a good many priests and were very insufficiently supplied. As this island had no seminary within her borders, she was dependent upon those which the Catholic nations of Europe, especially France, had allowed to be opened upon their soil for the education of her zealous youth, who, in defiance of the prohibitions of those in power, ventured, at the risk of their vengeance, to leave their country by stealth for that purpose, and to return in the face of every peril to serve upon the

mission. Little of course could be then done by Ireland for America.

The language of the Catholic nations being so different from the English tongue, which was that of the United States, and the almost impossibility for a foreigner to acquire it, in such a way as to be a useful public speaker, left little inducement for zealous missionaries from the continent of Europe to enter upon these missions. There existed also other obstacles of no little moment, which rendered it unlikely that European priests could at that time be usefully invited. The political principles of Europe and the vague notions which existed in regard to the Revolution and the republicanism of the new States, were undefined and unsatisfactory; the manners and the habits of the Europeans were different from those of the Americans; the contemplation of those differences, added to that of the immense distance at which the great Atlantic then seemed to place the two hemispheres, the infrequency of communication, and a variety of similar difficulties, left little prospect of success as the result of any application. There was another obstacle, arising from the poverty of the Catholics as a body and the almost total absence of any funds, save what could be obtained from their generosity. The sole exception was, some property which had been originally destined for the missions that were served in early times by the Jesuits, and a portion of which had by a variety of contrivances been preserved, and which had at this period been legally vested in the priests of Maryland, who had been incorporated by the new government; and which has since insensibly passed into the possession of the Jesuits of Georgetown, in the District of Columbia, upon the condition of paying something towards the support of the Archiepiscopal See of Baltimore. It was from this fund that the clergy then derived the principal means for their support.

Thus, though the Catholics were now spread in greater or less numbers through the States, there were no clergy-

men save in Maryland and in Pennsylvania, and these were far too few for the number who sought the aid of their ministry. In Maryland, they were pretty well spread in about a dozen places, but in Pennsylvania they could not be found in more than two or three spots outside of Philadelphia. Thus, though the immigration commenced, the Catholic immigrants could find neither priest nor altar nor associates in religious worship, save in a very few spots of these immense regions. I have before described the consequences of this lamentable dearth. To this is to be attributed the melancholy result, that so many thousands of the descendants of these first settlers are now found in the various sects.

Probably not ten priests arrived from Ireland with the many thousands of Catholics who flocked hither from that country, during the years which intervened between the establishment of independence and the erection of the first see at Baltimore, for the whole territory of the Union, in 1790. And whilst the people were scattered through the country, the priests were kept in the principal towns. Nor is it to be imagined that all the clergymen who, in the early days of our republic, migrated from Europe, were actuated in their transfer of residence by the purest zeal, nor that they were the persons best qualified to promote the cause of religion. Some of them, indeed, were men of that description and were extremely useful; but others were driven across the Atlantic by disappointment or by censure, and though they rendered occasional services, unfortunately, they too often counter-balanced them by their scandals.

The leading citizens of these new States were not half civilized savages. They were men of strong understanding, many of whom had received the best education which the schools of Europe could bestow; they had improved their minds by that observation which travelling calls forth; they had served their country at a critical period in the council and in the field; they had associated with some of the best-informed men of the age, and they had read

extensively. The influence of such men upon the society by which they were surrounded was powerful. Others, gifted with talent and ambitious of distinction, improved by their intercourse, labored to emulate them, and frequently succeeded in the effort. He who can understand their language has but to read the compositions which emanated from their pens, and the reports of the eloquent and manly speeches which flowed from their lips, and he must be convinced that no nation of only equal numbers furnished at the same time a larger body of admirable men than did the United States at the period which immediately succeeded their independence. Schools and colleges arose, governments were framed, courts of justice were established, religious congregations were organized: on every side creative efforts were made for every purpose.

But when, in the midst of this mighty movement, the observer contemplates the situation of the Catholic Church, he sees, indeed, a bishopric erected; the see is filled by a man worthy of his age, of his station, and of his religion, as well as of his country; but he is found to be comparatively powerless, because equally destitute of a proper clergy and of the means for its creation. The scattered Catholics were destitute of pastors, their children were lost to the Church; the greater number of the few who exercised the ministry, were unable to remove the erroneous impressions of such a people as were found over the States. There were few opportunities; no books could be procured in defence of Catholic doctrines; the principal portions of English literature, which necessarily became that of the United States, were filled with passages tending to destroy our religion by misrepresentation, by sophistry, by ridicule, and by wit; and through the whole country there was not found a press nor a bookseller to counteract this evil. The people sought for information upon the subject, and every source from which they could draw it was poisoned, every fountain at which they drank was tainted. Need we wonder at the continuance of prejudice, the dislike of our religion, the obloquy to which our principles and practices

were exposed, or at the false shame which drew the pusillanimous from the profession of their creed?

We now arrive at another epoch, desolating for Europe, beneficial to America. The machinations of infidelity produced their horrible effects in France. Its religion was proscribed, its clergy were obliged to submit to banishment, to death, or to apostasy; several of its pious laity, escaping with their lives, found asylums in foreign lands, and not a few traversed the Atlantic. That small portion of the clergy which betrayed their holy charge, remained at home, and under the protection of the bad men who ruled, were intruded into desecrated sanctuaries to officiate at polluted altars. Their faithful brethren were bathed in their blood, or lurked in hiding-places to serve the few who, at the peril of their lives, adhered to their religion and gave shelter to its ministers. But the great bulk of the holy band was found in exile weeping for the desolation of their country, and beseeching heaven to receive it once more to its mercy. The pious and learned emigrant clergy of France, not only edified several countries by their virtue, but elsewhere they aided greatly to the conversion of Protestants, by their zeal, their prayers, and their example. America had the good fortune to obtain several of them, and they became a very seasonable supply in this moment of her destitution. They made efforts to learn her language, and in many instances they were as successful as could reasonably be expected. There is no language more difficult for a foreigner, and it has its peculiar difficulties for one whose vernacular language is French; they who can speak it tolerably in public are but rare exceptions amidst the great number that acquire it so as to be able to converse with facility. America has been fortunate in possessing a few of those exceptions. She has had two or three excellent men in her pulpits, to whom even persons of taste and of information could listen with pleasure, and from whom they could derive much instruction, as well as gratification. A number of others were able to make themselves more or less intel-

ligible, but I may say that, with scarcely an exception, all edified with their piety and preached by their example. It is true, that persons who could speak fluently the language of the people, whilst they possessed the learning and the piety of those men, would have been more useful, especially if their habits and customs had better qualified them for mixing with the people, for serving upon the country missions, and for understanding the laws, and the civil and political institutions of the country; but such men could not then be found, and it was a peculiar blessing from heaven that this seasonable aid was obtained.

Shortly after this period, the insurrection in San Domingo (now Hayti) caused great numbers of the colonists of that island to fly with such of their slaves as would accompany them; a few of the clergy came with these emigrants, and they settled principally in the Southern States. Thus, the French portion of the Catholics in the Union was exceedingly well provided with spiritual aid, but it was far otherwise with the Irish, whose number was continually increasing in the sea-ports, though they went by thousands from these places to the interior, where settlements had already been made; and still farther west, to thin the forest and to subdue the land by cultivation; but in those regions no priest was then to be found.

Ireland had most of her continental establishments for clerical education destroyed by the French Revolution and by the wars which succeeded, and years elapsed before she could obtain, even under the still greater mitigation which her persecutors granted, houses in which her children could be assembled, professors to teach them, and funds for their support. The devotion of her prelates and of her people having made a commencement, the Irish government gave reluctantly and sparingly a miserable dole, which the economy of those to whose management it had been entrusted expended to the best account. Still, however, many years elapsed before she could supply her own churches, and she naturally considered it to be her duty to make provision for them, before she would send any

clergymen to those tens of thousands of her children, who, having left her shores, were to be found in so many parts of these western regions.

Thus, though there was an increase of a good clergy by reason of the French Revolution, it was not precisely of the description that was required in the new republic.

Besides the difficulties arising from the diversity of language and customs, there were some that occasionally arose from difference of political predilections. They who outraged religion and massacred the clergy in France, desecrated the name of liberty by the anarchy and despotism to which they so wickedly and inappropriately gave that appellation; and they moreover rendered the name of republicanism odious through a large portion of the world, by the atrocities which they perpetrated under the semblance of its sanction; and although the clergy of France who had escaped to America were sufficiently aware of the wide distinction between the well-regulated order of American republicanism and the licentious and tyrannical infidelity which assumed that name in France, and though several amongst them were gradually becoming attached to American institutions, still, amongst others, unpleasant recollections were excited by the similarity of name, and this could not always exist without an unpleasant influence upon a man who had suffered grievously in the land he loved, for whose ruin he wept, and the memory of which, though dear to his heart, was blent with that of the murder of his cherished companions and devoted friends. It was not, and it could not be, in his power always to suppress the exhibition of what he felt. Too often, the thoughtless or the envious, the enthusiastic admirer of liberty or the cool opponent of his religion, made a serious mistake, or took an unfair and an unkind advantage because of this exhibition. Hence, though the cause of religion in the United States gained greatly by this accession, yet it was not free from some disadvantage. And, perhaps, during the twenty years that succeeded the erection of the See of Baltimore, though there was a considerable increase of congregations and of

religious opportunities, there was a vast loss to the Church, because there was not a body of clergy sufficiently numerous and perfectly fitted to attend the immigrants that arrived from Germany and from Ireland.

Another great source of mischief was the loss of orphan children, even in those places where Catholic congregations were formed and priests were found. These children were placed in public or sectarian institutions, and almost universally lost forever to the Church.

Another may be added, that although there was a bishop, yet the peculiarity of his circumstances confined him almost exclusively to Baltimore and its vicinity, whilst his diocese, which was as extensive as half of Europe, could by no means have the advantage of his episcopal visitation.

VI.

Before I leave this part of my subject, I must notice the foundation that was laid for much subsequent mischief, by the cause given for serious and anti-Catholic usurpations of trustees of church property, and for the schisms and disgraceful quarrels in churches.

I have previously, in a general manner, noticed a want of acquaintance with our legal principles and provisions respecting property amongst some of the clergy. I may here observe, once for all, that unfortunately these principles and provisions seem to have been overlooked in some places to this day. I do not know any system more favorable to the security of religious rights and of church property than that of the American law. I have consulted eminent jurists upon the subject. I have closely studied it, and have acted according to its provisions in various circumstances, favorable and unfavorable, during several years, and in many of the details and as a whole, I prefer it to the law of almost every Catholic country with which I am acquainted. I think, with the exception of one, perhaps two States, that it is a more honest, fair and liberal system. Like any other, it is liable to be

abused, and sometimes the prejudices of the individual will accompany him to the bench or to the jury-box; but this is not the fault of the system. I shall give an outline of its principles.

The government of each State is that which is to be considered the original sovereign. It pre-existed the federation, and divested itself not of this sovereignty, but of the exercise of some of its powers, upon entering into the confederacy. A new power, viz., the government of the United States, was subsequently created, for the purpose of exercising those sovereign attributes of whose use the several States had debarred themselves. They not only did not give to the general government any authority in religious concerns, but expressly stipulated that "Congress shall make no law respecting the establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof." Thus, whatever authority a government may rightfully possess in this respect resides in the several State sovereignties; and in fact, they all at present act upon the principle of the above prohibitory enactment. The State does not then interfere with religion, which it considers to be the concern of each individual in his private capacity, and it leaves him in perfect freedom, provided that, in the exercise of this freedom, he will not disturb the public peace, or infringe upon the rights of his fellow-citizens. The State also considers religion to be useful to society, and therefore an object for which a number of individuals, having common opinions and common principles, may lawfully and beneficially associate. It considers that associations so formed ought to be protected by securing the property or funds which they may consecrate to this object, as well as by allowing them full opportunity of practicing their rites and ceremonies according to their own views of propriety and utility, provided they do not thereby disturb the good order of society. The State, however, does not recognize in society thus formed any individual or class of persons as vested with more power than another, or as having any right not common to every other member,

unless such power or right be created or recognized by the society itself. The State recognizes in each society thus formed the right to make for itself a constitution or form of government and by-laws for the management of its own concerns; and when they are regularly made, it recognizes their force within that body; and generally speaking, it is willing to grant the privilege of incorporation to religious congregations upon the principles here exhibited.

Upon these principles, there is no difficulty for a body of Catholics to assemble, to form themselves into an association, to recognize the power of their Pope, of their bishop, of their priests, and the several rights of each individual or body according to the doctrine and the discipline of their Church. They can, without departing from that doctrine or discipline, regulate the manner in which the property is to be held, and how it shall be managed, and can establish rules to restrict and to direct its managers. In a word, they can voluntarily bind themselves by special acts to maintain and observe the whole doctrine and discipline of the Church, and can regulate that no person shall be admitted a member of their association without his undertaking this obligation, or shall continue a member if he violates his contract for such observance.

By this process of American law no person is obliged to belong to any religious society except he shall desire it himself, and he cannot obtrude himself upon any religious society which is not willing to receive him or whose constitution he violates: and the legal tribunals of the State must, should questions of litigation arise, govern their decisions by the constitution and by-laws of the society itself, provided these laws be not incompatible with the laws of the particular State or of the United States. But where the society makes no constitution, or does not adopt any special regulations, but merely has persons chosen as trustees to manage its concerns, without any special restrictions; these trustees have the power to make all regulations and to change them as they may think proper,

during the term for which they have been chosen. Thus there may be trustees with limited powers in some churches, and in others their powers may be altogether undefined.

The Catholics, desirous of securing their property in the like manner as all other religious congregations were doing, frequently applied to the Legislatures of the States to have it vested in incorporated trustees, to be elected by themselves, but they seldom or never made any special constitution or laws to regulate or to restrict the power thus conferred; or if they did make any regulations, they were altogether loose and by no means sufficiently precise or technically drawn; and thus the power of the trustees generally became unlimited: it extended, if they choose to use it, over property, priests, bishops, and every person and thing that belonged to the society. This, it will be clearly perceived, was not a fault of the law, but a necessary consequence of not so applying its provisions as to suit the doctrine and discipline of our Church. And it must be acknowledged, that for a considerable period no churches in the Union had been more negligently managed in this respect than those of the Catholics; nor is it, even at this day, so easy to persuade some who have much influence in their direction, that the property can be better protected by the great principles of the law, than by expedients.

The evils arising from this ill-digested description of trusteeship caused immense detriment during the infancy of the American Church; nor are they merely a part of the history of days that have passed away. Men in several instances, well-disposed in regard to religion, but by no means sufficiently informed of what was required by the doctrine of the Church whose faith they held, acting as they imagined for its interests, began to copy the regulations and to follow the example of Protestant Churches, and to consider their own clergy as a species of servants to perform religious services in the way that they deemed most convenient. They next proceeded, under the pretext of relieving the clergy from temporal cares, to exclude

them from any share in the deliberations on the management of church concerns, though they forgot their own assumed principles whenever it was necessary to raise funds or to make collections; for on such occasions the clergy were expected to be drudges; and if the income was diminished, or money wanted to pay debts or to make repairs or for any other purpose, the reduction of the clergyman's salary was the most obvious and natural way to relieve themselves. This necessarily created discontent and estrangement; and if the clergyman complained, he was said to be avaricious and worldly-minded; if their right to change his wages at their own caprice was denied, the clergyman was said to be ambitious and despotic, and the trustees soon claimed they had the right, and in some instances attempted to dismiss the priest without even regarding the rights of the bishop or the doctrines of their Church. They have in several instances intruded bad men, men devoid of vocation, having no jurisdiction, and have frequently wasted large sums of the Church income in supporting schisms and in persecuting their lawful pastors. At this moment there are men living in several parts of the Union, who, in the sight of God, are bound to make heavy restitution to religion for the share which they have had in such disgraceful and mischievous practices.[1] Many persons who were the leaders or conspicuous members amongst the schismatics on such occasions, were persons totally bereft of faith, men born of Catholic parents and educated in the Catholic Church, but who had by the influence of bad reading, of bad companions, or of their own immorality lost their faith, and laughed at the practices of that religion which they however by money contributed to sustain, in order, as they said, that it might preserve their wives virtuous and their children and servants in obedience. Such men may be seen lounging in the vicinity of the church, or carelessly or curiously gazing within its precincts, half a dozen times in the year; but whenever a schism was

[1] These scandals seldom take place now.

meditated or a turmoil excited, no persons were more ready than were these "Catholic atheists" to be in the foremost ground to protect their rights, to aid religion, and to preserve liberty, by opposing the bishop, by humbling the priest, and by teaching the whole body of the clergy the proper mode of governing the Catholic Church! I give in this but a brief and an imperfect outline of what my own register would show during a part of my own administration. I will not, however, deny that in some instances clergymen have forgotten the boundary of their sphere, and endeavored to encroach upon that of the laity, but had a report been made, as was fitting, to the bishops, the remedy would have been quickly and effectually applied.

Hence I was convinced at an early period of my administration, that the remedy which was most natural, most safe, easiest, and most consonant to our legal position, was to designate, in such an instrument as the law would recognize and sanction, the line that separated the rights of the clergy from those of the laity, according to the principles of our doctrine and discipline, and to have it so adopted as to be legally binding and legally protective for both.

I will here remark, that although in many places the clergy appear to have done very little, if anything, to provide legal security for their rights, some of their cunning would-be-masters have been so exceedingly ingenious as to procure a legal provision for the perpetual exclusion of priests or bishops from any share in the administration of church goods or property. I have seen some very curious specimens of this in the legislation of Louisiana, where to the casual observer the provisions would appear to be merely the suggestion of ordinary prudence for the respectable and useful administration of church affairs. Yet it is in reality the studied deceitful cover which has been flung over mean and tyrannical usurpation, and is perfectly in keeping with that spirit which in so many other regions has, under the pretext of giving honor and protection to the Church, subjected it to the worst despotism of the State.

The ill-regulated system to which I have thus adverted, has proved to be a source of great disaster, of many scandals, and of several schisms in the United States, and has estranged great numbers from the Church, by disgusting respectable and peaceable members, by driving some of the schismatics into heresy, and by fomenting, not only a spirit of disorder, of anarchy, and of contempt for discipline, but also an estrangement from religious practices, an absence from the sacraments, and a destruction of the spirit of piety, in comparison to which the gross mismanagement of funds and other temporal losses are a mere insignificant trifle. Yet even in this respect the detriment has been very serious, and the respectability which a congregation loses by an exhibition of this description is not to be regained by several years of subsequent good conduct.

At the first Provincial Council of Baltimore, in 1829, the present chief justice of the Supreme Court of the United States,[1] then attorney-general of Maryland, together with two other respectable Catholic lawyers, having been consulted upon the subject of so securing church property as to insure also the observance of our peculiar discipline, gave their advice. There was, however, a disinclination on the part of nearly all the prelates then assembled, to adopt its principles as a regulation. But, though at present a considerable diversity of practice prevails in the several dioceses of the Union, there is much greater harmony upon this subject between the clergy and the laity. There is very little agitation of the subject, the former disputes have been amicably settled, and there does not appear to be any great probability of new differences arising. Mutual confidence, a disposition to reciprocal respect and recognition, a more creditable zeal for the order and discipline of the Church on the part of the laity, are the symptoms that give assurance of better times. In most places, the experience of the good that has been produced by this line of conduct, not only in the prosperity of the Church, the benefit to religion, the

[1] Taney.

charity and affection of individuals, but also in the respectability which it brings to the Church and to its members, as well as the spirit of piety which exists, would be sufficient to outweigh all the efforts which could be made to reproduce such disgraceful contests as those that for years had distracted some of our churches and tended to destroy our religion.

I have been exceedingly tedious in the details that I have given: but I felt it better to write the history of the Church, that outsiders may be able to draw their own conclusions, rather than to advance my opinions, without laying before the public the ground upon which I found them. It now remains for me to take as rapid a view as I can of the period which has elapsed since the erection of the metropolitan See of Baltimore and the first suffragan Sees of New York, Philadelphia, Boston and Bardstown.

In 1808, the number of Catholics had considerably increased, especially in the large towns on the Atlantic shore and in the regions west of Virginia and Pennsylvania. The Holy See considered that it would be advisable to accede to the request of Bishop Carroll and of his coadjutor Bishop Neale, to erect new sees in Boston, New York, Philadelphia, and in Bardstown, in the State of Kentucky. In the next year, Baltimore was created a metropolitan see, and Doctor Carroll dignified with the title of archbishop. Two French priests, who had labored with zeal, assiduity, privations, and success upon those missions, were appointed to Boston and Bardstown. The names of Cheverus and of Flaget are sufficient to exhibit the wisdom of that selection; nor were they the only priests of that description then to be found upon those missions. Doctor Matignon, of Boston, was one of the same class, and whose humility and love for Doctor Cheverus procured that the latter should take the place for which he had himself been designated. Two Irish priests were nominated for New York and Philadelphia: Doctor Concannon, who, though the first Bishop of New York, never

beheld his see; he was consecrated in Rome, and died in Naples, on his way to America; Doctor Egan, the first Bishop of Philadelphia, the few years of whose administration were years of difficulty. Doctor Connelly succeeded to New York; and therefore, upon his arrival, may be considered the first that entered upon its administration. Everybody admired his virtue, his humility, and his exertions in discharging the duties of the confessional and attending the sick; but he was not generally considered to be a prelate acquainted with missions and fitted to form a new and extensive diocese. One or two of his priests, however, were efficient and active, and much is due to the zeal and prudence of one of them who governed the diocese in times of difficulties, between his death and the nomination of his successor. Philadelphia got into great disorder, from whose consequences it was not easy to relieve it. The South demanded organization. New Orleans was committed to Doctor Dubourg, a man of the most extensive views; but he was without priests or means, and encountered many difficulties; he retired to St. Louis, and laid the foundation of that see, where numbers of Catholics, principally Irish, Germans, and Canadians, had begun to congregate. Charleston and Richmond were created about five years after the death of Archbishop Carroll, who may justly be styled the father of the struggling Church. It is not the intention of the writer of this to pass judgment upon others; but he thinks that, amongst various mistakes, the opposition to the separate administration of this latter diocese, by causing its bishop[1] to return to Ireland as soon as he could obtain permission from the Holy See, has been by no means favorable to the maintenance of religion in the State of Virginia. This mistake is about to be remedied, but the past cannot be recalled.

Still the immigration increased with a wonderful rapidity. The Sees of Cincinnati and of St. Louis were next created; Florida was ceded to the United States, but years elapsed, churches were vacant, property was lost, and usurpations

[1] Bishop Kelley.

took place before the See of Mobile was created, and it was then only a bishop who was established without a clergy. It is but a short time since Detroit has been erected into a see, and Vincennes has a daily increasing population of Irish and German Catholics pouring in upon its fertile vicinity. Railroads are now added to the canals that previously existed; the intercourse with Europe and the facilities of passage have wonderfully increased. The population, which fifty years ago was three millions, is this day[1] nearly seventeen, almost a sixfold increase. The Catholic settlers have been spread in thousands of places, not one-third of which can be attended to by the clergy of the country, and the consequences are too plain to be called into doubt. There is no question with regard to the increase of Catholics, the erection of churches, the organization of establishments, but the question is, has there not been a real and serious loss, by reason of the want of a clergy, and by reason of the great delays in doing even what has been already done? I fear that this loss is not only real but exceedingly great.

The principal causes of these evils I consider to be: 1. The pouring in of vast numbers of Catholic immigrants upon a country, where nothing had been previously done to enable them to practice the duties of their religion, but where every obstacle existed to render its profession and its practice exceedingly inconvenient, especially to strangers. 2. The want of opportunity for the education of the children of Catholics in the religion of their parents. 3. The exposure of the numerous orphans of immigrant Catholics, whose death or misfortunes or criminality left those unfortunate children to be educated in public institutions uncongenial to the religion of their parents. 4. The want of a clergy sufficiently numerous to meet the demands upon their ministry, sufficiently well-informed to be able to act with judgment, and in many instances badly acquainted with the language, often incapable of giving public instruction, and not sufficiently aware of the nature of the government, the law, or the genius of

[1] 1836. Perhaps 60,000,000 would not be an over estimate now.

the country. 5. The invasion of this mission by many priests, who in Europe were found to be incorrigibly bad, or unable to act except under the guidance of others. 6. Injudicious appointments to places of administration. 7. The want of mutual confidence and co-operation, arising from throwing together people of several nations well-disposed and zealous, yet having too many points of peculiar habits and divided interests to allow of their efficiently acting in a body. 8. The vigilance, activity, wealth, and co-operation of the various Protestant societies, which, though divided in religious belief, still are united in every effort to weaken or oppose the Catholics.

I have also, after long examination, laid before the Holy Father what I considered to be the indication of a simple and practicable remedy for some of those evils, not only in the United States, but over a far wider range of missions which suffer most severely, in many instances, from similar causes. In doing so, I consider that I have done all that is required of me. I have honestly expressed my view of what I was bound to examine. I shall feel well pleased if a better remedy can be devised than that which I have suggested; and if my opinions shall be considered unfounded, or my views incorrect, or my propositions impracticable, I shall at least feel that I have done all that my situation required or permitted me to do; and shall endeavor within my own sphere to discharge my duty in the best way I can, satisfied that they who differ from me in opinion are actuated by the best motives, and are at least equally gifted as I can pretend to be with the faculties of observation and reflection, and that in due time proper remedies will be applied to evils which all acknowledge to be in existence and more or less powerful operation. It now remains for me to express my opinion of what the Propagation Society has done.

I consider its existence to be one of the greatest benefits conferred upon religion in the United States, and its continued exertions at this moment to be not only highly useful but indispensably necessary; for the active opposi-

tion of the enemies of our faith has been excited and strengthened, since they have observed that we have been aided by our friends in Europe, and they have by their supporters been strenuously sustained in their efforts. Should we then be abandoned at such a moment, our power to resist them would be greatly diminished, and it would be questionable whether the Propagation Society's former generosity would not prove in its results more injurious to religion than it has been beneficial. However, I have no fears upon this head; the principles by which it is guided and the motives by which it is urged to action are my assurance. It is instigated by the love of God, by the love of its neighbor, by the zeal of religion, by the affection of charity. It is guided by those maxims of prudence which withhold it from interfering in what is not its province, whilst they make it active in its proper sphere. It has procured means for those who were destitute and entrusted their application to the authority which, by the discipline of the Church, had the right and power of superintendence. If any mistakes have been committed in the disbursement, the fault is not the society's; but it has full merit of the bounty that emanated from its generous charity. It has built churches, it has erected seminaries, it has sustained missions, it has created convents, it has established schools; it has saved orphans from temporal misery and from eternal ruin; it has caused those who were blind to see the error in which they were; it has roused from their lethargy those whose ears had been long closed, to hear the testimony of truth, the terrors of judgment, and the invitations of virtue. It has made those who before were not able to move in the service of their God, now to run in the way of His Commandments. It has caused the Gospel to be preached to the poor, the neglected, and the forlorn; in many a spot it has made what had been a desert to bloom with the verdure of religion, to swell with the buds of virtue, to blossom with the flowers of good works, to spread abroad the fragrance of pious example, and to bring forth

fruits worthy of redemption. Thousands who sat in darkness and the shadow of death lift their hands to bless it, for the light and the warmth which they now enjoy from the splendor of the Orient which has beamed upon them. It has already done much to alleviate the misery and to check the devastation which have long desolated the western hemisphere. Even now a mighty change has been effected, and it was amongst the first to procure and furnish the means that contributed to its production. Let it go on, then, with increased zeal and redoubled activity, and be assured that the good men in whom it confides will, under the guidance of heaven, discover and adopt the best mode of applying its benefactions to the greatest advantage.

THE PAPACY AND FEUDALISM.[1]

I FEEL no small share of regret at finding myself obliged to write what you have very thoughtlessly made necessary. I have just read your oration as it appeared in the *Southern Recorder* of the 15th of August. It is not because of the want of taste which you exhibited in your poetical selections; in the first of which you place before us the death of a tyrant preparatory to your discourse upon the death of Jefferson, and in the second you tell us that another such has fallen, because Adams is no more. Neither do I complain because in your effusion you do not manifest as much capacity for treating your subject as might be expected from much more humble aspirants to the fame of oratory. I shall not quarrel with you for the charge which you make upon General Washington and John Adams, or one of them, of having, during his Presidency, weakened and destroyed the Constitution; though the one is embalmed in the recollections of the wise and the good, and the other was the object of your panegyric. But my charge against you is that you have made a very wanton attack upon a large number of your fellow-citizens.

You have said that in the Declaration of Independence Mr. Jefferson embodied what was valuable of Magna Charta, the Bill of Rights, and Act of Settlement. A subsequent passage of yours, and of which I regret to know you are the author, is the following:

"The political constitutions of Europe, the offspring of feudalism and essentially despotic, were still more corrupted by a union with the constitution of the Roman Church. Priests came in aid of kings and nobles to multiply and

[1] A letter to Governor Troup, of Georgia, which appeared first in the *Catholic Miscellany*, September 9 and 16, 1826.

perpetuate abuses, and the divine right and infallibility of royalty were preached by the successors of St. Peter, to make a mystery of government, and by impressing the hopelessness of reform but through divine grace, to perpetuate the dominion of the few and the vassalage of the many—when, therefore, it was said that government was no mystery, that rational beings are capable of self-government, that all men are equal, and that governors are but the servants of the people, created by and responsible to the people, the promulgators of these obvious truths were decried as wild enthusiasts and visionary theorists, whose doctrines might amuse the multitude, but could never be reduced to practice."

Under any circumstances, such a declaration coming from the mouth of the Governor of one of the old thirteen States, must be galling to the Roman Catholics of America; but if the statement which you made be untrue, and if you have in this instance calumniated institutions, with whose nature and whose history you appear to have little or no acquaintance; the insulted Catholics will not be compensated for the injury which you have done them, even should they discover that you are an honorable man, who feels contrition for his offence; they may pardon you, but still they suffer.

Magna Charta was but a partial assertion of the rights of Englishmen against the feudal tyranny of their conquerors. Feudalism was introduced into England after the unfortunate overthrow at Hastings by William the Conqueror. Previous to this, the English had a free government, they had written charters, fixed laws, and well-defined principles: they also had in its full vigor the Roman Catholic religion; and the best guarantee and bulwark of their liberties was voluntarily given to them from conscientious convictions, and through the advice of bishops and priests, by a king whom the Roman Catholics generally revere as a saint. The laws of Edward the Confessor are at once the result of Catholic regal justice and the best protection of British liberty. They are the

collected excellence of the laws of a series of Catholic kings. Those of Kent were promulgated first by Ethelbert in 602; and their enactment by which the fixed system of law was substituted for the monarch's or the witten's caprice was one of the first results of this king's conversion by priests sent from the Roman Church by the successor of St. Peter. So early did they commence their labor to make government not mystery but law. His successor, Withred, in 696, continued their improvement; three years before, Ina had done the same for Wessex; and in 790, the Mercians received their laws from Offa. Alfred, who was not only a most religious and pious Roman Catholic, but a student in Ireland, and a learner at Rome, and a disciple of the Pope in the art of government, embodied the great principles of justice and of right which he found in those several codes, and in the laudable customs of his nation; and gave to all England her first national code of law, and is justly styled the father of British liberty. He also gave a special code to Guthrum the Dane, who became a Roman Catholic and made an alliance with him in 870 or 871, and by which this convert was to govern the Danish Catholics who were permitted to remain in East Angle. Athelstan, Edmund, Edgar, and Ethelred improved those laws; and from a conviction of its being his duty to secure for the people over whom he was called by their own free choice to reign, as much liberty and protection as he could, Edward the Confessor compiled his code of laws. During this whole period, there was no feudal principle in England; they had free customs and fixed laws and allodial tenure.

Feudalism was established in several places upon the continent of Europe. I agree with you in stating that it was essentially despotic; but your excellency must have forgotten your historical researches when you made your next assertion, "that those feudal constitutions were still more corrupted by a union with the constitution of the Roman Church." Had your excellency condescended to

write without ambiguity, I should have had less trouble in my answer. Gentlemen like you, perhaps, do not care to learn even obvious distinctions, where Popery is concerned: but the knowledge of the economy of even a nest of ants would be no degradation. There is as obvious a distinction between the constitution of the Roman Church and that of the Roman Catholic Church, as there is between the constitution of the city of Washington and the Constitution of the United States; but, perhaps, you never took the trouble of examining either the one or the other. Believe me, your excellency would write and speak better upon any subject by being acquainted with its nature. If in your oration you meant what you said, the "Roman Church," you made just as intelligible an assertion as if you had gravely told your auditors, that the constitution of our colleges, essentially literary, became much better by a union with the constitution of the city of Washington. But if you meant the "Roman Catholic Church," when you said "Roman Church," as I assume you did, you contradicted all history.

If you do not know, you, and every man in such a station as you fill, ought to know more of the history of the European governments than you exhibit; you ought to know, that feudalism, at its first establishment in Southern Europe, was not only despotic but ferocious, and that its spirit was softened by the Roman Catholic Church, and its usurpations were resisted and checked by that same Church. I shall now glance at a few facts to which you have directed my attention, and confining myself to them, exhibit to you enough to make you feel that you have acted unwisely in venturing to attack a Church of whose principles you know so little.

We have seen that England had not the feudal principles in her constitution at the time of King Edward the Confessor, who died on the 5th of January, 1066. The Norman William soon found his sword had hewn a passage to the British throne. He preferred the Norman to the British principles; and first established the feudal

tenure in the island; though in 1070 he confirmed the laws of Edward, yet through his whole reign his first object was to make the English nation submit to mitigated feudalism. The Church had before this conquest held her possessions either by the allodial title or that of free-arms, but the great object of the Conqueror was to have the title to these lands, and all other rights to any temporalities which she held, dependent upon and derived from the king, upon the feudal principle. In some instances he and his successors were able, by the dint of oppression, to force the clergy to a surrender of their ancient rights and acceptance of a new feudal title, for the whole or for a part, from his majesty. The old Saxons who did not accept of such titles when offered, were dispossessed, and Normans very gladly became feudal possessors in their stead. The laws of the Confessor and the ancient rights gradually fell into disuse or were superseded. Thus, during the reigns of the first two Williams, the two Henrys, Stephen, Richard, and John, there existed an almost ceaseless war between those monarchs and the Church, in consequence of the resistance of the prelates to the kingly usurpations. The barons were generally awed or interested, and the people were enslaved. The clergy alone made resistance in a body, though frequently, for peace' sake, some of that order, as they did at Clarendon to the second Henry, parted with much of their rights and of the property of which they were but trustees; some, as Becket, lost their lives; and, as Langton, were driven into exile. This is not the picture of the constitution of the Church uniting with that of feudalism to make a despot more corruptly powerful. Will your excellency vouchsafe to accompany me to Runnymede? Who produced the old copy of Edward's laws, and taught the barons and the freemen their rights? Who brought them to the altar to swear that they would hold together and persevere in seeking the restitution of their rights? Who stood forward to claim from John that restitution? Whose steady demand awed the crouching tyrant more

than the gleaming of the armor which glittered on that field? It was Langton, the Roman Catholic Archbishop of Canterbury. Thus, whatever of good is to be found in Magna Charta is due to the very people whom Governor Troup has wantonly insulted.

Feudalism was restrained in England by the Roman Catholic Church; and, but that neither my leisure permits me, nor does the subject require it, I would show you the same result upon the continent of Europe. We shall stay in England, because you have chosen it for your ground. With the exception of the third Edward, there was scarcely a monarch who did not endeavor to make his feudal prerogative prevail over popular right; and in all those cases with scarcely an exception the king experienced the opposition of the Church; until in the ferocity of his rage and lust, the eighth Henry laid that Church prostrate at his feet, because it would not sacrifice eternal truth to his beastly passions. This, may it please your excellency, was the commencement of the religious Reformation of England. Now indeed for the first time the principle of feudalism gave to the British monarch everything he sought; he was now lord paramount in Church and State. Need I inform Governor Troup what immediate consequences flowed from this usurpation? The parliament became a mere mockery; the royal proclamation had the force of law; any freeman who sought to obtain the benefit of the Great Charter was transmitted to a dungeon; no charter was a title; did any bishop dare to raise his voice to vindicate his right, he was sent to the scaffold; an honest chancellor's fate was to be similar. Under Edward the Sixth, the bishop's commission might be superseded. Thus, the genuine principle of perfect feudalism was established in England, only upon the destruction of the constitution of the Roman Catholic Church: and a more obedient set of gentlemen to the powers that be, has never been exhibited to the world, than in the substitutes for those turbulent prelates who contended for their ancient rights and chartered property. Every semblance of liberty,

save the shadow of a parliament, was now lost. When the bill of rights was introduced and passed, it was but an attempt to restore long-lost liberties which had been tyrannically trampled upon, contrary to the laws, usages, and principles of the ancient, Catholic, English people. Those enumerated and enacted in the act of settlement are no more. The Roman Catholic Church has no principle in her constitution, no tenet in her doctrines, no custom in her discipline which teaches or implies that a king reigns by divine right. When kings state that they rule by the grace of God, they mean by His favor or kindness, as the word implies. You need not go to religion for its meaning, and certainly not to the Roman Catholic religion to explain that it is by a supernatural gift or favor of God that George IV now persecutes Roman Catholics. As I suppose you are a classical scholar, you must know that the words, "Gratia Dei," are a generic expression, which, according to the context are to be translated, the kindness of God regarding a temporal or a spiritual benefit. The Roman Catholic Church never classed the possession of a crown and sceptre amongst her sacraments. If your excellency means to speak or to write upon those subjects again, it would be well if you took the pains to study them; because I believe the Almighty never promised to give historical, or classical, or legal information to kings or to governors by mere inspiration. Thus, if Mr. Jefferson drew up, with consummate felicity, an excellent declaration, "embodying what is valuable in Magna Charta, the bill of rights, and act of settlement," it is no disparagement to his genius to assert, that the two latter only "invigorated and restored" what had been previously given in Magna Charta; but the force of that charter was impaired by feudalism, to which the Roman Catholic Church gave opposition, and which feudalism, by the destruction of that Church, got full vigor to destroy the charter; and that this charter was obtained and established by the Roman Catholics in opposition to a feudal tyrant, and was but the imperfect restitution of what Roman Catholics had

created and enjoyed by the aid of their Church, before a feudal conqueror robbed them of their rights; and that the English Roman Catholic clergy endured their greatest hardships, because of their opposition to feudal tyrants.

Your excellency having, in defiance of all records, stated in reference to England, that Roman Catholic priests came in to aid kings and nobles in perpetuating and multiplying as well as establishing the abuses of feudalism, I come to examine your other assertions.

"The divine right and infallibility of royalty were preached by the successors of St. Peter, to make a mystery of government, and by impressing the hopelessness of reform but through divine grace, to perpetuate the dominion of the few and the vassalage of the many."

Your sentence is wretchedly constructed; but still we can discover your meaning. Will you please to inform us what successor of St. Peter preached the divine right of kings? Have not the Popes been generally accused of asserting that kings held their crowns from the Holy See, and not from God; by papal, not by divine right? What successor of Peter ever preached or taught the infallibility of kings? Have they not been generally accused of acting towards kings not only as if their majesties were fallible, but criminal? Have they not been at war with kings? Have they not deposed kings? What page of history, what record, what fact has exhibited to your excellency that they preached that government was a mystery? I have sometimes heard of the Popes stating that a king reigned by divine right; but I have never heard or read that any Pope preached such a doctrine, until I read it in your oration; but for you was reserved the high distinction of being, I believe, the first public authority to charge the Pope with preaching that kings are infallible. There are some persons, may it please your excellency, who hold as an opinion, that some of our State Governors imagine themselves to be infallible; perhaps there were in former times kings who really had as high notions of their own good sense and were as tenacious of their own

opinions as any of our Governors; the obstinacy of such kings might also have caused considerable loss of territory to their States. Believing such men as these, the Pope, who may also err in his views of human nature or mistake the dispositions of individuals, as I find I have done as regards you; he might have either taken their assertion of their own infallibility as evidence of the fact, or he might have inferred their opinion of themselves from their conduct; nor is it to be presumed that a man who continues to act as if he was assured of his infallibility, does imagine himself liable to error. Be that as it may, your assertion of the Pope teaching that kings were infallible, is to me a totally new piece of information. I am so anxious to add to my stock of knowledge, that you will confer a great favor on me by informing me which of the Popes taught this doctrine; and I promise to publish it as soon as you transmit the information. However, your excellency has placed the Pope in a very awkward position; for whilst you made him preach that the king was infallible, you made him hold out a hope to the people who were injured by the infallible king, that they would be redressed by the same king when the grace of God should have led him to repair the evils produced by his infallibility. Really, it requires more penetration than I can lay claim to, to reconcile that and this. These Popes have always been a very inconsistent race of beings!

As I am no advocate for the divine right of kings, believing also that they have no claim to infallibility, I promise you for the name of every Pope whom you shall specify as having preached in support of the divine right of kings, I will give to you, for him, the names of two Protestant bishops who have preached the same doctrine; but, we must have it a good close bargain; you must not only give the name of the Pope, but the passages of the sermon, and I will not only give the names of the bishops, but the passages of their sermons. It will be as well to inform you that unless you produce extracts

from the sermons of seven Popes, I shall be victorious. I doubt that you can produce a single passage. Yet there were some Popes who held the doctrine, but not in the way that you appear to insinuate; like the "Gratia Dei," the "jure divino" has a meaning which a little more examination into the law of nations, the feudal system, and Christian morality would exhibit, and which even natural religion, or the "jus divinum naturale," would establish for yourself as long as the constitution of Georgia permits it, and no longer. But, I consent that we shall not construe the passages of sermons on either side upon this sound principle; those which I have will not admit such construction; it is for you to say what construction your passages will require.

Now, your excellency must admit that in revolting against King George III, Mr. Jefferson and his associates were aided by a Catholic king, the eldest son of the Roman Catholic Church: and the revolt was against a Protestant king who persecuted Roman Catholics for not swearing that they would desert and reject the Pope. Yet, with admirable facility, with a tact peculiar to yourself, you give as the prelude to your insult upon the Roman Catholics and your assertions regarding the Pope, a declaration that the most inveterate of the enemies of Rome was the superstitious Protestant despot.

"Mr. Jefferson had already done enough for his country and for his own fame—he had marched with his comrades in the vanguard of freedom, had palsied the arm of despotism, broken the chains of superstition, declared the independence of his country, and promulgated the natural, imprescriptible, and inalienable rights of man."

In doing all which he was aided by Roman Catholics! A Roman Catholic signature to his declaration pledged not only life and sacred honor, but a million of money; General Washington testified that no blood was more freely shed in defence of Mr. Jefferson's principles, than that of Roman Catholics; the king of a Catholic nation, the king of all others most attached to Rome, sent his

fleets and armies to be the copartners in palsying the despot's arm and breaking the chains of superstition. What superstition? Certainly not Roman Catholic; because there was no Catholic superstition to enchain any person whom Mr. Jefferson had freed. What then does it mean? Protestant superstition! Be it so, if you will. It is not my province to contend with you that it was not. But if so, I ask you, why you attack the Pope and the Roman Catholic Church in the next paragraph? Come, honestly declare that you used the words as many of our fellow-citizens use them every day, merely for their sound, and without considering whether they had reason or not. Why would you then carelessly insult a large portion of your fellow-citizens? I have done.

TRUE BASIS OF REPUBLICANISM.[1]

"And I proclaimed there a fast by the river Ahava, that we might afflict ourselves before the Lord our God, and might ask of Him a right way for us, and for our children, and for all our substance."—*1 Esdras, c. viii, v. 21.*

THIS declaration exhibits the acts of him who was commissioned to aid in rebuilding the temple of the Lord in his country and for his people. They had been scourged by the hand of God on account of their transgressions, and now assembled together and were seen entering into themselves to repent of their sins—determined to remember and apply that principle of religion which their fathers had forgotten and which they had neglected, but the observance of which they now found must necessarily be the true and only basis of their prosperity. They had had many occasions to see the truth of that declaration; if the Lord build not the house, in vain doth man endeavor to raise it. The history of preceding generations had exhibited to them the wonderful works of God towards their own and other nations. They had seen that the race was not always to the swift nor the victory always to him who, from his superior strength, was led to expect it. They looked back through the lapse of years, and beheld their fathers released from their bondage in Egypt, the horses and chariots of their oppressor overthrown, and his armies swallowed up in the Red Sea, as they pursued his late captives. In the pride of his heart he had said: "They shall again be mine; with chains will I bind them and they shall serve me—they and their children." But he counted that it was an arm of flesh that he opposed, but he soon realized that he had to struggle against the God of heaven. When he

[1] Preached at the Cathedral of the Holy Cross, Boston, May 14, 1841, the day of general fast throughout the United States.

beheld his chariots and his horsemen buried in the waves of the sea, he knew it was the Lord who had done this thing. So when Israel contended against Amalek, the victory was achieved by him who had been raised up by the hand of the Lord. And Ezra, looking back and beholding these things, and feeling a great desire to build up the prosperity of Judah, knew that it must be done through the blessing of heaven and not by the cunning devices of man; therefore in his affliction, he commanded the people to afflict themselves and observe a day of fasting before the Lord. And we, my brethren, called together in so solemn a manner, after a dispensation which is new to us, should prostrate ourselves before God, and beseech of Him His blessing, that He will secure to us the fruit of so many a wise council and so many a well-fought field—and that we may, serving the Lord with our whole hearts, have our days serene upon the earth, and through the merits of our Saviour, enter at last into regions better than these.

After a contest peculiarly marked by vigorous contention, we beheld it settled in the one constitutional way. We beheld the man who was the choice of a majority of the States and the people, raised to a station so high that the monarchs of the old world might envy it. We saw him take the solemn oath prescribed for his office, and about to enter upon the more active discharge of his duties. And we then beheld him in a moment stricken down, as it were, by an arrow from the grave! We have seen the calculations and the hopes of those who had for years deliberated and toiled, baffled and overthrown at the very moment when they seemed to be fully realized—the cup that was already lifted to the lip dashed from the hand—and twenty-six independent though connected republics astounded by an event as unexpected as it was unforeseen. We see every child of the republic weeping for the death of a common father, forgetting their dissensions, their divided interests, their clashing opinions, and compelled to feel how impotent are the exertions of man unless they

be ratified by God. They and we are approaching to-day our holy altars, to the end that we may so repent of our sins, that we may have peace and prosperity bestowed upon us by heaven. We pray to God that He may protect and bless us, and so prosper our endeavors, that our country may be enabled to take and maintain her high place among the nations of the earth—so that peace may be our crown here, and happiness our reward hereafter.

There is one peculiarity which forcibly strikes us in the midst of this scene, and which may not inappropriately be noticed here. Our minds are drawn to the contemplation of the wisdom which pervaded the councils of those who framed the Constitution under which we live. They foresaw to what contingencies we might be liable, and provided wisely and efficaciously for the wants which might arise. In past times, such an event as has now befallen us would have carried desolation and ruin into any republic; the nation, without a head, would have been shaken to its centre, dissolved into its original elements and from the highest glory cast down into utter disgrace. But behold, by the peaceful and legal operations of the provisions of our Constitution, all this is avoided. One is raised up to supply the place of him who is gone, and everything moves on as before. No change takes place. Our relations abroad, our councils at home, are unaltered and undisturbed. Everything is preserved in that perfect order which has been secured to us by the wisdom of those men of former times who framed our government. A source this is of great gratulation to ourselves, that by the blessing of God—even in the midst of party interests and political contests—by an exact observance of those principles we all have sworn to maintain, through a scene like this we can go on without feeling those convulsions which would have uprooted another people.

But we should not rest on this. We should teach ourselves to look forward and see in what manner we may secure the continuance of these blessings to our children and our children's children.

There is one principle of our political condition, which is laid down by all parties and acknowledged on all hands. It is that the basis on which our institutions rest is the popular will. The monarch may wield his sceptre and keep his people in subjection, even though corruption reign in his court; and by that very corruption, it may be, he can most effectually preserve his authority. But not so with republicanism. Its energy lost—its power at an end—all the happiness which that species of government brings to the people gone—it becomes the vision of an idle dream, if the people be corrupt. The power of the rulers is the gift of the people—the choice of the rulers is the duty of the people—and if, in making that choice the people look to their own individual and personal interests more than to the fitness of him who is chosen, if a spirit of mere partisanship obtain, a compromise be made for private purposes, between him who chooses and him who is chosen—then, indeed, republicanism is near its end. It cannot subsist where there is no virtue, for that which led to an aberration from principle in the first place, will lead to a continuance of that aberration. And thus the regarding the private good of each and not the public good of all, on the part of the citizens, is the principle which will destroy the institutions of republicanism.

Our principle is this: That the man should be chosen for ruler, who is best qualified to fill the station, with respect to the good of the whole nation. It is necessary therefore, that the people should be of a generous disposition; that they should be moved to prefer the public good to individual gain, (and this, in the end, will best protect the individual); that they should entertain a spirit of altruism and not of selfishness. But how is this spirit to be preserved? Only by each one cultivating it for himself. We have heard of patriotism—we have indeed seen instances of patriotism—but, as regards the world in general, the word is merely an empty sound. Where then is this spirit to be found? I answer, in religion. If a

man feels an interest not only in this passing hour, but feels likewise that he is to be placed before the bar of a Judge who sees into the inmost recess of his heart, and who will render unto him, not according to his deeds only, but according to his thoughts also—then will he feel his responsibility to God for the faithful discharge of his whole duty to man. Religion teaches man to love his neighbor as himself, and, consequently, to uphold those institutions which confer the most happiness on the whole—to transmit to others blessings which have been secured to him. And if it teaches him this, then indeed by religion we can bind a man stronger than by any bond this world exhibits; since his fate for eternity is bound up with his due discharge of his duty as a citizen.

This, then, is the great conservative principle of republicanism. And if we look to the history of the chosen people of God in ancient times, we shall find that their religion was the sole foundation of their greatness. So long as they observed the Commandments of God, they found peace, prosperity and happiness. The moment they swerved from their duty, their enemies were let in upon them; and instead of being the glory of the Lord of hosts, they became a byword and a jest to the nations. Though they had the outward semblance of a people, it was a shadow which belied. And so it will be with us, if we forget our gratitude to God and the republic at large, and substitute for a sense of that duty a looking after private interest, a bargaining for place and power. If the great conservative principle of religion is replaced by these, then indeed shall we be able to make no calculation upon principle or virtue—then indeed shall we be but a byword and a mockery.

And on this day it is the great and solemn duty of each one of us, to enter into his own heart, and before Him who sees the heart, examine himself. His question should be: "From what motive did I act in exercising my privilege by casting a vote?—what object had I? Did I seek the benefit of the people at large, the safety

of the Constitution—or was it from a wish for place, a bargain with one, or a chaffer with another? Was it from hatred, or malice, or revenge, or ambition, or from a sincere wish to discharge my duty? I was given a voice in the election; and how did I act?" Too often, my hearers, too often do we forget that the right of suffrage is not a privilege conferred upon us for the advancement of our private interest, but that it is a great duty, for the whole discharge of which we are amenable to heaven. The permanence and prosperity of our institutions can be secured only by each individual exercising his political rights according to his conscience, and not from interested private views. This is what we call popular virtue, and this alone is the solid basis on which republicanism can rest.

And let me briefly remark here upon a few of the temptations which tend to the counteraction of this principle. Unfortunately our country, especially in these latter days, has presented but too many of them. One of the strongest of these temptations is the spirit of avarice, which, wholly regardless of the rights of others, seeks only individual profit, and power and place as a means of profit. I speak not now in a party spirit, for I know none; but I must say that never were the words of Scripture more perfectly applicable than to us: "To love riches leadeth a man into great peril." There has been, and is, a spirit of wild speculation abroad, which has supplanted in a great degree the spirit of patient and untiring industry. If, however, we look to the day in which those men were found who achieved the independence and framed the Constitution of the country, and ask of what disposition those men were, we shall find that they sought not, by wild speculation, at once to grow rich—but that they believed that the blessing of God rested upon honest labor, and that the will of God has assigned to each one his place. They also thought that the spirit of true religion is for man to bow down in submission to the will of God, to earn his bread by the sweat of his brow, and

by labor to fulfil his part of the penance imposed on all. They taught their children to labor. And in this belief and in this instruction, we should follow their example. They were animated by the spirit of the wise man, when he exclaimed: "Give me neither poverty nor riches, for the one may tempt me, and the other lead me to despise my fellow-men: but give me competence and a feeling of independence, that I may keep Thy Commandments, O Lord, and at my death be borne by angels to Abraham's bosom." Oh, my brethren, the tempting spirit against which I would have you guard, is that which causes man to place his hopes, his happiness, his enjoyment, upon that wealth which is too suddenly acquired, and to withdraw his heart from the contemplation of a happy abode in heaven. Never were the liberties of the country more endangered than from the prevalence of a spirit like this; never were they safer than in the hands of those whose principle is that happiness is to be found in the continuance of labor.

I would again impress upon you as the first great principle which religion teaches, in reference to our duties as citizens, that the greatest caution should be maintained against that seductive spirit which would, by undermining private integrity, lead men to bestow their suffrages in elections to public office, from a sole regard to their individual interests. Guard well against that, and, by the blessing of heaven, our republic is safe; once yield, and our liberties are destroyed.

My brethren, there is another topic which, as connected with this, it may not be unprofitable to look at. To a certain extent in every free country, some degree of opposition of parties is eminently useful; if kept within proper bounds, instead of a curse, it is a blessing. It leads to a watchfulness for the national good in the people, and guards jealously against the rulers taking the property of the people, under the pretext of its being done for the public protection. But there is another spirit of party, or rather a spirit of persecution, of which, unfortunately, we have

not been without exhibitions in this country. They who framed the Constitution sought to guard against it as far as possible, and accordingly provided for universal toleration in religious matters. But, unhappily, they have not completely succeeded in preventing its manifestation. Believing, as I do, that truth is single and indivisible, and that two contradictory principles cannot at the same time be true, that religion consists in the worship of God in spirit and in truth, that the Bible contains the Word of God, and that the spirit of revelation is consistent in itself—I am forced to believe that there cannot be two religions. I look upon it as an extraordinary manifestation of the weakness of the human mind, to maintain that two religions—the one denying what the other asserts—can both be true. But where persons are seeking for truth, they are not always capable of seeing it; and where men honestly differ in opinion, it would be uncharitable, it would be irreligious for any one to condemn his fellow, because he could not agree with him. For myself, I have no more doubt than I have of my existence, which is the true religion—the religion that Jesus Christ delivered to His Apostles, and which they spread abroad in their own time and handed down to after generations; but I am not to say that it is equally clear to every other mind. There could not be a more criminal act on my part, than to depart from the religion which I believe and proclaim, but another may conscientiously feel it to be impossible to believe with me. Hence, I must leave the judgment to God. I cannot say to him: "I know that what you profess is not true"—but I may say: "I have no doubt that what the Saviour taught is what I believe, but I know not the lights you may have had. God does. To Him, therefore, you must stand or fall." This is that spirit of toleration which, in a society like ours, ought always to exist; it is that duty of charity which we all owe to one another. These differences should not make us hostile; we should alike uphold the Constitution, the interest of the country, the social charities of life; we

ought to know no distinction of creed in all this. Even if the Word of the Lord has never sounded in the ear of our fellow-man, still we have been created by a common God; the blood of the Saviour has been shed for him as well as for us; and that Saviour may yet raise him much above ourselves. Even as Saul, who held the garments of the men who stoned St. Stephen, afterwards became the greatest of the Apostles, as by a flash from heaven; so may the same power which caused his conversion, make him who differs widely from us now go far beyond us in the path which we pursue. Hence, that spirit which would denounce those who differ from us, is one destructive of Christian charity and inimical to the principle of good. It was not in this spirit that the Constitution enacted that there should be no preference of one religion over another; it was in direct opposition to it that the enlightened minds who framed that instrument yielded to the better conviction of their hearts, and blotted from the statute-book all exceptions to the great principle of right which has granted to all full freedom of conscience and worship. Their declaration was: "Let each, according to his own conscience, worship his Maker; but let not the spirit of persecution be found."

This caused the healthy action of the infant republic; but, unfortunately, we have seen in later times a disposition to forget the great lesson thus inculcated, and to revert to a persecuting spirit. I care not from what this arose—under what pretext it was urged—by what reasons or excuses it was defended or palliated. It is lamentable that in any man it should be found to exist. But wherever it does exist, its evils are two-fold. It injures him who cherishes it and him who is its victim. In the one it engenders a spirit of domination over his fellow, and in the other a perpetual temptation to hatred and revenge. It is a spirit which separates brother from brother and induces mutual distrust. It may even graft itself upon political feeling or partisanship; it may cause political principles to be blended with religious distinc-

tion; and then we have at once a union of Church and State, the antagonist of civil liberty.

Let me entreat all who hear me, first to seek to eradicate this spirit from their own hearts, and then to destroy it wherever it may be found. The good of the nation at large requires the sacrifice of individual preferences, and they who have been the victims of a spirit of persecution hitherto, should lay their sufferings, as an obligation, upon the altar of the common good; so that they who forgot for the moment their true principle and caused the evil to exist, may cause it to be obliterated as soon as possible. Thus, instead of being a collection of persons professing to be one brotherhood, and yet different in opinion and hostile in feeling, we shall be, in truth, one for the benefit of our common country, for the promotion of our mutual happiness, for our highest welfare here and hereafter.

In a large portion of the civilized world, charges are prevalent against the Catholic religion as being incompatible with civil and religious liberty. On what are these charges founded? From the pages of history it is inferred that the Roman Catholic religion is at war with the spirit of republicanism. But allow me to ask in what way? The principle of republicanism is the equality of men. We teach that all Christians have a common Parent; that all are equally redeemed by the blood of the Saviour; that all must appear before a common God who knows no distinction of persons. Where, then, is the inconsistency? Look through the records of the world, and see where the principles of true republicanism are first to be found. They had their origin in Christianity, and their earliest instance is in the Church of which we are members. Her institutions are eminently republican. Her rulers are chosen by the common consent; her officers are obliged to account strictly to those over whom they preside; her guide is a written constitution of higher force than the will of any individual. What call you this? Aristocracy? Monarchy? It is republicanism. Look again. Where were

the bulwarks found that stayed the ravages of the barbarians of the North, when they devastated the South of Europe? In the republican Catholic States of Italy. Go to a nation still more familiar to you—search the pages of English history. One strain pervades them all—a perpetual assault upon the memory of the prelates of the Catholic Church. Charges are brought that they were overbearing, haughty and tyrannical. Where are the proofs? There are none. Go to the records of parliament, and you will find the same thing there. Look at Britain in more ancient times, before the Norman conquest. One of her kings sent to Rome—he addressed the Pope, and requested of him a code of laws for the government of his realm. What was the answer of this haughty, tyrannical, all-grasping potentate, who is represented as having his foot upon the necks of kings and emperors? It may even now be found in her archives. "I can give you principles, but not laws. Your duty as a monarch is to consult your men of wisdom, acquainted with the wishes and necessities of your people; regulate your conduct by their advice, but govern your land in your own way. Nations differ widely, and that which is proper for one might be highly injurious to another." The principles of the common law, that mighty fabric in which English liberty is said to reside, have been traced back to the Catholic Church. In this, then, is the germ of liberty to be found. After the Norman Conquest—then it was that the conqueror dictated to his captives his own laws. But who refused to bow down in tame submission to his usurpation? The bishops of England were the men. They rested their claims upon the ancient compact; they took the laws of Alfred and of Edward, and from these they demanded of the conqueror himself an acknowledgment of the rights secured to the people by Edward. And when the base hypocrite, John, endeavored still more closely than before to fetter the people, it was the Archbishop of Canterbury and the bishops of England that resisted his power. At the field of Runnymede they wrung from

his reluctant hand the Magna Charta, which is regarded as the English constitution, but which is only a part of what the people enjoyed under the laws of Alfred.

These are the men who have been stigmatized as proud, as haughty, as ambitious. They were ambitious—just as your Hancocks were ambitious—just as your Warrens were ambitious—just as your Montgomerys were ambitious—just as those other men were ambitious who pledged their lives, their fortunes, and their sacred honor, to the support of that declaration whose successful maintenance wrested from the monarch of England the political rights which we now enjoy. But the historians of England, even while the word of liberty was upon their lips, filled their pages with misrepresentations of the principles of the Catholic prelates and calumnies upon their characters. Why was this? Because the Catholic religion was prescribed law. Hence it is that the pages of history have been garbled and distorted by the British historian, because the Catholic prelates resisted to the utmost the unjust encroachments of the British kings. The history of the American colonies, before they became an independent nation, more especially during the earlier years of their settlement, exhibits marked indications of the same spirit of intolerance towards the Catholic religion; and this, too, on the part of those who themselves fled to this continent as a refuge from religious persecution. In this we find the explanation why, for generation after generation, the same charges against Catholicism have been made; because the same dynasties have been set up, and its opposition has been the same to all. But if we endeavor to correct this source of evil, if we say: "Let history be divested of its prejudices and misrepresentations; let education be separated from sectarianism; let the truth alone be recorded and taught"—then are we told—we have been told—that we are turbulent and discontented. Even in this country attempts have been made to divide the republic on account of religious differences; but, thank heaven! the public mind is becoming more and more enlightened on this point,

and men are beginning to perceive that the greatest curse which could befall our country, would be the encouragement of any spirit of sectarian persecution. Let us beseech God, in His infinite mercy to avert from us all such a spirit of uncharitableness and unkindness. Before heaven, let us always avoid it. Let us be a band of brothers as to our common rights; as to our religious differences, let us bury them. Would to God that we may always act in this manner—that we may overcome the spirit of our nature and imbibe only the spirit of Christian charity. Oh! that we all may, with reference to our opponents, enter into the blessed spirit of that prayer: "Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do." Let us, then, endeavor with all our might to reduce these principles to practice, and in the discharge of our duty to the republic, regard it as a duty to God. Thus shall we achieve the great object of our Constitution; thus shall we obtain of God His blessing. If we are assailed from abroad, let us join together as a band of brothers to repel the assault. Thus shall peace, and happiness, and prosperity reign among us; thus shall we be contented with the things and the liberty given to us in this transitory scene, having our eyes fixed on the better things and the true liberty, promised to us in heaven, as the children of God.

THE REPUBLIC IN DANGER.[1]

I.

It is some time since I called public attention to an essay which appeared in the *Christian Advocate*, denying the fact of St. Peter having been at Rome. That periodical work was under the management of the Rev. Dr. Green, a Presbyterian minister of Philadelphia; and the appearance of the essay, together with the comments by which it was accompanied, were intended to insinuate that the claims made by the Roman Catholic Church were unfounded.[2] I have been informed by several respectable persons who differ from me in religious belief, that the evidence which I then hastily collected was abundantly sufficient to remove every shadow of doubt, if any was entertained, that the glorious Apostle was in Rome, was bishop of that city, and died there. The Rev. Dr. Green, has so far as I can discover, never made any retraction, nor corrected the error into which he contributed to lead his readers, nor exhibited the least symptom of regret for the part which he and his clerical brother played upon that occasion.

I have since then marked with a greater degree of attention the proceedings of the body to which this minis-

[1] This series of letters was occasioned, as the short note accompanying the extract from the *Southern Religious Telegraph*, which is prefixed to it, shows, by the denunciations made against Catholics, in this and similar publications, as the enemies of civil freedom. It contains a brief history of the origin, progress and commencing decline of the systematic effort to crush the rights and liberties of the Catholic communion, by classing its members with criminals against the State; an analysis of the theory of the federal government of the United States, in its relation to moral and religious questions, in which the essential difference betw en it and the European polity of the Middle Ages is pointed out; a defence of the Catholics of the United States against the accusation of hostility to its civil institutions; and a delineation of the course of policy which the party calling itself "Evangelical," would seek to carry out, by means of a "Christian party in politics." The letters were first published in the *United States Catholic Miscellany*, numbers 4-15, vol. xi for 1831, and afterwards republished in a pamphlet.

[2] See article "St. Peter's Roman Episcopate," vol. i.

ter belongs. Not only has it continued through a number of its presses to vilify and to misrepresent Roman Catholics, but it has by some of its publications endeavored to excite against them the suspicions and the hatred of all friends of civil and religious liberty. Not only has it sought, by means of associations formed under its auspices and directed by its influence, to secure for itself a wide-spread domination through the land; but it has collected vast sums of money, and prepared to organize a host of zealots to sweep from the valley of the Mississippi the religion of the survivor of that noble assembly that created the liberty which it enjoys. Not content with the possession of the vast power which it at present holds, it looks forward to the securing of a future monopoly, of a more extensive and absorbing nature, and hesitates not in the triumph of its calculations to anticipate what it considers the inevitable arrival of the millennium of its glory, when the youth that it now trains up shall with its principles assert their bloodless victory at the ballot boxes. Yet impatient of the delay and desirous of hastening the happy epoch, it makes unceasing efforts, at one moment to procure from Congress a fatal precedent in even one act of what it styles Christian legislation; and at another, to render Catholics more odious to their fellow-citizens or more suspected of being dangerous to the republic. Let it succeed in either way, and a passage will have been opened, through which it may pour the stream of its power, sweeping away the obstacles that retard, widening and deepening the channel by the impetuosity of its current, until, like so many new feeders, law gradually added to law shall have caused Church after Church to disappear; and if then an effort should be made to stop the torrent, if the dam itself should not be swept away, the inundation would spread over the face of the land and overwhelm the inhabitants.

I am not the only one who has beheld this; I am but one out of millions to whom it was visible; and, though silent until now upon the subject, I have heard and the

public has heard the facts proclaimed by very many; and I submit to Americans whether the assertions which I make are not sustained, amongst others, by the article entitled "The Republic in Danger," which has been published in the *Southern Religious Telegraph*, in the city of Richmond, in Virginia, and reprinted in the *Catholic Miscellany*.

The body to which I thus allude is not the Presbyterian Church. There are a large number of the members of that Church who have too much love of civil and religous liberty, too much affection for their fellow-citizens, and too deep a sense of common honesty to belong to the association. Nor is it confined to the Presbyterian denomination, though a number of the Presbyterian presses are the chief instruments for disseminating its principles: it embraces a vast multitude of other sects of various religious sentiments and forms of government. It is composed of the elect, the more sanctified and perfect of the land, as they esteem themselves; who leagued together in a holy covenant, to wage a war of extermination against infidels and Roman Catholics, are urged by as pythonic a spirit against unbelievers and "the beast," as their predecessors in Europe were against the Turk and the Pope, and frequently with the Turk against the Holy Father.

I consider then the production which I now undertake to review, not as a document of any one of the Churches of our country, but as publishing the well-known sentiments of a large body diffused through several of the Churches and spread through all the States. Whatever the other objects of this body may be, I shall not now undertake to develop; but shall confine myself at present to showing that its treatment of Roman Catholics is not only uncharitable and unjust, but is manifestly at variance with the spirit of our political institutions.

I shall quote from their own version of the Scriptures the description given by St. Paul of charity, in the thirteenth chapter of his first epistle to the Corinthians: "Charity suffereth long, and is kind; charity envieth not; charity

vaunteth not herself, is not puffed up, doth not behave herself unseemingly, seeketh not her own, is not easily provoked, thinketh no evil, rejoiceth not in iniquity, but rejoiceth in the truth; beareth all things, believeth all things, hopeth all things, and endureth all things."

Whoever reads their productions, whether they be the reports of Bible distributions, of tract supplyings, of missions abroad or at home, of temperance societies, of revivals, or "Sabbath" observance societies, or whatever else that belongs to the associated body, will necessarily often meet with mention of Roman Catholics, and one of the leading exhibitions is the vulgar and unkind substitution of nicknames for the appellation by which this body is and has been known throughout the world. Great Britain, it is true, took the lead in this lowest species of offensive, unkind, unseemly, insulting, and therefore uncharitable scurrility; not indeed in point of time or of virulence, but of legalized and common phraseology. Luther previously had bestowed the appellation of Antichrist upon the Pope for the first time in 1520; designated him as the Roman homicide, and threatened "that the name of the Pope should be taken from beneath the heavens:" he called him "a wolf possessed by an evil spirit." On a subsequent occasion he declared that "the Pope was so full of devils, that he spit them and blew them from his nose."

In his subsequent writings he uses nicknames where he can, and would not vouchsafe to the adherents of the ancient Church any name but that of Papists. I do not now enter upon the question of his doctrine or his mission, but I assert, that be the errors of those whom we oppose what they may, the bestowal of a nickname is an evidence of the want of common courtesy; kindness and charity are violated by the persons who continued to use the term, especially in the spirit which gave it origin. It was in the same spirit that Luther in 1534 called Henry VIII .of England, "a fool," "an idiot," "the most brutal of swine and asses." It was in the same spirit that when he came forth, in 1521, from his Patmos, as he called

the place of his retreat, he declared in his sermon in the church at Wittemberg: "It was the word, whilst I slept quietly and drank my beer with my dear Melancthon and Amsdorf, that gave the Papacy such a shock;" and that, when he threatened to re-establish the Mass, he asks his associates: "What hurt will the Popish Mass do you?" It was in this spirit that he styled Rome, Babylon, the Pope, the man of sin, the beast, etc., and the Church, the whore of Babylon, etc. Indeed, he left scarcely room to any succeeding imagination to extend the nicknomenclature.

Yet, though to him is due the invention, Great Britain has the discredit of introducing this vocabulary into her public legislation, and her high authority made that fashionable which in its origin and its essence was vulgar, unseemly and uncharitable. The object was to express contempt, which is not only unkind but is never sought after, save by those who are envious, vaunting, or puffed up. It contains no argument, but betrays a symptom of its absence; for it is generally observed that he who is anxious to fasten a nickname upon his adversary, seldom makes the effort until he has failed in adducing a reason. The works of the principal English Protestant divines will go down to other days, lamentable monuments of the fact, that a perverse fashion is able to contaminate with rude and uncharitable vulgarity minds of the first order and of the best education. The statute book has, however, ceased to be the vehicle of scurrility, not only in Great Britain, but in the United States. During upwards of thirty years the calm and steady process of critical investigation has continued to rub away the stains which the reckless spirit of a bad and disastrous age has fastened upon those who were exhibited as too contemptible for association, too wicked for endurance, though not too poor to be victims of rapacity; for such was the state to which the Catholic subjects of the British crown were reduced by the potent spell of nicknames and persevering audacity of unrestrained calumny. The plots with which they were charged are now acknowledged by the highest authorities

to have been fictions. The credit of the Rev. Titus Oates and the inscription of the London pillar have vanished forever. Great Britain no longer enacts laws to prevent the growth of Popery, but to emancipate Roman Catholics; she no longer confiscates the property of Papists, neither does she adjudge Romish ecclesiastics to be felons, nor will her polished society permit the feelings of their associates to be wounded by the vulgar phraseology, to perpetuate and to revive which an effort however is made by the over righteous; who eaten up with the zeal which devours them, lament the relaxation of the penal code and the prospect of parliamentary reform; and they shed tears for the abominations of negro slavery, and muster their forces to obtain for that degenerate race the sympathy which they denied to those with whom they had a more intimate relation. Whilst they bewail the destitution of the negro in Jamaica, they vociferate their abuse of the Irish Papists, and exhibit a genuine specimen of the spirit with which they are possessed, in preventing the collection of funds for the relief of the starving Catholic population of Ireland, because the forlorn beings will not forego the convictions of their consciences nor purchase temporary relief by abominable hypocrisy. These are the men who, at the other side of the Atlantic, would by the irritation of nicknames add rancor to the excessive bitterness of sectarian animosity.

The colonies of Great Britain necessarily partook of the spirit of the mother country. Hence in the act of 1696–7 "for making aliens free of this part of the province (Carolina), and for granting liberty of conscience to all Protestants," we read in the enacting part: "That all Christians which now are, or hereafter may be, in the province (Papists only excepted), shall enjoy the full, free and undisturbed liberty of their consciences," etc. It was the same in the other provinces at this period, so far as I can ascertain; and so far as the degradation of a nickname could be inflicted, it was legally and unsparingly bestowed. It will not perhaps be amiss in this place to

contrast the early legislation of what previous to that period was a Catholic colony, with the legislative practice which I thus impeach.

In March, 1638, chap. i, of the laws which the freemen of Maryland passed, the first part ordained "that the holy Church (Roman Catholic) within this province shall have all her rights and liberties." In the same session, in "a bill for the liberties of the people," the principle was recognized which constituted the uniform rule of the Catholic legislature of that province, viz: "All Christian inhabitants (slaves excepted) to have and enjoy such rights, liberties, immunities, privileges and free customs within this province, as any natural born subject of England hath or ought to have or enjoy in the realm of England by force or virtue of the common law or statute law of England." Bill 19, "an act for peopling the province," describes the settlers to be recognized only by the name of Christians. In 1640, the act for Church liberties was passed, which enacts that "holy Church within this province shall have and enjoy all her rights, liberties and franchises, wholly and without blemish." A number of Protestants having subsequently come into the province and made settlements, religious disputes began, and offensive language became annoying; the assembly of April, 1649, passed "an act concerning religion," the 3d section of which enacts that "persons reproaching any other within the province by the name or denomination of Heretic, Schismatic, Idolater, Puritan, Independent, Presbyterian, Papist-priest, Jesuit, Jesuited-Papist, Lutheran, Calvinist, Anabaptist, Brownist, Antinomian, Barrowist, Round-head Separatist, or any other name or term, in a reproachful manner, relating to any matter of religion, should forfeit ten shillings sterling for each offence; one-half to the person reproached, the other half to the lord proprietor: or in default of payment, to be publicly whipped, and to suffer imprisonment without bail or main-prize, until the offender shall satisfy the party reproached, by asking of him or her respectively forgiveness, publicly, for such an offence, before

the chief officer or magistrate of the town or place where the offence shall be given."

Thus, whilst the Roman Catholics vindicated the rights and liberties of their Church, they not only laid the foundations of our religious liberty at this side of the Atlantic, but they gave equal protection to the feelings of their Protestant brethren as they claimed for their own. It is in the fifth section of this act, that the wise and just provision is contained, which gave Catholic Maryland the glorious prerogative of being the mother of religious liberty in America.

The first exhibition of legal vulgarity that we find in the laws of Maryland is in the fourth of the acts passed at a general assembly held at Patuxent, on the 20th of October, 1654, by commission from his highness the lord protector, Cromwell. But the reader will observe the manner in which every innovation is palpable, for this manifestly indicates its spirit by substituting the new appellation which was not commonly known, but was invented to insult and to degrade, for the old name which, time out of mind, had designated the body which it was intended to vilify and to injure. This was also "an act concerning religion," and it provided: "That none who professed and exercised the Popish (commonly called the Roman Catholic) religion, could be protected in this province by the laws of England formerly established and not yet repealed;" "that such as profess faith in God by Jesus Christ, though differing in judgment from the doctrine, worship, or discipline publicly held forth, should not be restrained from but be protected in the profession of their faith and exercise of their religion, . . . provided such liberty should not be construed as extending to Popery," etc. And this was not opposed by the Protestant Episcopalians, who were received when they sought hospitality in Maryland from the Catholics, not being able to have a resting place with the Puritans of New England; but it was chiefly enacted by the Puritans, who feeling the domination of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the old dominion,

were hospitably received and warmed in the bosom of this Catholic colony of Maryland. This law ceased to operate in 1658, and the old law of 1649 was gradually restored to execution and was made perpetual in 1676. But on the 23d of August, 1689, a convention met at St. Mary's "by virtue of letters missive from the several commanders, officers and gentlemen associated in arms, for the defence of the Protestant religion and asserting the title of William and Mary." Now this association had not the shadow of a pretext for charging their Catholic brethren with any, even an unkind expression, much less with any attempt to injure them, because of their religion; they were equally protected, represented and representatives, as the Catholics; they had offices in more than their ratio of numbers: but now they assumed a monopoly, and Maryland not only saw the Catholics deprived of power, but placed under the operation of the English code of insult and persecution. It was therefore true that at the period of the Carolina act, 1696, the Catholics were equally insulted in the other provinces. Even Pennsylvania in this year, 1696, in the act of October 26, went no farther to secure religious liberty, than to enact that persons who made affirmation, that is, Quakers, should be considered equally qualified as if they had sworn to the declaration of the first William and Mary, exempting their majesty's Protestant subjects dissenting from the Church of England from the penalties of certain laws: and under the laws in force at that period, the nicknames were in full vigor against the feelings of Roman Catholics, and Catholics were liable to the penalties. But Maryland, of all other provinces, was the most insulting, as she was the specially ungrateful.

I shall adduce only one instance as an example. In the year 1715 she passed a law, of which the following is the title: "An act, laying an imposition on negroes, and on several sorts of liquors imported, and also on Irish servants, to prevent importing too great a number of Irish Papists into this province." The naval officer was

to execute this law. In 1717, the general assembly of Maryland again placed the negroes and Irish Papists on a level, and deeming it expedient to double the tax on the latter, did the same for their associates, lest there should be any jealousy: "An act for laying an additional duty of twenty shillings current money, per poll, on all Irish servants, being Papists, to prevent the growth of Popery, by the importation of too great a number of them into this province: and also an additional duty of twenty shillings current money, per poll, on all negroes, for raising a fund, for the use of public schools within the several counties of this province." For the better discovery of the Papist, section 2 empowers and requires the naval officer to tender the oaths appointed by the act of assembly, as also the abjuration and the test, to every Irish servant except children under fourteen years of age.

Thus habituated to the degradation of the members of our Church, the feelings of the community became torpid upon the subject; and the man who would go to death itself rather than suffer a contumelious word or the application of an epithet of contempt to himself, his party, or his Church, expected that a Catholic should quietly submit to the load of nicknames, which, with equal want of taste, of manners, and of charity, were now made the familiar language of laws and of society in his regard.

It is true, there is an objection of which we are not altogether unmindful; one imposed upon us by Him, who, for our sakes, underwent not only mockery and contumely, but even death. By that obligation we should submit; and some of us have rejoiced to be thought worthy of contumely for His sake; and there is more Christian fortitude evinced by the coercion of our feelings, than there is Christian charity in assailing them. We may, therefore, upon this score, profit by the insolence of which I complain.

As in Great Britain, so in America, the legislative bodies have grown too refined for this, formerly, fashionable vulgarity. Well-informed gentlemen have also learned

to speak and to write with becoming dignity and in appropriate language; but, unfortunately, when we cast our eyes around, and institute a general comparison, we must candidly avow, that in this respect we are as far behind Great Britain as she is behind the continent of Europe in this species of politeness.

II.

I have endeavored to show the origin of the nicknames, Antichrist, Papist, Beast, Babylon, Romanist, Romish, Popish, Scarlet Whore, etc., applied to the Pope, to Roman Catholics, and to the Catholic Church. I have been, perhaps, somewhat prolix in the exhibition of facts to enable Americans to solve the apparent difficulty, how well-educated gentlemen could be degraded into vulgarity; and in doing this, I have brought to view a melancholy picture; its colors were bold and flaming, and its shades were very dark; it was no common spectacle. Americans have seen the Irish Catholic, upon his arrival in America, legally degraded to the level of the negro slave; and this in a province where, when all around, in every other settlement of this country, the most heartless bigotry held unrestricted sway, Catholics, under the spiritual administration of Jesuits, first kindled at the fire of Christian charity that torch of religious freedom which was subsequently quenched in their own tears. Allow me the poor but the gratifying consolation of cherishing, with fondness that increases with my years, the memory of those good Catholic freemen of Maryland, who erected for the American citizens of after times that beacon light, which, though extinguished by others, yet, after the days of captivity had passed away, blazed forth upon the first sacrifices having been offered upon the altar of liberty, as did that sacred flame which the priests of Israel hid upon their going to Babylon, but which was miraculously reproduced in the days of Nehemias. Yes! the associates may sneer at me, for my "man-worship," if they will; they may cry, "to

the law and the testimony," whose meaning they mistake; they may appear zealous for the honor of that God by whose charity and whose justice those good men, whose memory I hold in benediction, were led; they may proclaim me an idolater, but, in this respect, I feel in their regard what an old Irish Catholic chieftain expressed even after a field of disaster, where his son had fallen in the glorious discharge of a noble duty: "I would not give my dead son for all the living heroes they possess." No! That single clause of the law which they enacted to prohibit nicknames in 1649, is of more value, in my estimation, than if all the mail stages in the Union should be obliged to stop, from midnight on Saturday to midnight on Sunday; than if every man, woman, and child was compelled, on the Lord's day, to live on cold food, and all the mothers to be prohibited from kissing their children on the "Sabbath," as it is called. Excuse me for this ebullition of feeling, into the restraint of which I have not yet been subdued.

The changes in religion, which I cannot be expected to call a Reformation, did not stop exactly at that point which they who made the first alterations thought proper to prescribe. The principles of the Catholic Church are, that faith is the belief of what God has taught; that all men are bound to believe His revelation; that it was perfected by Jesus Christ; that this divine Saviour commissioned His Apostles and those whom they should associate to their body and the regular successors in that tribunal, to testify those doctrines to the world; and that under His protection, though a few individuals might err, the vast majority of this tribunal will always and infallibly testify that which came down from the beginning; and that the doctrine of Christ was to be ascertained by the testimony of this tribunal and not by the conjectures of individuals. When they who, with Luther, separated from the great body and opposed the tribunal, undertook to judge, each for himself, the meaning of the sacred volume, they destroyed all claim of authority in any

tribunal, to require of any individual submission to its testimony or to learn from it. All their members claimed to be each taught of God. Vast numbers claimed the privilege of divine inspiration; and whilst, with one accord, they all proclaimed that no assembly was infallibly correct in the interpretation of the sacred volume, nor even in ascertaining what books were inspired by the Holy Ghost, yet each individual spoke and acted as if he was himself infallible. The Church of England having separated from the Catholic Church, which she accused of error, could claim no higher privilege for herself; and she felt exceedingly awkward and ridiculous in declaring that they who, imitating her own example, differed from her in doctrine and separated from her, were heretics. Every reasonable person must instantly perceive that it would be, in this state of things, palpably absurd to expect unity of doctrine; or for any person to undertake, upon those principles, to determine who was right or who was wrong. Every man gave his opinion as to what Christ taught, but no one could be certain that his opinion was the doctrine of the Apostles; because there was scarcely a doctrine upon which all were agreed. The Bible was for them, not a book of peace and reconciliation, but was an occasion of dispute and discord. Notwithstanding the dictation of Luther, the divisions of the continental Protestants daily multiplied. And in spite of the power of the British government, the Church of England found herself assailed by a more restless and a more worrying foe than the Papists, by the Reformers of the Reformation. I shall not enter into their history; my object is merely to continue the history of nicknames, and to discover the spirit which has preserved them.

The various divisions of Presbyterians and Independents, who desired to purify the Church of England from what they called the dregs of Popery, now turned the weapons of that unfortunate Church against herself. She had abused Papists, and they called her members Papists in disguise. All that the Church of England had said

of Romanists and the beast, the Puritans gave back to herself, with such usury as would have contented the most demure and sober-minded and avaricious money-lender. Thus, in their mutual scurrility, there was one neutral ground on which they met, one postulate was fully conceded by each to the other, viz.: That no abuse could be too bad for the Papists; and that the highest offence which either could give to the other would be, to assert that it bore some mark of the beast. So that, even in their mutual conflicts, the Roman Catholic Church was the greatest sufferer; and men became accustomed to consider the propriety of our degradation as perfectly unquestionable. Allow me, however disgusting they may be, to give a few specimens of the manner in which the Puritans made their onslaught.

Bishop Bancroft gives us the following specimen of the manner in which the non-conformists assailed the English Protestant Church: "Christ's religion is fondly patched with the Pope's; the communion book is an imperfect book, culled and picked out of that Romish dunghill, the Portyse and Mass Book. The sacraments are wickedly mangled and profaned; they eat not the Lord's Supper, but play a pageant of their own to blind the people; their pomps, rites, laws and traditions are anti-Christian, carnal, beggarly Popish fooleries, Romish relics and rags of Antichrist, dregs and remnants of transformed Popery; Pharisaical outward faces and vizzards, remnants of Romish Antichrist, a cursed leaven of a cursed blasphemous priesthood, known liveries of Antichrist; cursed patches of Popery and idolatry, they are worse than lousie."[1]

One of their orators declaiming before the parliament on September 24, 1656, praising God for delivering them from the Protestant Episcopal Church of England, described the observances of that species of Protestants: "Altar genuflexions, cringings, with crossings, and all that Popish trash and trumpery"—"the removal of these insupportable burdens countervailed for the blood and treasure shed and spent in the late distractions." The following curious

[1] "Dangerous Positions," b. 2, c. 9.

scrap exhibits the spirit in which the assault was made upon the Church of England under the name of the Church of Rome. It is from a burlesque upon the Catechism of the English Protestant Church. "*Ques.*—What is your name? *Ans.*—Cavalier. *Ques.*—Who gave you that name? *Ans.*—My seducers and deceivers in my innocence, wherein I was made a member of the Church of Rome, and consequently a limb of Antichrist, an enemy to all godliness, a child of the devil, an inheriter of the kingdom of darkness, amongst the infernal spirits that rule in the air of this terrestrial globe."[1]

Nalson gives us the following: "Cardinals, patriarchs, primates, metropolitans, archbishops, bishops, deans and innumerable such vermin, a monster of which monstrous body our (Euglish Protestant) hierarchy is . . . never came from God—but rather from the Pope and the devil; 'Diabolus cacavit illos.'"[2]

A compound of "holy" writers, whose initials gave the word "smectymnius," thus describe the English Protestant Church: "This many-headed monster is the beast against which we fight in the covenant. Thy mother, Papacy, shall be made childless amongst harlots."

In Case's sermon, at Milk street, September 30, 1643, the clergy of the Protestant Church of England are called "swearing, drunken, unclean priests, that taught nothing but rebellion in Israel, and caused the people to abominate the sacrifice of the Lord. Arminian, Popish, idolatrous, vile wretches, such as, had Job been alive, he would not have set with the dogs of his flock."

Vicar calls them "a stinking heap of atheistical Roman rubbish, a rotten rabble of slanderous priests, and spurious bastard sons of Belial, who by their affected ignorance and laziness, by their most abominable lives and conversation, had made the Lord's ordinance to be even abhorred by the people."[3]

In 1720, a Church of England Protestant, complaining of the violent abuse of the clergy of that Church, by those

[1] "Cavalier's Catechism," p. 25.
[2] "Collections," v. 1, p. 499.
[3] "Jehovah Jerah."

Puritans who charged them with ignorance, debauchery, and villainy, after mentioning those charges, adds: "But this the clergy can forgive, provided their enemies would forbear to charge them with vices of Popery, or a reconciliation with the Church of Rome. They will always go on steadily to oppose Popery, though they should be traduced as favorers of it, by those very Presbyterians, who in the day of distress were busy in breaking down those fences by which alone it was to be kept out." This writer in another place abuses the Presbyterians for being so exceedingly wicked as not to hate Popery; he tells them that in the reign of James II, "the Dissenters, (to their eternal shame and conviction be it spoken,) paid all their addresses and compliments to the government, and accepted many insinuating favors from it, which the Church of England-men refused upon principles of conscience. But these good men notwithstanding their pretended stiffness against Popery at other times, could then comply with anything, if they could but lessen the esteem and authority of the Church; and come Popery or whatever else, were very easy and caressed themselves; and if our establishment had been borne down, it is certain that nothing but Popery could possibly have been established in the room; for fanaticism is so wild and so untractable a thing, that it admits of no settlement upon any principles."

It is then a plain fact, that the various religious sects that worried each other in England and in Scotland during the seventeenth century, united in abusing and censuring the Roman Catholic Church, as the most vile and loathsome and dangerous and wicked and pestilential of all institutions; and that when either desired to render the other obnoxious, it had recourse to what it considered the most easy and effectual mode of success, a charge of affection to what it called Popery. The Church of England and the Independents each, indeed, proved with melancholy evidence the utter want of foundation for such imputations; because each of them contended with the other in the enactment of barbarous laws and the invention of

degrading epithets, and the expressions of scorn, of hatred, and of contempt. Thus the religion of the great bulk of the civilized world was made an object of contumely to those contending factions and to all to whom their influence extended. The New England colonies were principally settled by the Puritans, those of Virginia by the members of the law-Church, or English Protestant Episcopalians. Each division brought with it across the Atlantic the same spirit and the same language that it had in the land whence it came; and thus this barbarous and degrading nomenclature was diffused through the colonies. We have seen the ineffectual effort of the Catholics to preserve at least one spot free from the domination of vulgarity and unprofaned by the spirit of persecution. We have seen the power of that Catholic colony broken down, and the professors of that religion degraded to the level of the negro slave.

France and Spain, two great and powerful nations, had colonies to the north and to the south; they were also approaching upon the west: these colonies were Catholic, and the policy of Great Britain urged her to increase the hatred and the contempt for their religion, the better to guard against the alienation of her own colonies, by means of any combination with them. Thus was there upon the ground which we now occupy a population trained up by such circumstances into the strongest prejudices against the Catholic Church and without any mode whatever of correcting its serious mistakes. Europe was differently circumstanced; Catholics were there seen, and known, and observed. What must have been the situation of the American colonist, when the usual impression upon the mind of John Bull was, that the Pope really was not a man like his fellows, that he was some undefined kind of strange and dangerous animal? I know an excellent priest, who within a very short time has, to my astonishment, convinced me that aged and respectable persons in the interior of Virginia have seriously examined his head, at his own request, to be satisfied that a Popish priest

had not small horns. I have evidence of nearly a similar description in North Carolina. The familiar and ordinary phraseology of many in our States respecting our Church and its members is still the nicknomenclature; and though it has scarcely ever prevailed in the Protestant countries upon the continent of Europe, and been nearly exploded from the more polished parts of Great Britain, as well as disused in her legislative and judicial halls, and has also been discarded by our legislatures, still an effort is made by the party called Evangelical,[1] to continue it in Great Britain and Ireland; and persons otherwise well educated and not usually vulgar, unconsciously offend others and degrade themselves by its continuance here. Would to God, I could attribute to ignorance the habit of the editors of what are called our religious periodicals! They cannot avail themselves of this excuse. What then are we to think of the kind disposition, the Christian humility, the affability, the politeness, the courtesy, the charity, and the education of the editor of the *Southern Religious Telegraph*, who, in a short paragraph, gives us the following specimen of his claims to the character of a Christian gentleman?

"Popery has invaded the land." "Popery should be noticed in connection with intemperance." "It stupifies the conscience." "It blinds the understanding." "It makes the whole man a superstitious slave to the impositions of a crafty priesthood." "The beast numbers half a million of subjects in these United States." "Popery is a monster, forging chains to bind the people."

All this is gathered from one paragraph compiled by this writer in an essay put forward to instruct his readers how to offer their sacrifice of praise to God, on the anniversary of our independence, when every good man should endeavor to unite his fellow-citizens into one great harmonious band, to pay their grateful homage for a mighty and invaluable common benefit. Yes! it is in affecting to call upon his readers to make a due celebration of that day when twenty-four confederated republics rejoice in

[1] The same ridiculous and vulgar phraseology is also studiously affected by a certain section of the High Church party.

their freedom, that this man villifies with his foul obloquy the religion of the only venerated survivor[1] of that band of patriots who staked their lives, their fortunes, and their sacred honor to procure that boon for which he affects gratitude! Nor was this writer ignorant of this fact; nor was he unaware of the insulting nature of his language.

But suppose, against all the evidence which I possess, and I have much, that this man was not aware of the vile character of his phraseology, as above quoted. Surely no one will undertake to offer an excuse for his classing Roman Catholics with "drunkards," "profane swearers," "Sabbath breakers," "gamblers," "all votaries of dissipation whose example is pernicious to the community." And this he deliberately does in an article directing his compatriots how to celebrate the anniversary of our independence. Will he have the hardihood to assert that the Roman Catholic Church teaches men to become "drunkards," or sanctions intemperance? Can he perceive no efforts of that Church to take away utterly the abomination of profane swearing? Does she not by her own special regulations endeavor to bring to close practical operation the general command for the sanctification of one day in the week? Does she not lament and reprove the misconduct and negligence of such of her children as disregard or undervalue the divine ordinance? Does she not uniformly teach that "gambling" is not only injustice, but is closely allied to a variety of other crimes? In opposing "dissipation," is she not charged by her enemies with being too severe and harsh and superstitious in the recommendation and estimation of her works of self-denial and mortification? But the object was to fasten obloquy upon our body, to degrade us by nicknames, to mortify us by superciliousness, to estrange our fellow-citizens from us by contempt, and to deprive us of sympathy by daubing us with the coloring of the most despicable vices. There was however an ulterior object, to attain which this is only a preparation.

[1] Charles Carroll was alive at the time this was written.

Look through the publications of this confederacy, and it will at once be perceived that, as regards us, obloquy is their usual style, vulgar nicknames their usual appellations; and though our Church contains more than three-fifths of all Christendom in her communion, and has in her bosom at least that ratio of the talent, of the science, of the virtue, in a word, of all the good qualities of the civilized world; yet this combination of sections of sects affects to look down upon us as if we were beings carelessly flung into some lower region, upon whom these self-complacent, refined, and chosen spirits may occasionally cast a glance from their empyreal sphere. Yet fallen and degraded as I am, I shall venture humbly to suggest to these mighty ones in Isreal, that even for them it might prove beneficial to ponder occasionally upon that beautiful parable which commences at the ninth verse of chapter xviii of the Gospel according to St. Luke.

III.

I have brought down the history of the nicknames with sufficient detail and accuracy. It might be asked, what can prompt their infliction? I shall remark that in the base and ignoble portion of the human family, there exists a strong and almost uncontrollable propensity to inflict every species of pain upon its opponents, and that this melancholy exhibition is often adduced as one of the evidences of our fallen and degraded state. In those who are strong and powerful, that propensity finds its indulgence in the bodily pain or destruction which it inflicts. When the hatred is excessive, even this will not suffice; contumely is added to the injury; and hence, in that state of warfare which Homer describes between demi-savages, the hero is as powerful at wounding the soul with his tongue, as he is at wounding the body with his spear. The Indian loses half his revenge, if he cannot vent his malice in vituperation. But Christianity weeps over the victim that justice consigns to pain or to death, and even

soothes the soul of the malefactor with the balm of religion. When she authorizes the patriot to arm for the protection of his rights, she conjures him to recollect that his hand is strengthened for the ruin of a brother, and she charges him as he will answer for it at the tribunal of heaven, to strike no unnecessary blow and to seek for no revenge. She commands him whilst he will devotedly expose himself and powerfully vindicate justice, yet to remember mercy and to bathe with the tear of humanity that gash which public right compels for the unnerving of an unjust aggressor. Thus does she breathe the air of heaven through the field of carnage, and exhibit her chosen warriors, calm, intrepid, charitable, and dignified; the bulwark of their nation, the terror of its foes, able to repel the mighty, and then prepared to stoop to the solace of the fallen. From their mouths no ribaldry proceeds, for their hearts cherish no hatred.

But there are several who, unable to injure you, vent their impotent rage in abusive language; and that fury which, in the strong, was divided between the hand and the tongue, here issues altogether from the mouth; so that, as the being is powerless, it becomes ribald; and you may generally calculate its strength to be in the inverse ratio of its vulgar volubility. The veteran who has, during half a century, braved the varied perils of the field, the trench, the ambuscade, and the forlorn hope; who could, with truth, say, as the high-priest did to Abner, that he feared God, but had no other fear; this brave man, upon whose single word a countless host of undaunted heroes move, gladly resigns the inglorious palm of wounding words and vituperative phraseology, to a drab of the market, redolent of fish and bloated with her blustering. And well he may, for this is the appropriate field of the weak and the vulgar.

But is this harmless, save as the feelings are assailed and worried? No, there are other consequences which naturally follow, and which, perhaps, I would be warranted in asserting to have been intended. The common sense

of mankind has long since discovered, and the discovery now is admitted as an axiom: "That the public degradation of any individual or body by nicknames or continual imputations, however undeserved or groundless, is for the direction of public opinion fully equivalent to the demonstration of the charges which they intimate." Thus in Great Britain and her colonies, it was scarcely deemed necessary, even for the purpose of gratifying curiosity, to examine into the grounds of any of the vague and monstrous and frequently self-contradictory libels upon the Roman Catholics. The very name of Papist was synonymous with everything base, vile, and degrading; Popery was the most expressive word in the English language for all that was abominable; and, generally speaking, mad dog was not more fatal to the quadruped, than Romanist or Papist to the biped. I shall give one or two instances out of several which lie within my reach.

By the law of 1696, no Roman Catholic was permitted to profess his religion in Carolina; and this law was not repealed at the time of the Revolution. As far as I can discover, no clergyman of that Church ever entered Carolina previous to 1783; no one was stationed in it until several years later; until 1821 there was no station for a mission or a priest, in South Carolina, outside the city of Charleston. In 1790, there was considerable difficulty in obtaining the means of very poor support for one priest in this city.

With those facts before us, I would ask, what was the number of Catholics in the State in 1774 and in 1775? I believe that scarcely ten could be discovered. We shall find that there were two, and their history is not altogether uninteresting.

In 1774, Judge Drayton informs us that about the month of August, news arrived in Charlestown, (now Charleston,) that an act had been passed in the British parliament, extending the limits of the government of Quebec, and amongst other things "establishing therein the Roman Catholic religion." He should rather have said,

permitting the people to follow the Catholic religion, which they always professed, and establishing the Protestant as the government religion. Almost every one of the colonies complained loudly of this act of toleration; and there was scarcely one of them that did not mark it down as a tyrannical assault by the British king upon their Protestant rights and liberties, and such as was likely to bring down the curse of God upon him. I shall here allow Judge Drayton to describe the feelings of the former inhabitants of that city in which I write: "These acts sunk deep into the minds of the people, as they saw the crown now made despotic, and the Romish Church established in a part of America. Men openly said, George III had broken his coronation oath; as well as the solemn contract, under which he received his title to the crown. They said, the Revolution of 1688 was effected upon a principle of rescuing the English dominions from the errors and tyranny of the Romish Church. That for this effect, William, Prince of Orange, had been placed on the British throne; and after him the ancestor, from whom George III derived his royal titles; and that he was bound by the same conditions. Under these reflections, the meeting of the general assembly now approached, and the representatives with impatience wished for an opportunity of declaring in a legislative manner their sentiments respecting the late obnoxious acts of parliament."[1]

Would to God that I could acquit the Congress of 1774 of acts upon this subject, which should be effaced by my tears, if shedding them in the bitterness of my heart could blot the record from their journals! But enough of this. I must subdue the feeling which tempts me to place in contrast the declarations made by that body to the Protestants of what are now our republics, and those made by them to the Catholics of Quebec. Was I previously ignorant of the want of value in political professions, this would be an abundant lesson. Let it rest. It suffices for my present purpose to show that nicknames and groundless imputations had destroyed the fair fame of Catholics

[1] "Memoirs," vol. 1, p. 136.

in this part of America. Judge Drayton gives us another instance, which shows the force of association. The occurrence took place in April, 1775.

"With all these occurrences, men's minds had become agitated; and it was deemed proper to bring forth something calculated to arrest the public attention, to throw odium on the British administration, to put down the crown-officers in the province, and to invigorate the ardor of the people. And nothing was deemed more likely to effect the same than some public exhibition, which might speak to the sight and senses of the multitude. For this purpose, effigies were brought forward—supposed to be by the authority or connivance of the secret committee. They were executed under the direction of Mr. Poyas, in the Masonic lodge-room, in Lodge Alley; and represented the Pope, Lord Grenville, Lord North, and the devil. They were placed on the top of a frame, capable of containing one or two persons within it, and the frame was covered over with thick canvass, so that those within could not be distinguished. In the front of the frame, on the top, the Pope was seated in a chair of state, in his pontifical dress; and at a distance immediately behind him, the devil was placed in a standing position, holding a barbed dart in his right hand; between the Pope and the devil on each side, Lords Grenville and North were stationed. Thus finished, the frame and effigies were fixed on four wheels; and early in the morning, this uncommon spectacle was stationed between the Market[1] and St. Michael's church, in Broad Street, to the gaze of the citizens. Many were the surmises respecting it; but at length, by its evolutions, it soon began to explain the purposes for which it was constructed; for no sooner did any of the crown-officers, placemen, counsellors, or persons known to be disaffected to the common cause, pass by, than the Pope immediately bowed with proportioned respect to them; and the devil, at the same moment, striking his dart at the head of the Pope, convulsed the populace with bursts of laughter.

[1] The Beef Market was then where the elegant building of the City Hall is at present.

While, on the other hand, the immovable effigies of Lords Grenville and North, appearing like attendants on the Pope, or criminals, moved the people with sentiments of disgust and contempt against them and the whole British administration, for the many oppressive acts which they had been instrumental in procuring to be passed through both houses of parliament. In this manner, the machine was exposed, after which it was paraded through the town the whole day by the mob; and in the evening they carried it beyond the town, where, surrounding it with tar barrels, the whole was committed to the flames. Nor did the idea or influence of the thing end here; for boys forsook their customary sports to make models like it, with which, having amused themselves and roused their youthful spirits into a detestation of oppression, they also committed them to the flames. And many of those very boys supported, with their services and blood, the rights and liberties of their country.

"On this occasion, Edward Weyman, a member of the secret committee of five, was one of the persons within the machine, who directed the operation of the machinery; and to his knowledge of the men and characters he had to deal with, the public were indebted, no doubt, for the significant bows of respect which the Pope so appropriately paid to all those who preferred taxation and royalty to liberty and social happiness. Mr. Weyman being so engaged in the plot, naturally associates the secret committee with him in the scheme; as it has been already stated, that when that committee was originated, Mr. Weyman was expressly nominated as one of them, on account of the active and confidential services he would render."[1]

At this period, the British ministers would incur the penalties of a *præmunire*, or be put out of the protection of the law, if they should hold any communication with the Pope; the British administration persecuted Roman Catholics with the utmost virulence; yet they are here brought together, as the most likely way of throwing

[1] "Memoirs," vol. 1, p. 226.

odium upon the British ministry; they are made the sport of schoolboys and companions of the devil. We should feel exceedingly grateful to Messrs. Weyman and Poyas and to the other members of the secret committee, for this appropriate compliment.

When the members of any body are thus held up to public scorn and detestation, it is an easy and a natural transition to maltreat them with impunity; especially in a community where they are exceedingly few in number, and have neither wealth, power, nor friends. Such was the case of the few unfortunate Catholics, who, in defiance of the law, skulked in some of the obscure purlieus of Charleston, where this exhibition took place. Without a priest, without an altar, without property, without political existence, hated and despised in Carolina, persecuted by Great Britain, who could imagine it possible that two or three insignificant outcasts of this description could even be suspected of exposing themselves openly to the vengeance of a people? Who could imagine the possibility of their openly assailing with arms and threatening with death the patriotic Protestants of the city? Who could swallow the assertion, that at such a time, and after such an exhibition, there should be danger of their escaping through the partiality of the judicial tribunals? Yet there were in this city men who, having discovered two Roman Catholics, set up these pretexts as a cover for the ill-treatment they were doomed to undergo.

"The following petition[1] was transferred over to the secret committee, who acted upon it:

"To the honorable members of the committee of correspondence, at Charlestown, the humble petition of Michael Hubart, showeth:

"That upon the 2d day of June, your petitioner being in the house of Thomas Nicoll, in King street, a certain James Dealey came in, and told there was good news come to town. Being asked what was it, he answered that a number of arms was sent over to be distributed amongst the negroes, Roman Catholics and Indians. Upon

[1] Drayton's "Memoirs," vol. 1, pp. 300-2.

which your petitioner replied he thought it was very bad news that Roman Catholics and savages should be permitted to join and massacre Christians. Upon which Dealey struck his breast and swore 'he was a Roman Catholic, and that he had arms and would get arms and use them as he pleased.' Your petitioner went home to his house, and shortly after came in said Dealey and a certain Laughlin Martin and A—— Reed. After sitting down a little, Laughlin Martin arose and said: 'So, Mr. Hubart, you'll not allow Roman Catholics to carry guns?' Your petitioner answered that his circumstances were too small to forbid any party or sect to carry arms. Martin then damned your petitioner for a false-faced villain; and declared he would believe Dealey sooner than me; at same time ordered said Dealey to drag your petitioner out of the house and pull him to pieces. At the same time standing with a drawn cutteau in his hand, swearing if he did not, that he (Martin) would have blood himself. Dealey then dragged your petitioner into a shop in front of the house, holding him by the throat until released by the aforesaid Reed. But, upon being released, said Martin came up, with his cutteau drawn, threatening to put your petitioner to immediate death, when your petitioner, falling upon his knees, begged his life; your petitioner's wife and children begging, at the same time, to spare the life of their father and husband. Your petitioner then arose and went into the next room, but was still followed by Martin, who vowed to God if your petitioner did not beg pardon of Dealey, he would, that instant, cut off his head. Upon which your petitioner, to save his life, did ask his (Dealey's) pardon. Martin then declared he was a Roman Catholic, and vowed to God to cut off the head of any person who said he should not carry arms. After which, said Martin called for some drink, and drank of it with Dealey and Reed; and one of his toasts was, 'Damnation to the committee and their proceedings.' Your petitioner has prosecuted them as law directs. But as the times appear to be very troublesome,

and numbers of enemies, both to the Protestant interest and the present cause, are lurking amongst us, your petitioner hopes that you will inquire into such parts of their transaction as concerns the public; and your petitioner, as in duty bound, shall ever pray.

"*Michael Hubart.*

"Secret: tar and feather him.[1] Passed the secret committee, and ordered to be put in execution.[2] On the back of the petition is written, in the real hand-writing of William Henry Drayton, the chairman of the secret committee, the following, viz.: Laughlin Martin,[3] James Dealey."[4]

The result is thus stated by Drayton: "During the events which took place about this time, and of which mention has been made, it is of some consequence to observe that in the course of June of this year (1775), Laughlin Martin and James Dealey, having behaved in a very improper manner respecting the general committee and their proceedings, as well as respecting the association, and having threatened Michael Hubart with death, unless he begged their pardon for having justified the conduct of the committee, he sent a petition respecting the affair to the committee of correspondence of Charlestown. This committee immediately transferred it to the secret committee of five, who, having considered the same, ordered both Martin and Dealey to be tarred and feathered. The order was promptly put in execution by suitable agents; and they were both stripped of their clothes, tarred, feathered and carted through the streets of Charlestown: affording the first instance of such a spectacle in this colony. This being done, the secret committee sent them on board a ship ready to sail for England; Laughlin Martin was, however, permitted to land again, and was discharged, on expressing his contrition in a public manner, but James Dealey, for an example, was sent away. These summary

[1] This order is in a disguised hand, supposed to be that of William Henry Drayton, chairman of the secret committee.

[2] This certificate is also in a disguised hand, supposed to be that of Edward Weyman, one of the members of the secret committee.

[3] To land, and be discharged, upon his expressing his contrition in the most public manner.

[4] Send away.

measures have been supposed by writers to have proceeded from the intemperate zeal of the populace; and there can be no doubt but many of them took their rise from that source. But there can be as little doubt this first commencement of so ludicrous and disgraceful a punishment owed its origin, in South Carolina, to this very case."[1]

Now I am confident that the unfortunate beings who were thus selected to undergo this "ludicrous and disgraceful punishment," endured it, not because they were guilty, but because they were of the class of the Quaker's mad dog. Just think, for a moment, of the apprehensions of the sweet and veracious Michael Hubart, that in the year 1775, the "enemies to the Protestant interest" were so numerous in Charleston, as that a Protestant judge, and a Protestant jury, and Protestant prosecutors, and there could be none other, would be afraid to punish a Catholic malefactor! Only imagine the heroism and prowess of so formidable an array as Dealey and Martin, compelling so good a Protestant as Hubart, surrounded by his friends, in so large a city, to save his precious life upon such ignominious terms! Only figure to yourself the terror which pervaded the Protestant forces of this good city when the redoubted Martin brandished his glittering cutteau! But how are fallen the mighty! How fickle is Dame Fortune! The laurels had not yet faded on the brows of the victors ere the chaplets are torn from their heads; and that "Protestant interest" which was so feeble, and which had so many enemies, boldly leads them, in unresisted triumph, covered with their clucking honors, through the enraptured city. Not a hand is lifted to avenge the insult; not an eye is noticed to weep for their disgrace! And, after the lapse of half a century, a venerable judge of the land writes the record of this inglorious, this illegal, this despotic outrage, without a single observation of censure!

Notwithstanding the effort of the notable Michael Hubart to identify negroes, Roman Catholics and Indians, and to exhibit the Roman Catholics and savages as

[1] "Memoirs," vol. 1, p. 273.

leagued for the massacre of Christians, I appprehend Americans now will believe with me that, in all likelihood, this was another of Mr. Weyman's devices, "calculated to arrest public attention and to throw odium on the British administration."

Thus the process is natural and easy from nicknames to ill-treatment, from degradation to the loss of sympathy, and to the excommunication from the charities of society and the protection of power. Would you insure the destruction of a wretched dog, you need only insinuate that he is mad. Am I asked what is the object of the sanctified host of our opponents, in their obstinate persistence in vulgar contumely—let this be the reply: It must be the expression of a low but impotent disposition to hurt our feelings, since they are restrained from injuring our persons; or it is to make us odious, that we may be injured. If there be any other, let it be assigned.

IV.

I will not assert that the object of our evangelical opponents is to procure Roman Catholics being tarred and feathered; on the contrary, I believe they have no such object. But I do state that I believe their intention in continuing the use of nicknames is, first, to bring Catholics into contempt; and secondly, to deprive them of sympathy, and to excite against them suspicions of the worst kind and subject them to unmerited distrust and to its natural consequences.

The editor of the *Telegraph*, besides using the nomenclature which I have before exhibited, tells his readers that "Popery should be noticed in connection with intemperance."[1] Let any person who possesses self-respect as a man or any portion of religious sentiment, ask himself what is the estimation in which the drunkard should be held. Let him view the body unnerved, the countenance bloated, the eye dull, the dress slovenly and covered with

[1] This has actually been repeated in our own day in Liverpool, England, where an evangelical publication announced last year that Popery and drunkenness were the twin evils of the age.

the stains of vomit: contemplating this personification, let him ask: "Is that the representation of a Catholic?" The mouth-piece of the brotherhood will tell him that it is, and will call the Catholic a "beast." Let him view the pictures drawn of the intemperate in all the associated publications; let him ask what is the object of the writers, of the preachers, of the societies; is it not to cover intemperance with the contempt and the disgust and the hatred of the community? When, therefore, we are told by the same associates "that Popery should be noticed in connection with intemperance," is it not their intention to cover Catholics with the contempt and the disgust and the hatred of the community? Yet these are men of sublime charity! These are men of tender mercy! These are men who oppose bigotry! These are the only men who seek to preserve our republican institutions.

Let Americans look around, review their Catholic neighbors, and ask: Do the latter deserve this contumely? Are they justly exposed to this hatred? We have seen the manner in which they were treated previous to the Revolution, in what were then the colonies. I have given only a few specimens; I can, if necessary, multiply them to disgusting satiety. Then they were charged by the legislative bodies, by the popular assemblies, and by individuals, with a slavish spirit, with perfidious designs, with leaguing with negroes and savages for the extermination of Christians, to the destruction of freedom. It is not for me here to say how they behaved in the contest. In their own address to President Washington, they tell him: "Whilst our country preserves her freedom and independence, we shall have a well-founded title to claim from her justice the equal rights of citizenship, as the price of our blood, spilt under your eyes, and our common exertions for her defence, under your auspicious conduct." Upon those grounds they asserted, respecting those equal rights of citizenship, "we expect the full extension of them from the justice of those States which still restrict them."

Besides the unjust and improper restrictions against Catholics, which yet are to be found in the constitutions

of New Jersey and of North Carolina and those of some of the New England States—the latter of which have been since repealed—the following were then the 12th and 13th sections of the constitution of South Carolina: "12. No person shall be eligible to a seat in the Senate unless he be of the Protestant religion. 13. No person shall be eligible to sit in the House of Representatives unless he be of the Protestant religion."

None had better opportunities of appreciating the conduct of the Catholics than General Washington possessed; and his answer to the address contains the following paragraph: "As mankind become more liberal, they will be more apt to allow, that all those who conduct themselves as worthy members of the community, are equally entitled to the protection of the civil government. I hope ever to see America amongst the foremost nations in examples of justice and liberality. And I presume that your fellow-citizens will not forget the patriotic part which you took in the accomplishment of their Revolution and the establishment of their government; or the important assistance which they received from a nation in which the Roman Catholic faith is professed."

One of the Catholics who subscribed that address, and who received that answer, yet survives.[1] Isolated in his grandeur, he raises his modest head amidst the graves of all his companions, linking together the past and the present generations. All the affections which we would transmit to the venerable fathers of our republics converge in him, and through him are conducted to them. Well has his life been devoted to the practice of virtue, nobly has his fortune been pledged for the benefit of myriads yet unborn. He has seen nearly a century pass away, and his honor is yet untarnished and sacred. And will America permit his departure to be embittered by the proclamation, that because of his profession and practice of the religion of the Alfreds, of the Augustines, of the Dorias, of the Tells, of the Ambroses, of the Fenelons,

[1] Charles Carroll lived when this was written.

of the vindicators of Magna Charta, of the heralds of Christianity, of the discoverers of this continent; that, because he is a member of that Church which preserved literature and civilized the world, the venerable Charles Carroll shall be classed with the most degraded portion of our sots by unappeasable and domineering bigotry? Yet, is not this the effort which is made?

Again, I call upon Americans to look to their Catholic neighbors; and ask—do they deserve such a stigma as this? It is true that few of their names are to be found upon the lists of what are called "temperance societies." Yet it does not follow that they are intemperate. Others might have been actuated by the same motives which influenced him who now addresses the public, when he declined the invitation to enrol his name. He never was, and trusts in God that he never will be, intemperate: but he declined, because he has occasionally found the use of distilled liquors in a very moderate quantity, to be very necessary, and even prescribed by respectable and temperate physicians; because more than once, his own life has, he believes, been saved by their use, as he has known others to have been lost by their abuse; because he believed that the regulations of those societies, though they might produce partial good, produced, he thought, a greater evil, in the hypocrisy of some, and the pride of others; and above all, because he found the association put forward by men whom, on every occasion when there was question of his religion, he found to be either grossly ignorant, incorrigibly obstinate, and superciliously insolent; or, if they were well informed, were worse. I believe that for such reasons as these, few Catholics have joined or are likely to join these societies. I have also heard several members of other Churches say, that they would not enter such associations; because they looked upon them to be only means used for extending the influence and upholding the power of what is intended to be a "religious party in politics."

But it will be said that this is not the ground upon which "Popery should be noticed in connection with

intemperance;" for the very essay itself is too plain to be misunderstood. It is the intrinsic baseness of Popery itself that places it on a level with intemperance; "for next to the fire which burns out reason and conscience, that power is to be dreaded which stupifies conscience, and blinds understanding, and withholds the only light which can guide human reason aright, and makes the whole man a superstitious slave to the impositions of a crafty priesthood."

I believe I need take no trouble now to show that the object of the "saints" is to bring Catholics into contempt; for what can be more contemptible than a body whose consciences are stupified, whose understandings are blinded, and who are the superstitious slaves of a crafty and deceitful priesthood? Need I enter into any farther examination to show that the object is to deprive us of sympathy, to excite suspicion, and to subject us to distrust when we are exhibited as objects of dread? And who is the man that thus denounces not only half a million of his fellow-citizens, but the vast majority of the Christian world?

The denunciation is against the Roman Catholic Church, which numbers in its communion considerably upwards of one hundred and fifty millions of the civilized population of the globe. And by whom? By the mouth-piece of one of the smaller divisions of the modern separatists from the Church of ages. I do not wish to write unkindly; I would not write offensively of any one of the religious societies which cover our territory; but it is necessary often to bring those who are ignorant or forgetful, to the contemplation of facts. If the doctrines of the Catholic Church stupify the conscience, how has it happened that the best works, for the direction of conscience, that are found amongst our separated brethren, who boast so much of their light, are garbled imitations of Catholic writers, only deteriorated by their omissions? How has it happened that in the works of Catholic writers, before the unfortunate secession of Luther, all the great maxims of

piety and morality are so conspicuous? How has it happened, that in the bosom of the Catholic Church they have been studiously preserved, zealously enforced, continually expounded, and nobly reduced to practice? It is true, that the Gersons, the Kempises, the Bourdaloues, the Fenelons, the Rodriguezes, the Granadas, the Francises of Sales, the Massillons, the Gothers, the Challoners, and men of that description, wrote in the plain and intelligible language of common sense and of fervid piety, that whilst they enlightened the conscience they did not shock the taste nor disgust the understanding, though they won upon the heart. Their mode of stupifying the conscience was not indeed similar to that of the "holy men" who would sweep our Church with their besom of destruction. Look at these extracts from the "saints:"

"When the soul finds corruption in itself, it sets to the rock Jesus Christ, and there repenting and believing, yea, by the highest actings of faith, endeavoring to knock off its beak, its individuate desires unto the world. A 'saint' becomes clad with the sun of righteousness, and presently the moon is under his feet; which makes him use the world as though he used it not. A renewed old man is a renewed eagle, enabled to mount in duties with the wings of eagles."[1] "Ye know, dear 'saints,' that the sweet-spirited nightingales and robin red-breasts cannot endure cages, but will soon die; nor can precious souls be cooped up or kept in durance under any form whatsoever, but they must be left free to fly up and down in Christian liberty."[2] "For though truth be as good a diet as partridge or pheasant, yet it is not to be served in or carved out raw, feathers and all; no, but cooked, and seasoned, and now and then you have a pretty tart sauce to it too, to whet your stomachs. I pray accept of it, and say grace to it, and fall to, and much good may it do you."[3] "If you cannot reach a book off a shelf, you take a stool, and standing upon that stool, you are able to reach down the book; the stool are these

[1] "Lamot's Funeral Sermon," by Fulk Bellers, p. 21.
[2] "Epistle dedicated to John Rogers' Bethshemesh," p. 47.
[3] Ib., p. 74.

gifts; grace alone many times cannot reach down such a notion in divinity as it is able to do by the help of gifts: gifts are given for the help of grace; they are the handmaids of grace, and they bring forth sweetly upon the knees of grace."[1] "I do not boast, but I speak it to His glory, that God vouchsafed to take up His lodgings in so vile, so contemptible, unswept, ungarnished a room as this unworthy cottage of mine; but it was His will, and I am thankful for it."[2] "Let any true 'saint' of God be taken away in the very act of any known sin, before it is possible for him to repent; I make no doubt or scruple of it; but he shall be as surely saved as if he had lived to have repented of it."[3] "The child of God in the power of grace doth perform every duty so well, that to ask pardon for failing either in the matter or manner of it, is a sin; it is unlawful to pray for forgiveness of sins after conversion; and if he does at any time fall, he can, by the power of grace, carry his sin to the Lord, and say, here I had it, and here I leave it."[4]

These, I acknowledge, are not the maxims by which the conscience of a Catholic is enlightened. He must be guided by the great rules of moral truth as revealed by God, and expounded and testified by the great bulk of the Christian world, in communion with the successor of that Apostle, to whom Christ declared, that upon that rock (Peter) would He build His Church, against which the gates of hell should never prevail; that Church founded and established in doctrine, after Christ, by the Apostles, upon whom the Holy Ghost descended, to lead them into all truth, and which truth was to continue for the guidance of the Christian people, as the pillar of cloud and fire remained to bring Israel into the land of promise. The fervent, faithful disciples of the early ages, the martyrs and their companions, gave to our predecessors the

[1] Bridge's "Sermon before the Lord Mayor," 1653, pp. 49-50.
[2] Cromwell's "Learned, Devout and Conscientious Exercise," held at Sir Peter Temple's open room, 1, c., xiii, 1649, p. 3.
[3] Prynn's "Perpetuity of a Regenerate Man's Estate," p. 431.
[4] "Fifty Propositions taken from Brierly's Mouth," prop. 19.

Sacred Volume which contains these maxims, together with the comment of their writings and of their conduct. Scattered through thousands of Churches, in every habitable portion of the globe, the zealous people preserved the deposit with religious fidelity under the powerful protection of the celestial influence. Occasionally, proud men, and sometimes weak men, at other times corrupt men, went out from this body, censured for using novelties which could not be tolerated, because of their incompatibility with the original truth. The writings, the institutions, and the recorded conduct of those men who in their days were acknowledged to have comprehended and taught the true doctrine and practice revealed in the Sacred Volume, exhibited to the inquirer, in the midst of the fluctuations of opinion, what was the correct rule for his conscience. What the Basils, the Gregorys, the Chrysostoms, the Augustines, the Ambroses, the Cyrils, the Jeromes, have taught from the sacred record, is that which guides the Roman Catholic to-day; this he prefers to the lucubrations, the conjectures, the anxieties, the experiences, the backslidings, and the contradictions of "nightingales and robin red-breasts," who wander to and fro in the full enjoyment of their powers of aberration.

And yet we are told by this religious writer that the vast majority of the Christian world, guided by such means in the exposition of the sacred text, are "stupified in their consciences!" By whom has his been illustrated? He has had the spirit poured forth upon him. He has been a man of prayer, and he has been taught by heaven. I am ready to admit, that "could we see a spirit of prayer poured down upon us, I would not question but that God would open the bottles of His mercy and rain down upon us a blessing in abundance."[1] But the spirit of prayer and its form are two very different things. And it is not by saying, "Lord, Lord," but by doing the will of the Father, that man is to obtain a blessing. The will of the Father is, that we obey the Saviour, and the Saviour commanded us to hear that tribunal which He established, and

[1] Sclater's "Sermon," Oct. 13, 1658, p. 60.

whose ministers He sent with a commission to teach: He did not command us to destroy the tribunal, and first proclaiming unrestricted freedom under the pretext of unproved inspirations, then endeavor to subject others, under the semblance of an underived commission.

I have deviated from my plan in making this skirmish against the position that Catholics have their "consciences stupified;" my object was not so much to combat the assertion, as to show the aim of the writer. I shall not therefore dwell at present upon the refutation of his other charges: "That the understandings of Catholics are blinded," and that they are the "superstitious slaves of a crafty priesthood," as also the charge that this priesthood is guilty of "impositions." I shall merely ask upon what are these charges based? It would seem from his article that the only reason he vouchsafes to give is, that the Catholic Church "withholds the only light which can guide human reason aright," by which I suppose he means the Bible. Assuming this to be the correct meaning of his piece, I shall cursorily observe, that forbidding the use of a bad and defective translation is not "withholding the Book:" nor is the forbidding its misinterpretation "withholding the Book." This is all that the Catholic Church does, and this, not only religion, but common sense and the public good would require. What he insinuates as a reason is then but a figment, and if he has no other proof of his charges, they are unsustained. His intention is manifest. It is to cast contempt upon the Catholics of the United States, to deprive them of the sympathy of their fellow-citizens; it is to excite against them sinister suspicions, and to prepare the mind of the community for ulterior steps in their regard.

V.

If it is inquired what could be the ulterior objects which the editor of the *Southern Religious Telegraph* sought in bringing Catholics into contempt and hatred,

I shall refer to his own production for the answer. That production informs us of what I admit to be a fact; and I am gratified beyond measure at its development. Catholics, as they become better known, are more esteemed by their fellow-citizens. This is creditable to themselves, and to those by whom they are esteemed. In one it argues the absence of what deserves contempt or hatred; in the other, it shows the existence of a love of truth and of justice.

We have had ample evidence of the degradation of the Catholics in the United States at the period of the Revolution. They were sunk below the level of the negroes and of the Indians: few, poor, despised, bywords, butts of ridicule, objects of suspicion, victims of persecution, the mockery of school-boys, could they be sunk lower on the social scale? They had scarcely the skeleton of a clergy; and the greater portion of that little band consisted of men who had from their childhood been under the rod of affliction and trained up in a contentedness to neglect: they rejoiced that they were thought worthy to suffer reproach for the name of Christ. With scarcely an exception they were men who, though erudite, yet kept aloof from the learned, and, occupied in the discharge of their functions amongst their scattered poor, were only occasionally noticed by the public as strange objects of an undefined curiosity, or of pity, or contempt, or execration. The notions which the bulk of the citizens entertained of the doctrines of the Catholic Church were the most preposterous: they were formed from the worst books of their most unprincipled opponents; from the allegations and preambles of the laws of their most bitter persecutors; from the tales of terrified old ladies, and the declamations of religious teachers, in whom it is hard to determine whether gross ignorance of Catholic tenets or fanatical hatred of everything Catholic predominated. The pulpit, the press, the bench, the bar, public prejudice, the assemblies of the people, the representations of the theatre, the hall of the college, the lesson of the school, the tale of the

nursery, whatever occupied the meditation of the sage, or guided the progress of the child, was all—all eminently and emphatically anti-Catholic. The Pope was the beast of the Apocalypse; the Church was the harlot who made the nations of the earth drunk with the cup of her abominations; Rome was the great custom-house of sin, at which a stipulated tariff was to be paid, for leave to commit with impunity every crime by which man could be stained or God could be offended; incest, sodomy, murder, parricide might be perpetrated upon a trifling composition. Every Catholic was the sworn and devoted slave of the cruel tyrant who presided in this pest-house of abominations; an admirable contrivance of wicked moral mechanism enabled the monster to touch the springs by which his orders were secretly and securely and infallibly executed at the same moment, in a thousand places upon the surface of the globe, and by which he as infallibly learned all that occurred. The bishops confessed to him and received his directions; from these, he learned all that others had communicated to them, and through their agency, he conveyed his will to all his other vassals: each prelate stood in a similar relation to the priests, who were the conductors between him and the people: and all were to consider the Pope as the Lord God: his will could change virtue into vice, and make vice become virtue. The inquisitors also were his agents, who, by his command, destroyed in the most cruel manner all who dared to question his omnipotence.

This tyrant looked upon kings as his slaves, and set his feet upon the necks of emperors; he abominated republicanism, and commanded the Bible to be destroyed. He lifted himself up in the temple of God against God Himself, and substituted a gross and desolating superstition for the pure religion of the Apostles; a pageantry of corrupt and tawdry worldly pomp, for the observances of the meek and lowly Jesus. Every crime which was perpetrated under the semblance of religion, every political machination in which a Catholic was concerned, every suf-

fering of a Protestant in a Catholic nation, for what crime soever, all were attributed to the ravening of this monster for human blood; real cruelties were aggravated, and imaginary atrocities were conjured up; and this revolting aggregate of everything vile and villainous was styled the religion of Roman Catholics! How the understanding is shocked, and the heart shudders, and charity recoils from the contemplation! Does not the question naturally present itself. If the American people had such notions of the religion of Roman Catholics, how could they tolerate an individual of that communion in the country? I shall not answer that question; but I bring two facts under the American public's observation: 1. They did tolerate Catholics amongst them, and the general impression in their regard was such as I have imperfectly sketched. I will go further, and say, such is the picture which the Evangelicals would give of us to-day; such is the notion honestly formed by a vast portion of our fellow-citizens at present. And 2. Not one single trait of the above picture is correctly drawn; no one of the features of the Catholic religion is there fairly or honestly represented. That which is now, unfortunately, the mistake of perhaps half our fellow-citizens, was, fifty years ago, the delusion of nearly the whole body.

Allow me to examine the intermediate history, that we may trace effects to their causes, and try to account for evangelical acrimony.

Subsequent to the Revolution there was, in the immigration hither, some accession of Catholics, though not speedily in great numbers. They were principally from Ireland and from Germany, and they at first settled more generally in Pennsylvania and Maryland, from various causes to which I need not advert; New York next received some accession, and only some stragglers found their way to the north or the south of this region. For a time their spiritual wants were but imperfectly, and only at intervals, supplied. Their conduct was open to the observation of their neighbors they were persons

generally of the humbler grades of society; they had been fully imbued with all the principles of the Catholic Church; the Irish had been exasperated and ground down by oppression and persecution; they felt partially relieved from the yoke which had so long pressed upon their fathers and themselves; and their feelings against Protestants were rather embittered than affectionate: they had here no "crafty priesthood" to teach them the concealment of their true principles, and to fit them with a mask of disguise; they were proverbially communicative, open, and confiding; in them an ordinary observer would soon detect the mark of the beast, and his true character would be easily developed. The Germans were blunt, rough, honest and fully as open to observation as the Irish. The few clergymen of either nation who, from time to time, migrated hither, were equally subject to the public scrutiny as their flocks; and the Americans are not remarkable for their indifference or imperfection of observation.

From what I before stated, the public mind was not biased favorably towards this portion of the new settlers. Yet it is a fact, that they gradually won upon the favor of their fellow-citizens, and after some time they were considered not only to be Christians, but even to be moral, and several of them pious; and some of their more reflecting neighbors began to hope that though it would be prudent not to be over sanguine, yet it was possible they might become good citizens. Where they were more numerous, their intercourse with their fellow-citizens was necessarily more extended, and the opportunities for observation enlarged; and as this occurred, prejudice rapidly diminished.

Another accession was from France, at the period of her first revolution; and a large number of her clergy were thus thrown upon our shores. Nearly ignorant of our language, scarcely recovered from the terrors of the atrocities with which their infatuated and infuriated countrymen had disgraced the name of liberty, and smart-

ing under the wounds inflicted upon them in the name of republicanism, it would seem that these circumstances, superadded to the native deformities ascribed to Catholicism, would enable the cautious and inquisitive American to discover, in those men, the hideous traits of the beast. Yet, they too improved upon acquaintance, were found useful to the country, exceedingly virtuous in their conduct, and affectionate to their neighbors. New England began to see a few Catholic immigrants settle only in her seaports, for as yet she had no manufactories; and the names of Matignon and Cheverus are affectionately recollected and pronounced with benediction by the sons of the Pilgrims. The insurrection of San Domingo cast hundreds of refugees upon our southern coasts; a warm and cordial hospitality forgot the imagined abominations of their religion; they were observed, they were known, they were confided in, and yet they were Roman Catholics! The distresses of Ireland, and the love of America, brought out hordes who spread over the face of our land. Louisiana was purchased and occupied, Missouri has grown into a State, and Florida belongs to us. In all our wide domain, the Catholics of these newly acquired regions and the Protestants of the old British colonies became blended together; they dwell in the same streets, they board in the same houses, they preside on the same bench, they serve on the same juries, they have defended their common country in the same ranks, their blood has been commingled in peace and in war. The Catholic clergy, as well as the Catholic laity, are under the eye of Protestant observation. Many very respectable persons who were ornaments of their own religious societies, have closely investigated the principles and the doctrines of the Catholic Church; they have laid aside their early prejudices, they have entered the pale of her communion; some of them minister at her altars, some of them are found in her cloisters, some of them are in the highest places of her esteem and confidence; they are themselves witnesses of her doctrines to their families, to their relatives, to

their connections, to their friends, and to their fellow-citizens.

In this manner, within the period of fifty years, have common sense, and common observation, and honest purpose, and Protestant intelligence, and Protestant honor, made a serious encroachment upon ancient Protestant prejudice, and folly, and injustice.

I have shown the description of persons upon whom the scrutiny has been made. Let us now to see who have been the scrutinizers. They are the American people. I dislike sectional distinctions; but sometimes they may be inoffensively made. In making the inquiry which produced this result, we had first, the calm, steady, persevering industry of Pennsylvania, and the keen observation and jealous scrutiny of Maryland; we had the adverse, obstinate, determined investigation of New York; we had the prejudices of the New Englander—deep-rooted and unbending, but yet loving truth, though cautious in the investigation. The New Englander has a character, many of the features of which I admire; and dare I venture upon a prophetic calculation, I would say, that the land of steady habits will, before the lapse of half a century, be a land in which the Catholic Church will extensively flourish?[1] Add to these the chivalrous feeling of the South, with its attachment to its High Church principles, which, though it would scarcely vouchsafe an examination of our creed, yet is most jealous and lynx-eyed as to the effect of our doctrines upon society. Yes, it is by a people of strong and varied prejudices against us, but a people of the most comprehensive mind, the most habitual jealousy, and probably, as an aggregate, the best instructed in the universe, that, during half a century, this scrutiny has been made; the result of which is a decision, to a great degree, in our favor. We duly appreciate the kindness, and we are gratified for the benefit, though, as yet, it renders us only partial justice.

It is this decision of the Americans which has enraged the Evangelicals, and driven them to assail us. The

[1] A prediction fulfilled now; nearly half the population of Boston is Catholic.

writer in the *Telegraph* complains: That Americans regard our efforts with more complacency and delight than they do any enterprise of theirs. It is true, that our efforts are not directed to create a "Christian party in politics;" and though we do count half a million of what they are pleased to call "subjects of the beast," we are not found plotting, as the Rev. Doctor Ely testifies against his own party, to establish "sentiments which no man but an infidel need blush to avow," and from which, of course, a "saint" will not depart: the propriety and the certainty of bringing a combined religious club of half a million of votes to the polls on a given day, for a given purpose. Were we to make such an effort as this, Americans would not and ought not to regard it with complacency. Our efforts are made to diffuse learning, by the means of schools and colleges, to erect churches, and to create pastors for our destitute flocks; to introduce the correct knowledge of our peculiar principles and practices amongst our fellow-citizens, for the purpose of disabusing them of the unfounded prejudices under which they have labored, we trust, without any fault of their own. Our efforts are openly directed to these, and only to these objects. We do not calumniate our brethren, we do not "nickname God's creatures," we do not excite hatred against our fellow-citizens, we do not sow discord in the Union, nor do we, with Pharisaic rudeness, send our deacons to drag ladies from carriages, under the pretext of serving the God of benevolence.

The writer complains that Americans have more sympathy for us than they have for any denomination of "enlightened Christians" in the land. This does honor to their feelings. For who is deserving of sympathy, if it be not the victim of bigotry and of misrepresentation? Americans have seen that such is the state to which we have been reduced. The "enlightened Christians," to whatever denomination they may belong, need not their sympathy. Were they in our situation, and we in theirs, we trust they should receive not only our sympathy, but

also our aid. When the British Dissenters were under the operation of the British test-act, the Roman Catholics uniformly petitioned on their behalf, though the evangelical section of the Dissenters uniformly petitioned against Catholic Emancipation, and for the emancipation of negroes. Thank God, the "enlightened Christians of other denominations" do not need American sympathy, but we do; and we thank them for it, though they are called "anti-Christian moralists," probably from their sympathy for the poor "slaves of Antichrist," as we are said to be. Yet we warn them to be cautious, for they are told "that the monster is forging chains to bind them." Lest they should doubt my accuracy, I shall again bring the passage to their view. "Already 'the beast' numbers half a million of subjects in these United States. And the morality and practices of this communion accord so well with the views and feelings of thousands of the descendants of Protestants, who cannot endure the 'bigoted rules' of Presbyterians, that the industrious efforts of the minions of the Pope to extend his authority in our land, are regarded with more complacency and delight than any enterprise in which Christians have engaged to diffuse the light and influences of the Gospel. Yes, it is well known that the anti-Christian moralists of our times have more sympathy for the monster that is forging chains to bind them, than they have for any denomination of enlightened Christians in the land. And here the danger is the more imminent, because it is unseen. The tolerant friends of Popery, who seem to regard it as differing little from the religion of the Bible or of Protestants—and the indifferent spectators, know not its influence," etc.

Here, then, those "thousands"—the writer might have substituted "millions"—of the descendants of Protestants, who cannot endure the "bigoted rules" of Presbyterians, are complimented with the appellation of "anti-Christian moralists." We are thus nicknamed, in company with the largest and most respectable portion of our fellow-citizens, to whom this wanton insult has been arrogantly given,

because they do not choose to submit to the discipline of those men, who aspire to the first places in the synagogues, to be saluted in the market-places, and to be called "rabbi" by their fellow-men: and also, because, after half a century of close scrutiny, they cannot find that we are such miscreants as the "saints" of former ages proclaimed us to be. It worries the "holy ones" of the present day that Americans, "the tolerant friends of Popery, seem to regard it as little differing from the religion of the Bible." Would they exhort Americans to be like themselves, intolerant? After proclaiming that it is the right of every human being, man, woman, and child, to judge without dictation or appeal of the meaning of every passage of the Bible, will they presume to deprive Americans of that right? Or, are Americans to take from this comparatively insignificant subdivision of a minority of Christendom, an interpretation, the right of giving which they deny to the vast, the overwhelming majority? Are they able to assume that they have the genuine and original meaning of the sacred volume, and that it has been lost by the great body which has subsisted in every age, and been spread through all nations? Is the American people not as competent as they are to judge of the true meaning of the Bible? Is not the public's understanding as good as theirs? Have not the public's opportunities of knowing our doctrine been equally extensive; has not the American people been as free from prejudice and as anxious to discover truth as they? Why then will they presume to arraign the public opinion that our religion differs little from the religion of the Bible? Are we not equally competent as either the public or they to read that sacred volume, to judge of its contents, and to compare it with our tenets? We have received from the same God equal portions of intellect as they have, our education has been equally good as theirs, our knowledge of our own doctrines is at least equally accurate; and, after due comparison of both, we say that our doctrine does not differ even little, or at all, from the religion of the Bible. And upon what

ground will those men presume to set their judgment above ours? In flinging this insult upon us, do they not offend the American public? Or, must it and we be compelled to learn from them the religion of the Bible? Is this their notion of Christian liberty? What has become of the "sweet-spirited nightingales and robin red-breasts" of the days of yore? Is the freedom of every man to interpret the Bible according to the dictates of his private judgment, to be restricted by the proviso, that he must discover in it what is called evangelical religion, or, as the writer expresses it, "the 'bigoted rules' of the Presbyterians?" Because deliberate judgments have, after close observation and cautious inquiry and mature reflection, acquitted us of the foul charges made against us by the "saints" of former days, the possessors of those judgments too are abused and vilified by these self-sufficient men.

But the American people does not stand alone in bearing this testimony in our favor. Our religion was calumniated and persecuted in Great Britain: and after having been there also subjected to the most trying ordeal of examination, after enduring the repeated test of the parliamentary rack, after answering the varied charges of every bigot, put in every form; after combating the assaults of every defamer, after references to our universities, the explanations of our prelates, the inspection of our colleges, the dissection of our institutions: notwithstanding the great weight of clerical opposition, the monitions of the lords-spiritual, the Evangelicals, denunciations of the Bible Societies, the homilies of the societies for discountenancing vice, the sighs of the meek, the threats of strong, the terrors of old maids, and the prognostications of old men, Great Britain has laid down her prejudices, broken the bonds of her iniquity, and proclaimed the emptiness of the pretexts and the wickedness of the enactments, by whose means our religion was misrepresented and our people were ground down. The liberal Protestants of Great Britain and of America have then passed a just judgment in our favor; and this is gall and wormwood to the Evangelicals.

Therefore it is that "the tolerant friends of Popery" are styled "anti-Christian moralists" by those intolerant men. Yes, Americans "have examined our principles of morality and the practices of our communion:" and these men truly say, "that they so well accord with the views and feelings of thousands of the descendants of Protestants," that, in their estimation, they "differ little from the religion of the Bible;" and they therefore not only do not hate us, but they regard "our industrious efforts with comparative complacency." We are deeply grateful to those tolerant friends who bear such honorable testimony in our regard; and we are happy to know that they are numerous and increasing. To their kindness, to the excellence of our cause, and to the blessing of heaven, but not to the charity, the forbearance, or "sweet spirit" of the men of "bitter sanctity," do we commit ourselves.

VI.

I have shown with what justice and kindness we have been treated by a large portion of our Protestant fellow-citizens, and how their good conduct displeased our opponents. I shall now follow up the topic, so as to conclude my remarks upon the paragraph which I then took for examination. The editor of the *Southern Religious Telegraph* endeavors to account for the favor which we have received from Protestants, upon the ground of their ignorance or their stupidity. "The tolerant friends of Popery, who seem to regard it as differing little from the religion of the Bible, or of Protestants, and the indifferent spectators, know not its influence, its power to excite the imagination, captivate the senses, and enslave the mind to forms of superstition, while no truth is brought to bear on the conscience or the heart." Allow me to discuss this pretty paragraph. Protestants and other tolerant, that is, indifferent, spectators are said to be ignorant of the following facts: First, that Popery has influence by its power to excite the imagination; secondly, that it has

influence by its power to captivate the senses; thirdly, that it has influence to enslave the mind to the forms of superstition; and, fourthly, that all this is done, whilst no truth is brought to bear on the conscience or the heart. To sustain these four propositions, not one tittle of evidence is adduced. I shall, however, admit the two first to be perfectly true, and deny that there exists a particle of truth in either of the two last; and, as to sustain the editor's position would require the combined truth of the entire, especially as derived from the correctness of his fourth proposition, which is notoriously untrue—of course that position is utterly untenable.

I am not bound to prove my negatives: but, by every rule of reason, he ought to make, at least, a *prima facie* case, before I could be called upon for a defence; but I waive formalities. If the Catholic religion does not, by her ceremonial, excite the imagination to an excessive and disorderly pitch, or mislead it from facts to fancies, it does no injury; but, if it so excites the imagination, as to aid the memory in the recollection of important facts and their proper bearing, this is useful to devotion: and such is truly the case.

The "holy" society of Evangelicals, whose interpreter the editor appears to be, frequently lament the want of this excitement, in what they call formal religionists; but revivals, outpourings of the spirit, rhapsody, conviction, experience, the triumph of grace, the apprehension of the Lord, the enthusiasm flowing from the imagined certainty of election and predestination; this undoubting faith, as it is called; all this excitement of the imagination is, according to the sanctimonious fraternity, the discovery of the truth as it is in Christ Jesus. And yet, they talk of the excitement of the imagination by Popery! Verily, and of a truth, there are more of such imaginings at one revival, or camp-meeting, than would suffice for ten provinces of Popery. I cannot consent, unless driven thereto, to enter into disgusting and ridiculous details, of which, if the brethren choose, they shall have abundance.

The imagination of the Catholic is rationally excited by the representation of the great facts of religion, created in painting or statuary, and exhibited in ceremony; thus also Popery captivates the senses; but for what purpose? To excite the recollection of those facts which are recorded in the Bible; to place before us the example of the faithful servants of God; and, in doing so, we have the warrant of God's own precept and of His own example. We have it not only in the precepts which He gave to Moses respecting the ark and its decorations and appurtenances, but also in the model of the work which He exhibited upon the mountain; in the brazen serpent that He caused to be made and exposed, until it became an occasion of scandal, which rendered its removal necessary. I need not here multiply the proofs, by reference to the works of Solomon, of Nehemias, and of others. I need not refer to the raising up memorials of the passage of the Jordan, and of the sustenance of the people in the desert. All these captivated the senses, excited the imagination, wrought upon the memory, and thereby led to the practice of religion; and, as regards ceremony, surely we have the authority of God Himself, for the costly and ornamental and mystic attire of the priesthood, and of the attendants in the temple, for the symbolic rites of the Egyptian lamb, the feast of Tabernacles, the celebration of Pentecost, and several others. All these are calculated to captivate the senses, to excite the imagination, and thus influence man for the purposes of religion.

But the writer says that "Popery enslaves the mind to the forms of superstition." He does not vouchsafe either to inform us what he means by superstition, what are those forms, nor the mode of the enslavement. Thus his charge is so indistinct that it is not susceptible of distinct refutation. But I shall tell what we mean by superstition. It is the use of any rite or ceremony or other means, with the expectation of thereby obtaining any spiritual or supernatural effect, not attached thereto by the nature of what we so use or by the institution of God. When he

shall be able to show that any one of our authorized practices comes under this definition, then I shall admit that it is superstitious. Our authorized decorations and ceremonies are all calculated to impress the mind with the idea of God's presence, His perfection, the homage which we owe to Him, the benefits which He has conferred upon us, and the gratitude which we ought to exhibit in return. If this be superstition, we plead guilty. If this be religion, we claim to be religious. We first produce the definition; until this be admitted or denied, it would be ridiculous to go into special facts: but if the principle be agreed to, let our adversaries then go through the catalogue of our practices, and we shall abide the results of the application of that description to each. If abiding by the principles of religion be an enslavement of the mind, then are we enslaved. If it be the freedom of the children of God, then are we free. Thus his third proposition is untrue.

His fourth is utterly destitute of even a semblance of truth. He charges that in our system "no truth is brought to bear upon the conscience or the heart." I am perfectly well aware of the influence of prejudice upon every mind. I can therefore suppose that this man actually thinks as he writes, and that he is under the erroneous impression that ours is a mere external exhibition of unmeaning and empty pomp. The fact is quite otherwise. In all our ceremonial, there is not one particle of mere idle exhibition. It is true that, like the language of a nation, the symbolic rite which our Church thus uses, is unintelligible to a stranger, until he is taught. But they who conclude that it is useless or unmeaning show, may be well compared to the person who, upon arriving in a strange country, imagined its population were all idiots, and would fain persuade his companions that they used unmeaning and ridiculous babbling, instead of language; he was certain that they could not understand each other, because they were incomprehensible to him. One of his associates, however, who had travelled more, soon contrived to learn

some of their phrases, and understand their meaning, but could not make his obstinate friend recede from his first notions; though his associate showed himself now able to hold some intercourse with the natives, and declared that as his knowledge of their vocabulary became extended, he was delighted with the copiousness of their tongue and the rich significancy of their phraseology.

I have known several respectable converts to our faith, whose devotion was wonderfully increased and whose piety was greatly soothed by the rich, and sublime, and varied language of our ceremonial, as soon as they became acquainted with the principles of its explanation. When they spoke to some of their friends upon the subject, in the warm language of their new feelings, their expressions were attributed to unmeaning fanaticism: for the persons whom they addressed perceived no change: the language was as yet unintelligible to them. So I should suppose ours is to the editor of the *Southern Telegraph*. But such is not our own case. In it we behold, compendiously and strikingly displayed, the fall and the imperfection of man; the promise and the expectation of a Redeemer; the inefficiency of the ancient institutions for the purposes of our redemption; the types of better things; the arrival of the Saviour; His death; the promulgation of His Gospel; its effects; the institutions of the Saviour; the source of their efficacy, the ground of our hope; the lessons of morality which we should practice; the approach of death; the examples of the saints; the rewards bestowed upon them by a merciful God: and we are excited to labor as they did, that through the merits of the same Saviour, we may obtain similar glory. Is not this bringing truth to bear upon the conscience and the heart? I would now ask whether the ignorance is chargeable upon the tolerant Protestant, who in this worship perceives little that differs from the religion of the Bible, or upon the bigoted, or if he prefers it, the intolerant Protestant, who calls it "an enslavement of the mind to forms of superstition, while no truth is brought to bear upon the conscience or the heart?"

It is a notorious fact that, even upon the uninstructed, the forms of our religion are calculated to make an impression which better fits the mind for the recollection of divine truth, the contemplation of heavenly things, and the reverential payment of homage to the eternal God. Upon this I may confidently appeal to any person who has had the opportunity of witnessing them duly performed, and who has attended with an unprejudiced disposition. How often has the subdued demeanor, the solemn attention, and occasionally the moistened eye of the stranger testified the feeling? I recollect two instances, in different stations of life, in which the same feeling was expressed in different styles. An English gentleman asked his footman, a Protestant, who accompanied him to a High Mass, in Brussels, what he thought of the ceremony. He answered: "Sir, I never saw God Almighty served like a gentleman before." One of the most talented and observant British diplomatists observed, after attending at a High Mass, celebrated by the Archbishop of Paris, in Notre Dame: "If I were King of France, I would permit no subject to elevate the Host: that sublime act should be performed only by myself." Did our Protestant fellow-citizens take more pains to understand what is thoughtlessly condemned their information and our mutual charity would be increased.

VII.

Before I proceed to examine the charges which the editor of the *Southern Religious Telegraph* has made upon the Roman Catholic body, and to exhibit their utter want of foundation, allow me to draw attention to a very unfortunate assertion which, in his essay, follows the little paragraph upon which I have commented. Complaining of the stupidity of liberal Protestants, or, as he calls them, the tolerant friends of Popery, he states: "Nor do they appear to know the fact, which is demonstrated by the whole history of Popery, that civil and religious liberty, as understood in this country, the last

half century, cannot co-exist with the laws of the papal communion. If the latter are administered, liberty must die; from the nature of things it is impossible for them to flourish together." Was ever writer more unfortunate? With notorious facts, palpably under his observation, it would seem that he not only cannot perceive the existence of what he announces, but he asserts the impossibility of what he proclaims to be a fact.

He surely will not deny that "civil and religious liberty, as understood in this country the last half century," has during that half century been in a flourishing and prosperous state. He anticipates evils it is true, but they have not as yet arrived, and as they might be only imaginary, he cannot assume the possibilities, dreaded by his imagination, to be really in existence. We have then hitherto preserved civil and religious liberty, and it has as yet been well upheld. This is an unquestionable fact. Now another fact equally unquestionable, is, that the Roman Catholic religion has, during the same period, made an astonishing progress in our republics; and there is not in all Christendom a country in which "the laws of the papal communion," as he calls the discipline of the Roman Catholic Church, have less impediment cast in the way of their administration by the civil government than amongst us. And these laws are effectually carried into full execution. It is therefore evident that civil and religious liberty, such as he designates, and our religion, have actually co-existed and flourished together. Fifty years ago our republics were by no means secure: they were certainly not prosperous. To-day they are strong, powerful, efficient, formidable, happy, and respected. Fifty years ago, there was not a diocese, a bishop, a seminary, nor a convent of the Catholic Church in our Union. Now there is a perfect province, with its regular hierarchy, consisting of an archbishop, with seven suffragan bishops, and two coadjutors, besides two exempt dioceses and their bishops; giving an aggregate of twelve of the episcopal body, with their secular clergy; two universities and five or six

seminaries: a province of Jesuits with a university and noviciate and two or three colleges: an establishment of Sulpicians with a university and college and a seminary: a province of Dominican friars with their professed house and college and noviciate; two or three establishments of Lazarists with their colleges and seminaries and schools; an establishment of Augustinian friars; two flourishing Ursuline convents, Visitation nuns, Carmelite nuns, poor Clares, Lorretines, Sisters of Charity, and five or six other descriptions of female religious societies, with their schools and establishments, besides some monasteries of men. Add to this, three or four periodical presses, and continual demand for new churches and more clergymen: the progress of the religion appearing to be in the ratio of the efforts to extinguish it or to impede its progress. The editor himself saw this, and complained of the very increase; and tells his readers that Popery has invaded the land, "is laying the foundations of an empire," "is forging chains to bind the anti-Christian moralists," and so on. Yet this writer, who observes and testifies the existence of this liberty and this Popery, who has beheld the wonderful progress of each in the same land and under the same government, very sapiently assures his readers, verily and of truth, that they "cannot co-exist,"—"from the nature of things it is impossible for them to flourish together." And he very wisely gives us the assurance of this impossibility, whilst he assures us, that what he declares to be impossible is the fact. Which are we to believe, his doctrine or his testimony? "If the laws of the papal communion be administered, liberty must die." But the said laws have been administered during half a century, and yet liberty has not died.[1]

Perhaps he has discovered that she is in her death sickness, for the administration of the laws of the papal communion must be the tariff: and the death sickness is evidently nullification. Bless us! what a glorious privilege it is, to be gifted with the power of looking into the

[1] This illustration can be applied much more forcibly now, when there are ten times more Catholics in the United States than at that time.

imaginary world, and proclaiming the solution of those enigmas which are so impervious to ken of ordinary mortals. Now which of us, poor creatures, whose notions are confined to the surface of the globe, could have suspected that our civil and religious liberties had been so greatly jeopardized by the administration of the laws of the papal communion? Sure enough, there was a provincial council in Baltimore nearly two years ago; the Pope has confirmed the proceedings of the prelates; the president has dismissed his cabinet; some of those who lost their places are very angry; the Vice-President and Mr. Crawford are at open war; South Carolina is about to do strange things, and we have a popish attorney-general! No wonder that the sun gave dim portent of mighty disasters. But even previous to his ghastly green and livid blue, the prognostication was drawn from a more unerring horoscope, by the sagacious editor of the *Southern Religious Telegraph*. "If you cannot reach a book off a shelf, you take a stool, and standing upon that stool, you are able to reach down the book; the stool are these gifts; grace alone many times cannot reach down such a notion in divinity as it is able to do by the help of gifts," etc. Verily, it is a good gift, to be able to reconcile contradictions. This is a favor granted only to the elect.

Passing by this paragraph, without further remarks for the present, allow me to exhibit the arrogance with which this evangelical editor treats the "tolerant friends of Popery," as he is pleased to call the liberal Protestants of the United States. After degrading Roman Catholics to the level of the drunkard, the profane swearer, the gambler, the votary of dissipation, the infidel, and the anti-Christian, and emphatically designating them as the slaves of the impositions of a crafty priesthood, as the subjects of a beast, he compliments all those Protestants who do not choose to adopt the rules of the Presbyterians with the assurance that their feelings and views accord perfectly well with the morality and practices of the abomi-

nable outcasts whom he has thus described. This is a compliment for which the larger portion of the Protestants should feel very grateful. This is a species of liberality that ought to make a due impression upon them. It reminds me of the manner in which a stupid fellow once made his court to a person with whom he sought an intimacy. "My dear sir, I had a cousin of whom I was very fond; we were exceedingly intimate, and I was greatly attached to the poor fellow. He was one of the most jovial, merry scape-graces I ever knew; he lived in a continual round of gambling, dissipation, and their concomitant habits; until in an unlucky moment he had his career arrested—poor fellow! You knew him; he was hanged last year. Your manner and appearance remind me so perfectly of him, that I have ever since sought to make your acquaintance—for really I feel at a loss for a companion." It is quite out of the question to doubt the great respect in which the evangelical brethren hold their fellow-Protestants, the unconverted, the unregenerated, the worldly. Nor is this a novel feeling amongst the pure and the orthodox in regard to the other portion—the tolerant and the liberal; and not only in their regard, but towards all those who have fallen short of their notions of reformation and holy hatred of our Church. I shall give a few specimens.

"The Church of England is a true whorish mother, and they that were of her were base begotten and bastardly children, and she neither is nor ever was truly married, joined, or united unto Jesus Christ, in that espoused band, which His true Churches are and ought to be."[1] "Of all the nations that have renounced the whore of Rome, there is none in the world so far out of square as England in retaining the popish hierarchy."[2] "Your Churches bear with drunkards, whore-mongers, railers, open scorners at godliness. The most ungodly of the land are the forwardest for your ways. You may have almost all the drunkards, blasphemers, and ignorant haters of godli-

[1] Lilburn, cited by Bastwick. [2] "Epist. before the Demons."

ness to vote for ye."[1] "The Church of England evidently declares themselves limbs of Antichrist; therefore, there is no communion to be kept with such in their public worship."[2] "We have a long while been clouded by confusion in the Church by a loose priesthood, who have not only brought in an innumerable number of pagan rites and Jewish ceremonies, but by their hellish skill have just broke through our constitution and almost reduced her to the obedience of Rome."[3] "What can a man of sense believe when he shall see a priest at the altar, acting a holy part, bowing and cringing, approaching the bread and wine, as if the popish notion of transubstantiation was true?"[4] "If we look upon the lives, actions, and manners of the priests and prelates of this age, and see their pride, impudency, profaneness, uncleanness, one would think that hell had broke loose, and that the devils in surplices, in hoods, and copes, and rochetts, and in four-square . . . . upon their heads[5] were coming amongst us . . . . The priests are secundum ordinem diaboli, a generation of vipers, proud, ungrateful, illiterate asses."[6] "The bishops are men swallowed up with wine and strong drink, whose tables are full of vomit and filthiness, whore-mongers and adulterers, who as fed horses neigh after their neighbors' wives." The rest of this passage is too obscene.[7] "One parson is drunken and quarrelsome, but then he bows to the altar and thinks King William is damned. Another cheats everybody and pays nobody, but he drinks to the royal orphan, and cannot abide King George. A third neither preaches nor prays, but he does a more meritorious thing, he constantly and fervently curses the Germans and the Presbyterians. A sixth is an evidence upon a trial and forswears himself, but the cause was for tithe, and he did it out

[1] Baxter's "Dispute," v., pp. 17 and 37.
[2] "Vind. Cult. Evang." p 30.
[3] "Rebels' Doom," p. 42.
[4] "Christianity no Creature of the State," p. 13.
[5] The clergy of the Church of England at the period of this publication used to wear square caps, such as are still worn in the English universities.
[6] Nalson's "Collect." v. 1. p. 502-3.
[7] White's "First Century." Preface.

of love for the Church. A seventh is a scoffer, who has laughed religion out of the world, but he hated my Lord Wharton like a toad, and got drunk frequently with Lord Harry for the prosperity of the Church."[1]

These, and volumes of such passages, which abound in the publications of the "saints," during the last two centuries, show their feelings toward other Protestants, and the estimation in which they hold all that do not come up to their standard of purity, and orthodoxy, and illiberality. Thus it is that the sanctified editor styles the other Protestants anti-Christian moralists, in contra-distinction to evangelical Christians, who are the Puritans of our day. He charges them with cherishing sympathy rather for gross error than for enlightened Christianity; and with stupidity and ignorance in not knowing the evil tendency of Popery, both upon the spiritual and political concerns of the community and of the nation. This is the politeness, this the courtesy, this the forbearance with which the charitable editor treats the large mass of the Protestant population of America. What could an unfortunate Catholic expect from such a man, or from the host to which he belongs, when he is thus insulting and arrogant to the great body of the Protestants who profess to be reformed without professing to be evangelical?

Let us now review his specific charges against the subjects of the beast. He places as the caption of his article—"The Republic in Danger!" He then repeats in the very commencement of his article that "it ought not to be concealed, that the republic is in danger;" he assures his readers that it is "a dream of the imagination" to suppose that "increasing numbers and growing prosperity are evidences of the safety of the republic and pledges of its perpetuity." On the contrary he declares that this "dream of the imagination, so fondly entertained, instead of diminishing, increases the danger to which it is exposed." Again, to make assurance doubly sure—to perform his duty as a watchman upon the tower, he ceases not to repeat, "whatever good citizens may imagine,

[1] "Letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury," pp. 15-16.

there is danger." Of a verity, then, if the slumbering and careless "good citizens" indulge in their imaginations and their day-dreams; the watchman hath loudly proclaimed—he hath delivered his own soul. But, pray, faithful sentinel, what is it you behold? Why such an aspect of terror? Why shake you so? Does any treacherous foe invade the peaceful bosom of our land—

Frighting her pale-faced villagers with war?

"The republic is invaded by enemies that are plotting its destruction, more numerous and more powerful than the hostile armies of '76." But, good friends, you must be under a mistake. Your eyes are weary from watching, or your imagination is excited from apprehension and vigilance: we perceive no enemy—we see no danger. Yea, now, is not this deplorable? "And what renders the condition of the republic more hazardous is the fact that the assaults of the enemy are so insidious that they are not generally observed by the people." But, friend, we really know not what bewilders and terrifies you. You acknowledge, as facts: 1, that our numbers increase; 2, that our prosperity grows; and 3, that the people cannot observe and do not feel or perceive those assaults that you speak of. Are you not ashamed to make false alarms? or are you demented? Demented! Woe be to the mockers: "Let good citizens look around them—we would give no false alarm—let them look at the encampment of the enemy, and see the hostile powers arrayed against the republic, and they will be convinced that the present is not the time to dream that all is safe." Really, we have looked around us, and the only encampments that we can perceive are those for religious meetings of the Methodists and the Presbyterians, with a few, occasionally, of the Baptists. In these there undoubtedly is mighty bustle, there is fearful noise, but we cannot perceive that they are "hostile powers arrayed against the republic." Pray, do you call these enemies? Is it to disperse these con-

gregations; is it to send the men to their labor and the women to their household concerns, that you have told us that we should cry "To arms!" "to arms!" Is it for this purpose you proclaim that "the cry" should be "reiterated in every part of the republic?" Is it for this that you declare "the whole people should have risen *en masse*?" We assure you, that to us no other camp is visible, save those religious camps; although we look upon them as not useful, either to religion, or morality, or the State, yet we do not think ourselves warranted to interfere with the rights of those who bellow or who rave, with the liberties of those who are frantic or sober, of those who feast or who fast, with the conduct of the man of prayer, or of him of blasphemy, who might be found in this multitude. Woe to the careless; woe to the unbeliever! Woe to him who would compare the host of Israel to the Philistine—the armies of Jehovah to the invader. "Do you not see that Popery has invaded the land, and is laying the foundations of an empire with which, if it prevail, the enlightened freedom of the republic cannot exist?" So, so; is this the enemy? Is this the camp? Is this the hostile array? Oh! now I begin to breathe more freely. Why, all these tropes, and figures, and hyperbolical expressions led me to fear that really there was some danger; and especially when they were uttered by you. I could never have imagined that a gentleman of such well-regulated gravity, such holy calmness, so demure an aspect, so staid and measured a gait, so plain as to the exterior man, and so sober-minded as respects the interior man, could make so vehement an outcry, and permit his imagination to be so irrecoverably bewildered in metaphor. I assuredly believed you were describing what your corporeal eye discovered. Which of these are you?

> Lovers and madmen have such seething brains,
> Such shaping fantasies, that apprehend
> More than cool reason ever comprehends.
> The lunatic, the lover, and the poet,

> Are of imagination all compact:
> One sees more devils than vast hell can hold;
> That is the madman: the lover, all as frantic,
> Sees Helen's beauty in a brow of Egypt;
> The poet's eye, in a fine frenzy rolling,
> Doth glance from heaven to earth, from earth to heaven;
> And, as imagination bodies forth
> The forms of things unknown, the poet's pen
> Turns them to shapes, and gives to airy nothing
> A local habitation and a name.
> Such tricks hath strong imagination,
> That if it would but apprehend some joy,
> It comprehends some bringer of that joy;
> Or in the night, imagining some fear,
> How easy is a bush supposed a bear?

Excuse me, if I have thus relaxed my style whilst I pursued my subject. I thought this colloquial criticism best calculated to expose the perfect folly of the paragraphist's apprehensions: whether deluded by his own imagination, he really entertained them, or conscious of the absence of any foundation upon which they could solidly rest, he conjured up its semblance in the phraseology of terror. The Italians have a proverb which well describes this latter procedure. It represents a blacksmith running hastily, having a serious air of business, with a piece of cold iron in his tongs; he plunges it into the water from which a heated piece had just been removed, and over which the vapor yet rests: whilst he cunningly purrs to imitate that boiling which does not exist. This writer, after having made an astounding prologue about camps and armies, about alarms and enemies, about seventy-six and devastation, invasions and destruction, then exhibits hundreds of thousands of victims and immolations, summons 300,000 temperance men, and astounds us with reiterations and levies *en masse*, he envelops the imagination in the fumes and vapors of intemperance, and with the semblance of affright, he now plunges Popery into those waters of bitterness in which he had extinguished the drunkard. Unquestionably it is a good specimen of bathos, but according to every rule of rhetoric, here it is a beauty, for the object was to describe a plunge.

But why is he angry with Popery? Reason first: Because Popery and the enlightened freedom of the republic cannot coexist. Answer: They have coexisted, they do coexist, they will continue to coexist; they may therefore coexist, they can therefore coexist, let them coexist. Now, we have gone through all the moods and tenses with their coexistence; the American public and I both do know the fact that they have coexisted; and this single fact, whose truth no one can question, which even the writer of the *Telegraph* dare not deny, overturns his whole theory. Reason second: Popery stupefies the conscience. Answer second: This is not only an unwarranted assumption, but a palpable falsehood. When an attempt is made by any one worth notice to sustain the charge, he shall find the answer here given fully upheld. Reason third: Popery blinds the understanding. Answer third: This is not only a gratuitous and a false assertion, but it emanates from a spirit which is equally bereft of humility, of charity, of modesty, of benignity, as of truth. No attempt is made to prove its correctness: should any one undertake the task and appear to make progress, he shall not proceed without being encountered. Reason fourth: Popery withholds the only light which can guide human reason aright. Answer fourth: I shall not affect to misunderstand this; I look upon it to be the hackneyed assertion, that by this light is meant the Bible. This is not withheld by the Catholic Church; but she has preserved it. Without her guardianship it would long since have been lost; without her testimony it would be no authority; she not only gives to her children the Book, but also its commissioned expositor: as the State not only gives to us her statutes, but also her judiciary; and as without the latter the former would be useless, so in religion, the Book without its commissioned judge would prove a rock of destruction in place of being the foundation of doctrine. It is untrue that the Catholic Church withholds the only light which can guide human reason aright; but it is true that she warns her children against receiving

or relying upon the mutilated and imperfect and mistranslated volumes which the evangelical societies have substituted for the Word of God; as it is equally true that she cautions them against misinterpretations and misapplications, and a submission to tribunals illegally and unwarrantably claiming a heavenly commission, whose existence they cannot prove. When he who makes the charge shall expound his reason, I shall develop my answer.[1] Reason fifth: Popery makes the whole man a superstitious slave to the impositions of a crafty priesthood. Answer fifth: This is but an assertion, couched in language equally offensive to the priest and the people, without a single particle of evidence either to sustain its averments or to justify its epithets. I can only say of it, as of those that preceded it, he has asserted—I have denied: upon him lies the obligation of adducing proof or submitting to the consequences. When he supplies this defect, I shall feel myself called upon to sustain my position.

I have shown his charge, I have exhibited the manner in which he accounts for the alarm that he has given. I appeal to Americans whether he was justified in thus terrifying his readers. His last publication contains the account of an incursion of marauders upon some families at Southampton, and the horrible butchery of perhaps more than one hundred persons, who were left unprotected by the effective male population, because, as the Norfolk paper informs us, "they were absent at camp-meeting in Gates county, some miles off, a circumstance which gave a temporary security to the brigands in the perpetration of their butcheries." He does not place any "Republic in Danger" as the caption to this. Yet besides the butcheries thus perpetrated, justice will necessarily destroy the lives of the wretches concerned in this atrocity; it is impossible that they should escape; not only public justice but public security compels to the most unsparing search and its consequences. Was it Popery produced this? I would entreat the writer to abandon his fancies.

[1] See "Infallibility," vol. ii.

and to dwell upon facts. Let him trace effects to their causes, and he will find enemies to the peace and the tranquility of our republic nearer home than in Popery. I would recommend to him to reserve his alarms and his wailings for causes which too plainly demand them, and to pay more attention to the real camps of his associates than to the imaginary camps of non-existent enemies.

VIII.

I now come to exhibit the drift of the paragraphist. He informs his readers, that "the danger to the republic from men of this stamp"—that is, Catholics, tolerant Protestants, drunkards, profane swearers, Sabbath breakers, gamblers, the votaries of dissipation, and infidels—"has been increased by the fact, that they fill some of its important places of trust." Thus, the object of the party whose mouthpiece the editor is, clearly must be, to exclude from office not only Catholics and tolerant Protestants, but all those whom the Evangelicals designate as infidels. He first informs us, that "a bad man injures all with whom he has influence; he injures the community in which he lives; he injures the republic." He proceeds to inform us, that not only is "danger threatened but injury has been inflicted" upon the community and the republic "by some hundreds of thousands of the subjects of Popery and intemperance." He then states, that "thousands of others whose example and influence, even while they plume themselves for patriots, are injuring the republic." Amongst them he enumerates specially "Sabbath breakers, who are weakening the restraints of virtue, and countenancing vice, and encouraging others to neglect the instructions and ordinances of the Church of Christ." Thus, when we know that the "Church of Christ," as contra-distinguished from the "synagogue of Satan," means the evangelical combination, as segregated, because of its self-righteousness, from all the tolerant Protestants, the infidels, the ungodly, and the subjects of Popery and intemperance,—we can easily

perceive, when Sabbath breaking is the theme, that the great complaint is the refusal of Congress to comply with the demand of the Church, for stopping the travelling of the mails on Sunday. This refusal is weakening the restraints of virtue; this is the countenancing of vice; this the encouraging of others to neglect the instructions and ordinances of the "Church of Christ!" These instructions and ordinances, he informs us, are "the only efficient means which have ever been known for saving a people from gross ignorance, wickedness, and superstition." Thus, having shown us the sources of danger, and the authors of the injury to the republic, he goes on to exhibit how "the danger has been increased" by the fact that such persons "fill important places of trust" in the republic. Clearly, then, the remedy which he considers effectual, would be to put such men out of the offices, and to fill them with persons who would encourage others, by their precept and example, to reduce to practice the instructions and ordinances of the evangelical association. He does not like our present government. "So many of them"—tolerant Protestants and infidels—"had, by some means, obtained important stations of trust a year or two since, that no Christian could speak plainly of the dangers to which his country was exposed, without being charged with the crime of 'mingling religion with politics!' They seemed to regard the wise provisions of the Constitution, to prevent the establishment of religion by law, as an ordinance to consign the world of politics to the dominion of infidelity. They seemed to think that they had an exclusive right to reign in the political world."

In all this, I believe we can evidently see the complaint to be, that the persons placed in political power took it into their heads that they were entrusted with the regulation of the political concerns of the country, without being obliged to share their concern in that regulation with the "holy ones" who claimed an exclusive right to reign in the religious world. And when, filled with the zeal of the house of the Lord, the pious fraternite

essayed to aid these infidels—a complimentary name for our government—in the burdensome work of legislation, they were informed that this was "mingling religion with politics." Then the "saints" protested that they sought not to have their Church established by law, as that was forbidden by the Constitution; I believe that they were perfectly sincere, for the object was not to place the Church under the protection of Congress, but to take Congress under the direction of the Church,—and against this there was indeed no express provision made in the Constitution; so that really, without any palpable verbal violation of that instrument, their reasonable desire might be complied with. But if they complained of the men then in places of important trust, what would they say now? Or rather what have they said? I heed but refer to their shameful attack upon the President of the United States for daring to call to the post of attorney-general one of the best lawyers, one of the most consistent politicians, one of the most virtuous private characters in the United States, merely because he was of the same religion as the patriotic, the amiable, the venerable survivor of the band that established our liberty! Yes! one of the plain objects of these men and women who are banded together in the several evangelical associations, is the exclusion from political power of every one who is not of the brotherhood. But this is only as a lemma to their ulterior conclusion. Give them exclusive political power, and then, of course, they will use it for legislative purposes. Then the instructions and ordinances of the "Church of Christ" will of a surety be applied to the rational and religious purposes of saving the people from gross ignorance, wickedness, and superstition. The reform may indeed commence at the post-office, but where is it to stop? Let me recall a few of the ordinances under which the Evangelicals formerly regulated the liberties of Connecticut.

"None shall hold any office who is not sound in the faith." To be sure it was also regulated that he should be "faithful to their dominion." Thus, the spirit is not

changed. As yet they have not the power to make the enactment constitutionally; but let them have such a power as they calculate themselves upon acquiring through the instrumentality of their associations, and they will inevitably have the moral power of making this provision constitutional. They will then be able to revive the penalty. "And whoever votes for such a person shall pay a fine of one pound. For the second offence shall be disfranchised." That this is the object of the party there can be no question. What says the paragraphist? "Hence the outcry raised against the Rev. Dr. Ely for sentiments which he published relative to the importance of electing men of good principles, who could be trusted for civil rulers—sentiments which no man but an infidel need blush to avow." Doctor Ely's sentiments were, that none but "men of good principles"—of course no Papists, no infidels, no Sabbath breakers, no profane swearers, no drunkards, no tolerant Protestants, no anti-Christian moralists—should be elected to offices. And though this could not be immediately effected, he calculates that, by reason of the organized systems of the associations, especially of the Sunday schools, the great bulk of the religious community could ere long be brought to a simultaneous action at the polls, and carry everything before them, according as the wisdom by which they were guided should direct. From candidates the transition is natural to electors. We might next expect the revival of the enactment, "No one shall be a free man, or give a vote, unless he be converted, or a member of one of the Churches allowed in this dominion!" Would the beast be permitted to have "subjects?" Would a Roman Catholic Church be found in the dominion? Why the laws themselves answer: "No priest shall abide in this dominion. He shall be banished, and suffer death on his return." And this law extended to the priests of the Church of England, upon whom I have shown they bestowed such pretty epithets and of whom they furnish so many disgusting descriptions. Yet, there are priests of that Church who, without reflecting upon the

consequences, abet efforts which would produce their own ruin! "Priests may be seized by any one without a warrant;" so says the Puritanical legislation. Lest any person should harbor a doubt of the correctness of my meaning of the word "priest," or imagine that there was a disposition to treat the Church of England with kindness or indulgence, I shall furnish another extract from the same code: "No one shall read common prayer, keep Christmas or saints' day, make minced pies, dance, play cards, or play any instrument of music, except the drum, the trumpet and the jewsharp."

Allow me to show what more may be reasonably expected if those men should succeed in their plans. "No Quaker or dissenter from the established worship of this dominion shall be allowed to give a vote at the election of magistrates or of any officer." But Americans neither know the history nor the characters of these men, if it is imagined they will, after having attained this point, stop contented. No! The same restless spirit, the same grasping ambition, the same sectarian domination which led them to this acquisition, encouraged by the success of their efforts, will urge them to proceed; and they will re-enact that "No food and lodging shall be afforded to a Quaker, Adamite or other heretic." And every one who belongs not to the evangelical combination is, in their estimation, an infidel or a heretic. "If any person turns Quaker, he shall be banished, and not suffered to return on pain of death." Papists may, of course, calculate upon giving up all expectation of remaining in the United States, when Dr. Ely's growing phalanx of voters is duly organized and efficient. It is quite against the consciences of the "saints" to permit the subjects of the beast to pollute the soil. I could give the names of several of the associates in Charleston who would not receive Catholics into their employ without enforcing a special clause that they should be under control of their employers on Sundays, and some are honest enough to avow that the object is to prevent their going to Mass and to

oblige them to go to an evangelical church. This is no isolated, no extraordinary case; it is frequent and usual amongst a large class of persons in Charleston to act upon this principle, though not so usual to make the avowal. Catholics looking for employment are thus perpetually worried and disappointed; and when they do get situations, in such places, without agreeing to the clause, they are liable to a variety of petty tyrannies and mean vexations, by throwing obstacles in the way of their attending Mass, their going to the sacraments, and particularly from the shameful contrivance of endeavoring to starve them out of their religion, by keeping from them on days of abstinence such food as they are warranted, by their discipline, to use. Do Americans think that the petty malevolence which thus exhibits itself daily, in Charleston and in so many other places, would, if it were clothed with power equal to its deformity, confine itself to such despicable annoyance? Care would, indeed, be taken, that Popery should not invade the land; chains would be fastened upon "the monster," and he would be smitten by the elect of the Lord. "Drunkards" would, perhaps, be permitted to remain, but they "shall have masters appointed by the select men, who are to debar them the liberty of buying or selling." Protestant Episcopalians must give up their priests. The prelates, of course, would stink in the nostrils of the godly, and common prayer books and minced pies should disappear together. Whether organs would be permitted to remain is doubtful, as the jewsharp has been so little practiced of late that its dulcet notes could, with great difficulty, be brought to equal the diapason. Quakers, Adamites, and other heretics, in a word, all dissenters from the Church, not united with the State, but domineering over the State, being banished—not only would the conveying of mails be stopped upon the "Sabbath," but "no one shall travel, cook victuals, make beds, sweep houses, cut hair, or shave on the Sabbath day." Alas for the barber! this would not be his sole misfortune, for "every male shall have his hair cut round,

according to a cap." The fashionable touches of our titivators would be useless, as are the powder, bags, puffs and pomatum of their predecessors. "No one shall run of a Sabbath day, or walk in his garden, or elsewhere, but reverently to and from Church." "No woman shall kiss her child on the Sabbath or fasting day." Are Americans prepared for such domination as this? If they are ready to bow their necks to receive this yoke, of course, they will have no difficulty in permitting the enactment of a law similar to this: "Whoever wears clothes trimmed with silver or bone lace, above two shillings a yard, shall be presented by the grand jurors, and the select men shall tax the offender at the rate of £300 estate." I would ask whether any civilized nation, except under the dominion of this sect, ever submitted to such a code? I would ask whether any despot that ever ruled a degraded accumulation of vassals, dared to impose such a yoke? A man is not allowed to walk in his garden, nor a young mother to kiss her beloved infant on a Sunday![1]

I by no means endeavor to create upon other minds an impression different from what exists on my own, when I exhibit these as the consequences likely to flow from the success of these efforts to create a "Christian party in politics." In 1645 and '46, when the same party had no dominion over the English parliament, but great encouragement from that assembly, they declared: "Toleration is the appointing a city of refuge in men's consciences for the devil to fly to; a toleration of soul murther, the greatest murther of all others."[2] In the "Book of Discipline," published in the reign of Elizabeth, p. 142, we read: "Kings no less than the rest, must obey, and yield to the authority of the ecclesiastical magistrate." One of their writers (Cartwright) explains this submission: "Princes must remember to subject themselves to the Church, and to submit their sceptres and throw down their crowns before the Church; yea, to lick the dust off the feet of the Church." (P. 645.) Compare this with the

[1] Kingsley's "Hist. Disc.," pp. 104-8.
[2] Bennett's "Introduct. to Abridg. of the London Cases," p. 6.

complaints of their writers at present, that too many infidels have obtained places of power; that infidels seem to think they have an exclusive right to reign in the political world; that the instructions and ordinances of the Church are disregarded by "Sabbath" breakers; that good men are seduced by pernicious errors; that Dr. Ely's plan is one which no man but an infidel need blush to avow. Add to this the fact that although they complain that, a year or two since, so many bad men have by some means obtained important stations in the government, yet they have actually more than their proportion of those places, in their ratio to the rest of the population of the Union, which they consider the ungodly. The article in the *Telegraph* has stated his numbers at only 300,000, out of 12,000,000, which would be but one to thirty-nine. He has, however, underrated his own side. The whole population consists of adults and infants; he only gives us his adults, and even these are underrated. Instead of one "saint" to thirty-nine sinners, I think we may fairly give him one "saint" to seven sinners, provided he considers all the converted and all the members of the evangelical Churches and their families, as he ought, as belonging to the aggregate of his population. This would give them a right to one-eighth of the public offices and of the representation; and if they possess that portion they ought to be satisfied. How shall it be ascertained whether they have this portion?

On the 16th of April, the *Southern Religious Telegraph*, of May 5, 1831, informs us a meeting was held at the First Presbyterian Church, in the city of Washington, for establishing Sunday schools in the valley of the Mississippi. This is one of the leading objects of the confederates, as it is through means of the Sunday schools Dr. Ely intends to secure the votes necessary to his own favorite object, of creating the dominion of a "Christian party in politics." We may, therefore, fairly put down, as belonging to their party, or under its influence, all the advocates and operators who then and there came forward.

The *Telegraph* informs us, in emphatic italics, that "the most of the speakers on the interesting occasion were members of Congress. The friends of Sabbath schools will rejoice to learn that the most distinguished voices in our country are proclaiming the importance of the holy enterprise, which is to cheer and bless and save the youth of our land, and re-echoing from the citadel of freedom, the noble resolution adopted last May, by the American Sunday School Union." The New York *Observer*, another of the associated presses, informs us: "The North, the South, the West, the Middle States were well represented on this occasion."

This does not look like the complaint of men feeling themselves treated with injustice and bereft of friends in important stations of the government of the United States! "Never did our legislators appear in an attitude of superior dignity and interest, than as advocates, in the temple of God, of the great system of religious education, which is wielding its potent influence through their country, commanding the best services of the best men in all communities, of all professions, and destined to pervade the whole of this mighty republic, and even to encircle the globe itself." After declaring that the fact of the system advocated by such men proves that there is no design of uniting Church and State, the *Observer* proceeds: "It is a fortunate circumstance that so many and so highly distinguished public men should have first openly stood forth at the seat of government, in defence of that very institution against which the most envenomed shafts of infidel fury have been hurled." Yet the writer, who is one of the heralds of the party, complains of the danger to the republic, from the fact that what it is pleased to call the "infidel party and the irreligious party" have not only filled some of its important places of trust, but by some means have obtained such stations, a year or two since, as to prevent "Christians" speaking of the dangers to which their country is exposed by Popery, intemperance, infidelity and "Sabbath" breaking, without being charged with the crime

of "mingling religion with politics!" Have they not more than double their share of officers and senators and representatives? Is there a single public institution into which they have not endeavored to worm themselves, and successfully in most instances? On the 16th of April had they not Senator Grundy in the chair, Senator Frelinghuysen preaching, Senator Webster declaiming, and judges and members of Congress and other public men, without measure, applauding? Had they not the President of the United States apologizing and transmitting a message? And of what do they complain? Verily, because they had not all the public officers, all the Congress, all the power of the Union at their command. They were unable to clog the wheels of the mail stages; the mighty meed of honors and power of the court; nay, even the prospect of encircling the great globe itself, were mere nothing, whilst Mordecai sat quietly at the palace gate, unscathed by the lightning of their zeal. They must have uncontrolled dominion; there must be no Popery in the land; infidelity must bow down; intemperance must be extinguished; men's hair must be cut to the measure of a cap; minced pies and Christmas must disappear; neither mail-bags, nor razors, nor scissors, nor brushes, nor combs shall be touched on the "Sabbath;" pots and saucepans must have rest, stages must lie by; nor steam shall roll, nor fire shall burn, nor men shall run, nor mother kiss her babe. These are to be the tokens which will usher in, as glorious auspices, the millennium of the sacred host!

I believe that, from the preceding review, there will exist very little doubt on the mind of any impartial and close observer, respecting at least two great objects of that portion of our citizens who consider themselves "religious." No one can reasonably doubt their efforts and their steady determination to create a "Christian party in politics;" that this party is to consist of those whom they consider sanctified, or converted; that although they are aware that it is not at present a majority, they calculate upon its becoming so, through the operation of religious associations,

especially the Sunday schools; that this party is to support such political measures as best agree with the instructions and ordinances of the evangelical Churches; that for this purpose the members will, at the ballot boxes, be induced to act by one spirit, from one impulse, to vote for no candidate who will not merit the confidence of the religious and evangelical. Thus, though they will not seek to make the Church dependent upon the State, they will succeed in making the State dependent upon the Church. The other object is to deliver the republic from its enemies, from the dangers with which it is threatened; one of the most formidable of which is Popery. I might, upon this head, rest satisfied with the evidence which I have adduced; but it will perhaps be allowed me to show that the same sentiments which are expressed by the writer of the paragraph which I review, are entertained everywhere by the same party. I shall give only two specimens. Dr. Beecher gave lectures upon Catholicism lately in Boston, and in his second lecture on the doctrines of the Church of Rome, which was the sixth of his course, as given in the *Telegraph* of March 5, we read:

"He feared that the siren song of 'no danger' would beguile this people in the quiet enjoyment of their great privileges; and that while we were slumbering in the lap of indulgence, we should lose the hardy courage of our fathers, and might be 'shorn of our locks of glory,' our blessings snatched from us before we were aware.

"Infidelity is ready for an alliance with the papal power, to consummate the destruction of our liberties, and the movements of our enemies must be watched with vigilance. If our fears are excited, no physical power can enslave the people. There is in them an unconquerable spirit to defend their rights. The danger is not in an open attack, but in stratagems and wiles. If the conscience be enslaved to superstition, and the liberty of private judgment in religious concerns be wrested from us, our civil rights will of course be prostrated."

The two points are uniformly the same in all the productions of the party, viz., the first to identify the

Catholic Church and infidelity; the second to impress the lovers of republicanism with the idea that the toleration of the Catholic Church will destroy liberty; and thus to excite them to banish Catholics from the republic. Yet is it not strange that the editor of the *Telegraph* has so far forgotten himself, as to insert in the same number of his paper a practical refutation of the first of Doctor Beecher's positions, by showing in the following notice that the same infidelity which he dreads, is that which persecuted and nearly destroyed the Catholic Church in France?

"*Deistical Works.*—We observe that the infidel publications of France—works that had a powerful influence, in introducing the reign of terror in Paris, forty years ago, are now advertised for sale in this city. Spirited efforts, it seems, are to be made to scatter the seeds of poison and death among our citizens. These efforts to propagate the delusions of infidelity—of infidelity of the darkest character, are not unworthy of the friends of immorality and irreligion. If they succeed, virtue and social order must give place to licentiousness and vice, which will be followed by crime and enormity—and at length by miseries for which there will be no mitigation."

Now I think it would be somewhat difficult for him to show how this same infidelity which in Europe is so hostile to the Roman Catholic religion, can be its ally in America. Do the Catholic clergy disseminate these works? I must not, however, expect to find this writer free from contradictions: he seems to love them.

In the same paper he presents us with a letter from some evangelical students in Scotland to their brethren at Princeton, N. J., in which they inform these latter that they "seek to accelerate the downfall of Satan by every effort in their power;" and amongst other fields in which they may labor with effect, in overthrowing Satan, "the more popish districts of Ireland readily obtrude themselves on our notice;" and they remind their brethren that in Scotland, as well as in the United States, "the adherents

of the Catholic Church, falsely so called, have for several years been laboring with extreme assiduity to spread the principles of Popery." They hail the French Revolution as, "it will, we trust, prove a death-blow to the interests of Popery upon the continent." Shall I then charge as leagued with the infidels of France, the evangelical students of Scotland, and the evangelical editors of America, and the evangelical ministers, who from their pulpits gave glory to God, and called upon their evangelical hearers, to exult in the success of the French infidels, who prepared for that Revolution and mainly effected it through the instrumentality of those very works against which the editor of the *Telegraph* declaims?

I have by no means gone deeply into the documents which lie under my hand. Yet, I trust, I have shown enough to make it clear, that two of the great objects of the "saints," and the two of primary importance in their estimation, are, to acquire influence over the government, and to root out the Roman Catholic religion; that they aim at succeeding in the first, by means of the votes through their organized associations; and in the second by creating distrust, jealousy, fear and horror in the public mind, using to this end calumny and misrepresentation.

IX.

I beg to draw attention to a few more topics of the article upon which these letters are a comment. I shall first exhibit the manner in which the writer lectures our public men. Treating of intemperance he writes: "While the land has been stained with the blood of his victims, many of our political watchmen, who ought to see that the republic receives no detriment, have been so intent on elections, that they have not appeared to know of this invasion!" Again, in the next paragraph: "The same enemy has plundered our citizens of millions of dollars annually. Had one-half of this sum been contributed for the education of men, to give sound religious

instruction to thousands of the uninstructed and prejudiced in this country, or to send the blessings of Christianity to the deluded heathen, some of our political seers would have raised the cry of 'Enthusiasm! These bigoted fanatics will drain the people of their money and ruin the country!' But there is no bigotry—no fanaticism, it seems, in drunkenness. There is no danger when the guardians of the republic sleep, while millions are plundered from the people to prepare an offering of human blood for this insatiable Moloch." Again, after complaining that "men of that stamp" which he dislikes, "fill some of the important places of trust" of the republic, he adds, "they seemed to regard the wise provisions of the Constitution to prevent the establishment of religion by law, as an ordinance to consign the world of politics to the dominion of infidelity. They seemed to think that they had an exclusive right to reign in the political world." The passages manifest the writer's notion that it is the duty of "our political watchmen" to regulate his temperance societies, so as to prevent the expenditure of those yearly millions of dollars for drink, and to provide either directly or indirectly for home and foreign missions, by encouraging the education of clerical candidates. He seems to charge the "political seers," as he facetiously calls them, with "sleeping while millions are plundered from the public," though they are the "guardians of the republic." And yet while they sleep, they "have been intent upon elections." I am perfectly unable to discover, if he means our general government, as I suppose he must, upon what ground he makes this very wanton aggression. To sustain his charge he should show, first, that the government, that is, Congress had the power to do what he requires; next, that it was the duty of Congress; and thirdly, that this duty was neglected, either because of their supineness, or because of their being intent on elections: for I will not fasten upon him the blunder of which he was guilty in conjoining sleep and watchfulness.

Now I deny at once, that Congress has any power whatever to interfere directly or indirectly with the temperance,

educational, or missionary societies, or with the conduct of individuals in respect to them. Any legislative action of Congress upon any of those subjects would be direct usurpation, palpably invalid, and dangerous to the liberties of the republic: and as such, it would and it ought to be resisted. The paragraphist appears to be altogether ignorant of the principles upon which our general government has been formed, as also of the source and the extent of its powers. I doubt if any State government in the Union possesses the power which he would call upon it to assume; I know several which positively do not; and where any legislation upon either of those subjects would of course be gross usurpation, which it would be the duty of every patriot to oppose.

The governments under which our affairs are administered derive their powers from conventions of the people, in which alone the sovereignty, properly and strictly speaking, resides. These conventions have expressed the popular will in written constitutions. The legislatures derive their powers from the people, through those constitutions, and only to their extent. In many of them are to be found declarations of rights, in others of them restraining clauses and principles, and in some a combination of both; and where the legislative power is thus restrained by the popular will, any effort to violate or to evade the restraint would be an act of palpable usurpation. It was to the Roman dictator who was clothed with absolute and unrestricted power, that the charge was given "to see that the republic received no detriment." If given to a consul it was only upon an extraordinary case of great and imminent danger, when the very use of the phrase was equivalent to the withdrawal of the usual clogs and restraints by which his power was limited. Our governments are not absolute and unrestricted, our legislators have not unlimited power conferred upon them, they are not complete sovereigns, and so far from having absolute power "to see that the republic receives no detriment," the power of Congress is exceedingly restrained, as regards

the people. I am no advocate for the notion of nullification; but I do know that our general government has not power either to enact that we shall abstain from meat on Friday or Saturday or that we shall eschew whiskey on Sunday; nor has it the power to lay an excise tax of one cent a hogshead upon the said whiskey, for the purpose of giving the said cent to aid the education of a missionary, either for Virginia, or Liberia, or Otaheite, or Ceylon, or China. Why then does the paragraphist assail our "political seers?" Does he desire to urge them to usurpation and the people to resistance? I defy his utmost ingenuity to exhibit any mode in which Congress has the power to aid him directly or indirectly.

He appears to have embraced the doctrine respecting government, which was preached up in so many parts of Europe, by the churchmen of all denominations, who found the government favorable to their views or who expected to make it favorable. They declared that it was the duty of the civil magistrate to protect the Church, to aid in the propagation of truth, in the diffusion of the Gospel, in providing for the instruction of the people in the way of salvation. It is not my business here to examine how far this might or might not have been a duty of any European or other government. I merely content myself with denying that such power has been given to the Congress of the United States. The doctrine of our Constitution plainly recognizes in that body only the powers which have been specially delegated thereto; and in vain will one look through the catalogue of the conceded powers, for that of protecting the Church, or, as the confession of faith of the Presbyterian Church expresses itself: "Yet as nursing fathers, it is the duty of civil magistrates to protect the Church of our common Lord."[1] They have no such duty in this republic nor have they any such power. They are appointed for a special object; and they have no authority beyond their special appointment. That appointment is, to look to such political concerns as have been entrusted to their exclusive management. They are

[1] C. xxiii, a. iii.

forbidden to "mingle religion with politics," not because they are specially prohibited from making any "law respecting the establishment of religion or prohibiting the free exercise thereof;" but because the people of the States, in creating their powers, gave them no such delegation.

The first article of the same chapter of the Presbyterian Confession of Faith, contains an assertion not recognized by our republic: "God, the supreme Lord and King of all the world, hath ordained civil magistrates to be under Him, over the people, for His own glory and the public good." So much of this as asserts that God ordained the civil magistrate to be under Him, for His own glory, is, as regards our general government, a political heresy, and the Presbyterian Confession of Faith is, so far, in direct contradiction to our constitutional doctrine. This being a fundamental error, its consequences extensively pervade the whole of the opinions and acts of the body. The first consequence will be found in the same article—"and to this end, He hath armed them with the power of the sword, for the defence and encouragement of them that are good and for the punishment of evil-doers." The reasoning is this: God having appointed the civil magistrate under Himself, for His own glory gave to him the power of the sword to encourage them that are good (that is, who promote that glory), and for the punishment of evil-doers, (who oppose that glory). It more distinctly exhibits itself in the article of the same chapter,[1] where it tells us that Christians who execute the office of magistrate, "in the managing thereof, ought especially to maintain piety, justice, and peace, according to the wholesome laws of each commonwealth;" of course the "civil magistrate" is not, in this document, the executive or the judicial only, but the legislative also: it is, therefore, his duty as God's delegate, for His glory, to use his legislative power to maintain piety; not, however, it is true, by violating the wholesome law of the commonwealth. I shall show before I close this section of how little value

[1] C. xxiii, a. ii.

is this semblance of a restraint. For we shall see that God's law, by which piety is to be upheld, will be produced as the first obligation by which the legislator is directed. It is here worthy of remark, that the texts of Scripture which are quoted are precisely the same which, in Europe, the advocates of the divine right of kings have adduced to sustain their position; and they are equally inapplicable in one case as in the other, being, to use the mildest phrase, a mistake and misapplication in each case.

The third article of chapter xxiii, after declaring that civil magistrates may not assume the administration of the word and sacraments or the power of the keys of the kingdom of heaven, (I should like to know what they mean by this phrase), or in the least interfere in matters of faith—goes on to say, "yet as nursing fathers, it is the duty of civil magistrates to protect the Church of our common Lord." How are they to protect it? In what manner are they to be nursing fathers? They cannot make a Church establishment. Let us see whether the article itself will help us out. But first, I repeat that the people of these States never gave to Congress any authority whatever to nurse or to protect the Church. Hence, Congress has no duty in this respect; the magistrates or officers appointed under its authority have not any power in this regard, and consequently, no nursing duty as civil magistrates. Thus the spirit of the article is at variance with the spirit of the Constitution; and the admonitions given by the evangelical party are founded upon a false assumption—viz., that it is the duty of the civil magistrate as a nursing father to protect the Church. The Presbyterian Church is not alone in using this phraseology; the Associate, the Scotch, and the Reformed Churches have the same article. The Reformed Dutch Church, in her Confession of Faith, says of civil magistrates: "Their office is, not only to have regard unto and watch for the welfare of the civil State, but also to protect the holy Church service; to prevent and extirpate all idolatry

and false worship; to destroy the kingdom of Antichrist; to promote the kingdom of Jesus Christ, and to take care that the Word of the Gospel be preached everywhere, that God may be honored and worshiped by every one as He commands in His Word."[1]

We need not be astonished that persons who believe as an article of faith, that the civil magistrate has the power here described, and is bound by his office to act as here indicated, should accuse him of being "asleep" in not extirpating Popery, which they describe as a "false Church," "persecuting those who live holily according to the Word of God, and rebuke her for her errors, covetousness and idolatry."[2] But these good gentlemen forget that the people of America, who are the true sovereigns of these republics, never gave such power to their civil magistrates or to the general government; and consequently it is not their "office"—but it would be gross and palpable usurpation for them to attempt its exercise.

It is true, the Presbyterian article goes on to say that the nursing fathers should afford this protection to the Church "without giving the preference to any denomination of Christians above the rest, in such a manner, that all ecclesiastical persons whatever shall enjoy the full, free and unquestioned liberty of discharging every part of their sacred functions without violence or danger." The articles of their confession may, I presume, be fairly made to explain each other. Upon this principle I proceed to examine whether this confession means that Roman Catholics, as a denomination of Christians, form any portion of what the article describes as the Church which is to be protected. They describe the visible Church as consisting of "all those who throughout the world profess the true religion, together with their children."[3] They state that "particular Churches which are members of that Catholic Church are sometimes more or less visible, are more or less pure;"[4] furthermore that "some have so degenerated as to become no Churches of Christ, but synagogues of Satan."[5] The text referred to, for the purpose of

[1] Article xxxvi. [2] Article xxix. [3] C. xxv, a. ii. [4] Ib., a. iv. [5] Ib., a. v.

sustaining this assertion, is that which the "saints" uniformly quote to show that the Roman Catholic Church is Babylon, the habitation of devils. They describe the Pope, who is the visible head of the Roman Catholic Church, as Antichrist, the man of sin, the son of perdition, exalting himself against God and Christ.[1] Hence, we may fairly conclude that Roman Catholics are not considered members of that Church which the nursing fathers are bound to protect; and the Christian denominations, of which none is to receive a preference, are those particular Churches, which, though differing in their degree of purity, yet have not so far degenerated as to become synagogues of Satan—they are Churches, not "no Churches."

But supposing Roman Catholics to be admitted not to be Antichrist, but to be a Christian denomination, the clause would, if it consisted merely of the words, "without giving the preference to any denomination of Christians above the rest," seem to imply that no distinction was to be drawn; but the general expressions are greatly restrained by the specific description, "in such a manner, that all ecclesiastical persons whatever shall enjoy full and free and unquestioned liberty of discharging every part of their sacred functions without violence or danger." Thus, leaving them at liberty to discharge their sacred functions without being exposed to violence or danger for their performance would appear to be the extent of protection. The last clause of the article might be quoted to sustain this construction, and to show that even Catholics may be included in the protection. "It is the duty of the civil magistrates to protect the person and good name of all their people, in such an effectual manner, as that no person be suffered, either on pretense of religion or infidelity, to offer any indignity, violence, abuse or injury to any other person whatsoever, and to take order, that all religious and ecclesiastical assembles be held without molestation or disturbance." Now, if Roman Catholics are to have the benefit of this clause, how does it happen that the civil magistrates do not protect their good name against the

[1] C. xxv, a. vi.

calumny and vituperation of the "saints?" How does it happen that the civil magistrates do not interfere to protect them from the indignity of vulgar nicknames, from the injury of being falsely charged with designs upon the liberties of the republic, from the insult of being classed with drunkards, blasphemers and debauchees? Is it for neglecting to perform this duty that the paragraphist assails the political watchmen and charges them with drowsiness and negligence? Clearly not. Is it for neglecting to protect the persons and the good name of the "saints?" Clearly not. "Nursing father" must then, in his estimation, mean something more than being this description of protector. Let us look at the only remaining clause of this third article, to try what it contains. "And as Jesus Christ hath appointed a regular government and discipline in His Church, no law of any commonwealth should interfere with, let or hinder the due exercise thereof among voluntary members of any denomination of Christians, according to their own profession and belief." Now this is somewhat ambiguous, as being susceptible of two interpretations. It states clearly, first, that Christ gave a law; secondly, that no commonwealth should interfere with the observance of that law. All this is plain. But the question arises, and an important one: Who shall give the true and correct meaning of that law, where a difference arises as to that meaning? I am prepared to say that the principle of our government is, that each denomination is to follow its own interpretation, and the government is not to interfere with them in their construction, nor to place any let or hindrance to their own observance of that law so interpreted, where it does not injure the community at large. They may believe what they please; they may have such mode of Church government as they please; they may pray and fast and read and sing and dance, as they think that law requires or authorizes; and the civil magistrate has no power to interfere with them whilst they alone are concerned. But if any one of them shall tell the civil magistrate that

God Almighty forbids his transmitting the mail-bag on a particular day, and entrusting it to be so conveyed by another person who thinks that the Almighty left him at liberty to undertake it, and declare to that magistrate that he is guilty of a high crime and violation of the law of God, and that his human law is therefore to be nullified, as being in violation of the constitution of Jesus Christ—this sectarian goes out of his sphere and acts with equal impropriety as the Israelite or Seventh-day Baptist would, who should insist on the legislator's following his interpretation of the divine law, and thereby require the mail to be arrested on the "Sabbath" (Saturday), and force the evangelical "saint" to travel with it on the Lord's Day (Sunday). Hence, if under this clause, it should be contended that the civil magistrate ought to be a nursing father to the Church, and is bound to protect, by putting no hindrance, that is, by carrying into execution amongst other sects any construction which some pre-eminent religious societies might give to the divine law, the doctrine would be in direct contradiction to our principles of general government. This latter, I believe, is the construction which the greater portion of the "saints" give to the clause. This construction fully agrees with the doctrine of the Confession of Faith of the Dutch Reformed Church, which is evangelical.[1] The office of the civil magistrate is therein declared to be "to protect the holy Church service, and to prevent and extirpate all idolatry and false worship," etc. If this was the duty of "the political watchmen," then it was their duty to avoid sleeping whilst such enemies as intemperance and Popery were making inroads. The broad construction of general welfare, or seeing that the republic receives no detriment, is one which no good republican can admit. It is giving to Congress a power to do everything it might fancy; and in this instance it is pleaded for the purpose of calling upon them to prevent distillation, to send officers to examine our houses, watch over us at meals, and break our jugs and bottles. I am an enemy to intemperance,

[1] Article xxxvi.

but I am also an enemy to tyrants; and I know of no tyranny more despotic and despicable than that which the "saints" would exercise over our civil authorities, if they were permitted; and which they have endeavored to exercise under the pretext that the civil powers of legislation, of judgment, and of execution must be subordinate to the law of God, as expounded by those men who thus seek for liberty to restrain our liberty. They have recourse to the old European maxim, that civil officers are God's deputies, so that they might themselves have the right, as God's interpreters, to guide these deputies. They would form a new species of heavenly aides-de-camp in the Church militant, to bring the high behests of Jehovah to the several leaders of the civil host. Yet, these are the men who affect so deep an "interest in transmitting our republican institutions unimpaired to our children!"

The principles of our "saints" respecting our government appear to be derived from their confessions of faith; and some of them are, that the civil magistrate is a deputy under God, over the people, to promote God's glory; that he is bound to protect the true Church; that he is bound to extirpate idolatry; that he is obliged to take care that the Word of God be preached and distributed; that he must be cautious not to legislate against God's holy law; that he do not encourage others to neglect the instructions and ordinances of the Church of Christ; and that in these instructions and ordinances he will see plainly exhibited the true intent and meaning of that law.

The constitutional principles respecting the general government are, that all its power is derived from the people of the United States; that neither the individual officers nor the aggregate shall assume any power which has not been plainly granted; that such assumption would be palpable usurpation; that the people not only did not give them any power to regulate or protect morals or religion, but absolutely forbade their interference with religion in that way which alone seemed possibly open to them; that the people, then and now, were and are an

aggregate holding various religious opinions, not only widely different, but absolutely contradictory in several and most important particulars; that, therefore, it was never conceded that the law of God, as understood by any one division or any number of divisions, was to be given as a rule to guide or to restrain the legislation, judgments, or execution of the general government;—nay, even that if all its members were Jews, Mahometans, Universalists, Catholics, and infidels, as they might be; yet they would not be authorized to denounce nor to inconvenience Evangelicals, Episcopalians, Baptists, Covenanters, Seceders, Unitarians, nor any other denomination, by legislating according to their own special religious notions. They were commissioned, not to regulate religion or morals, but to manage civil and political concerns, and they have no power to be nursing fathers to the Church. The "saints" have mistaken our Constitution.

X.

In order more fully to exhibit what I consider to be the grand mistake of our "saints" as regards the power of our general government, I shall in this section enter somewhat fully into the development of those facts and principles, which I consider necessary to be well understood, to insure our arriving at a correct conclusion.

In the first place, then, I state that our general government is so completely different from all those which have existed or now exist in other places, that no argument of analogy can be drawn from their powers or acts to show what those of our federal government are or ought to be. I might, indeed, discover some institutions bearing a great similarity, but the principle of their construction was essentially different, and though there might be considerable semblance in the appearance, there would be no true likeness. Perhaps, making due allowance for the difference between principalities and republics and between an emperor and a president, the original frame of the Holy Roman Empire or Germanic Confederation

would be found the nearest approximation to the principle. But the points of difference would be found to exceed the points of agreement; and in the very particular which contains the ground of the evangelical mistake there is not only a total want of analogy, but their exists a palpable contradiction; so that what was the sworn obligation of the emperor, would be in the president a violation of his solemn and sacred duty. Thus, I consider that endeavoring to apply the rules and maxims of Europe, especially to our general administration, is worse than ridiculous.

It might be asked, why I confine my remarks to the federal government; why not extend them to the State governments? There are two reasons, either of which would, I believe, be sufficient to restrain me. First, the efforts of the associates are directed to the action of the general government. Secondly, the principle of power is not the same in the general as in the State governments. A contest might with more facility be maintained, to show that perhaps the State governments are not altogether bereft of a power of religious regulation, and it could, I think, be established that they are clothed with jurisdiction to preserve and to guard the public morals; while I think it perfectly clear that the federal government has no power as respects either, save as far as the territory under its exclusive jurisdiction is concerned. Hence, my observations are altogether directed to maintain the incompetency of the federal government to legislate upon religion or morals, directly or indirectly, for the people of the United States, or to assume in its legislation that this is what the "saints" call a "Christian" country, rather than one which they would designate "infidel and anti-Christian."

Before I come to the special inquiry respecting the origin and extent of the powers of our general government, I feel it necessary that we should fully understand each other upon the principles of religious legislation. I trust there will be no difficulty in admitting that each

individual has at least one indefeasible right with which no power can interfere; that right is the liberty of thought, in the most extended meaning of the expression. I shall develop the meaning of the proposition, as I desire to be perfectly distinct. God has given to every reasonable being the powers of perfection; it would be absurd to attempt an interference with this power, save by presenting the object properly before the mind. Perhaps the individual himself has no control over this power, when he is placed where it must be exercised. If he opens his eyes he cannot avoid seeing; if you speak he cannot avoid hearing; if you touch him he cannot avoid feeling. It is true he might keep his eyes closed or his ears stopped or avoid coming within your reach; but when he does not thus place obstacles, he is, so far as perception is concerned, rather passive and powerless. He is morally accountable for those perceptions which he voluntarily causes; but when he puts the cause he cannot prevent the effect. When he reasons upon his perceptions, if he reasons honestly, he has no control over his conclusions. He might dishonestly, through prejudice or partiality, avoid examining those premises which would guide him to a correct result, or he might willingly assume without good grounds those which will mislead him; and then he draws a legitimate though a false conclusion from falsehoods thus culpably admitted, and this admission is criminal. He might also honestly err, through want of information or of intellect, and then, though wrong, he is not criminal. No human tribunal can interfere with this mental process; it cannot be regulated by human legislation. The tribunal of conscience and the tribunal of that God who will judge all the acts of the soul are the only ones before which the guilty can be convicted. Subject to this accountability, every individual has the right to investigate for the discovery of truth: and this right is indefeasible. Nay, it would be ridiculous to attempt to coerce it; for it would be impossible.

No man has a right to compel another to profess a lie. This is too plain to need either explanation or proof.

A lie is a crime; and he who voluntarily compels another to be guilty is not innocent.

From these premises I infer that no human government can be vested with a power to require a man to profess what he does not believe, nor can it compel him to entertain any particular belief. But a different question is now to be examined, that is, whether government can, for the public benefit, require under penalty, that an individual shall not publish what he considers truth; and whether he may be compelled to conform to a course of proceeding which he considers at least useless and unnecessary, if not mischievous.

To solve this last question I would first ask whether the course of proceeding to which the government requires conformity is clearly and absolutely necesary to attain the end for which it was created, and whether it be mischievous in reality or only in the opinion of one or of a small number of individuals. And whether, if it be mischievous, it is so because of its immorality, or is mischievous only in so far as it is injurious to a few and beneficial to the public at large. If it be not immoral, and if it be useful to the great community, and so declared by them, or by their government, clearly the maxim will hold, "Salus populi suprema lex;" the government can and ought to require conformity.

Hence, where the government has not reason to suspect that it might be in error and the non-conforming individual right, and that the legitimate end for which it was constituted can be best attained by requiring the conformity of the few to the conduct observed by the great mass of the community, and that if this be not enforced that end can scarcely, if at all, be attained; the individual or the few are obliged to conform or to leave the community.

Let us now apply this to the subject of religion; and to be better able to do so, let us first agree as to what religion is. I would say that it is, paying to God homage in that way which He himself points out. I assume here

that He has given a revelation. Perhaps we had better first see what government cannot do. It cannot make a system of religion; because that is, as we have seen, the prerogative of God, and to be exercised only by Him or by deputation from Him, and that deputation must be so plainly given as not to admit of any rational doubt. Now, the deputation to make such a system has never, that I know of, been claimed by any of our modern governments: certainly not by any of our American governments, whether State or federal.

It cannot publish as certain, that any particular system of religion is true, unless it has such evidence of its truth as will remove every reasonable doubt that this system is that which was given by God: and the ground for reasonable doubt can never be removed by such testimony as is liable to error; and upon their own acknowledgment every one of the Protestant Churches is liable to err in giving this testimony: hence no government can reasonably proclaim any one Protestant Church to be the teacher of the true system of God's revelation. No government can require any man to sustain a religion by any act that he believes to be contrary to God's law or revelation, or subject him to any inconvenience for refusing to sustain it, unless the government itself is infallibly certain that the law or revelation is exactly what it proclaims and has no ground whatever of doubt that the recusant is palpably in error. Nor can a government, even with this certainty, interfere with the conscientious rights of individuals, nor can it restrain their profession or acts, except it be specially charged with this duty by that power whence it derives its authority, save so far as to preserve the peace and temporal well-being of the community. In the establishment of the Christian revelation, its Author never gave to any temporal or civil government any such power by any delegation special or general; consequently, if any government claims any such power, it must be shown that it is derived, like all the other powers which it possesses. from those who created

it. I have here developed the great principles upon which I believe we all agree, and which, being duly applied to the facts of each case as they are ascertained, will enable us to arrive at proper conclusions.

There is, however, one other principle of jurisprudence which is universally admitted by all reasonable men, and which is sustained also by the Redeemer Himself, respecting the duty of a government, having no doubt whatever as to what is the system of true religion, and charged either by God or by man with its protection; that principle is, that when religious error has made considerable progress in the State, and that it is impossible peaceably to correct the evil, the government must permit its existence, even though it do not approve of or countenance the same: for even a considerable minority possess rights of which they cannot be divested; and, in this case, the evil of oppressing a large body of citizens, who, though in religious error, yet are otherwise in the peace of the State, would produce serious evils to the community at large. This is the case in which an enemy has sown tares through the wheat; both spring up together: and yet the Saviour declares that we must leave the time of separation to His own harvest, when, in the order of nature, death will have cut down both.

How preposterous, then, would it be in a mixed community to assert that a government which neither has a commission to interfere with the religion of individuals, or of the public composed of those individuals, and which has no reasonable ground of certainty by which it might ascertain the true religion, should have power to make religious discrimination between its citizens?

In Europe, when Christianity was fully established, the people believed, whether correctly or otherwise matters not for our present purpose, that Jesus Christ had established but one Church, to whose care He committed the preservation of the deposit of His doctrine and the dispensation of His sacraments; they also believed that this Church consisted of the great body of prelates, who were the

teachers, and, in case of controversy, the judges to testify by their judicial decision what Christ had revealed; at the head of this body of prelates was, by divine appointment, the successor of the Apostle St. Peter, who died in the city of Rome, and whose bishop thereby became his successor; in this successor was also vested the chief executive authority. When the great body of the prelates, with the adherence of the vast majority of their flocks, in union with that head of the visible Church, declared that what they had received from their predecessors as the doctrine of God agreed with what they found to be the testimony of all preceding ages, and that they also found it conformable to the Sacred Scriptures, whose preservation and guardianship, both as to their matter and spirit, was committed to their predecessors and to themselves; the declaration was considered to be the solemn judgment of the Church, from which there was no appeal, and was regarded as an infallibly correct exhibition of God's law, from which no person could lawfully dissent; since God had established this Church to be their authorized teacher in His name, on His behalf, and guided in such decisions by His Holy Spirit. Thus, whether their belief was religiously correct or not, in fact all the people and governments of Europe looked upon such a testimony as giving to them unquestionable certainty of what was God's will respecting His service. If their position was correct, there would be no impropriety, when they were unanimous in this belief, in their vesting a power in the government to protect the Church, and in making it part of the duty of the civil magistrate to prohibit the introduction of what all were certain must be error: and this not only because of its mere religious incorrectness, but also because of the schisms, strifes, violence and breaches of the peace which necessarily accompanied such innovations. It was in this manner, that when in Europe there was but one religion, the civil magistrate, with the consent of the people, assumed, retained and exercised the power of being "a nursing father to the Church;" and

it is only in such a case he could properly assume or exercise such a power. Three conditions must coexist: the absence of either of which would render the assumption a nefarious usurpation. First, the government and the people must be so nearly unanimous on the subject of religion, as that there could scarcely be found any body of dissenters worth notice. Secondly, it will not suffice that this vast majority have only a great or a superior probability, that theirs is that system of religion which God has established: they must have reasonable and sufficient grounds to remove doubt and to create certainty. Thirdly, the power which created the government must have, either directly or by acquiescence, vested the government with the authority of giving such protection.

I do not know a single European government, at the period of the great change of religion and of separation from the Catholic Church in the sixteenth century, which had not, upon the ground of the coexistence of these three conditions, been "nursing fathers" to the Roman Catholic Church. In some instances they took good wages for their fostering care; in others, they enacted laws too cruel for Christian governments to execute; in very many instances, under the pretext of protecting the Church, they indulged the spirit of rapine and revenge, and committed, in the name of God, deeds incompatible with His attributes. All these evils have been greatly exaggerated, falsehood has been added to the truth, and the Church has been made accountable for all the mischief done in her name, frequently against her will. I am far from denying that many of her prelates have been unworthy of the places which they held, and in the midst of such scenes have exhibited themselves fit associates for those amongst whom they lived. But, whilst religion weeps at the scandals caused, she laments the disingenuity of the historian who suppresses the record of the heroic virtue, the glorious spirit of patriotism and purity, which distinguished vast numbers of her sons and daughters, as also the fervid and well-regulated piety and wisdom of a large portion of

kings, emperors and other governors, and their counsellors and officers, who, whilst they aided the cause of truth and of virtue, made more wide and solid the foundations of public liberty, civilization, literature, arts, manufactures, commerce and social institutions.

When religious innovation was introduced, parties were created, strife ensued, persecution wielded her destructive implements, hatred, contention, war and rapine desolated the fairest portions of the civilized world. Without examining the ground upon which the governments gradually assumed and exercised the power of being "nursing fathers" to the Church, Catholics and Protestants went back to the Jewish theocracy for precedent and authority, thus assuming to found their respective claims upon an analogy which never did and never could exist.

Upon the Protestant principle the second of the conditions which I have stated as being requisite to sustain this nursing claim never could exist; and therefore the idea of a Protestant government fostering a Church is an absurdity. Whenever the dissenters from the Catholic faith became numerous, though they should be only a feeble minority, the first condition ceased to exist; and if in addition to this, the public will should be dissatisfied at the continuance of this power in the government, that still strengthened the claim for its abandonment. The operation of these causes has in Europe produced, through a series of struggles and calamities, that revolution which, by gradual progress, has nearly severed the Church from its connection with the State.

But in America, at the period of our Revolution, not one of those conditions existed, and the popular mind, urged to the examination of first principles, in most instances recognized the maxims which I have endeavored to develop; and in giving to our governments their powers, generally, not only did the people not bestow upon them this power of guardianship, or of being "nursing fathers," but in several instances directly prohibited its assumption. It is true that in some of the States the

ancient bitterness and bigotry, united with the imagination of popish terrors, caused them to prohibit the elevation of Roman Catholics to certain places of honor or trust; but with only two melancholy and disgraceful exceptions, viz., of North Carolina and of New Jersey,[1] this prohibition has been cancelled; and Maryland has also blotted from her constitution the ridiculous and unbecoming exclusion from office of the Jews. Thus the "nursing fathers" principle and all such like are generally unknown to the spirit as to the letter of our State constitutions. Nor could it well be otherwise. The constitutions have been made for and by people of every variety of religion, who in many instances had experienced the evils of the last struggles of the Church and State union or severance in Europe, and who determined to guard against their introduction here.

But in forming our federal government it was distinctly regulated that it was not to exercise any power, save that which was specially granted to it by the people of the States. To exercise any other would be palpable usurpation. The powers granted were exclusively political, and the jealousy of the people, by a distinct and specific declaration, restrained Congress from the exercise of the only power connected with religion, which it was supposed possible for them to assume. Thus, whether the governments in other places might or might not make religious regulations, the federal government is bound to confine itself strictly to the exercise of the powers with which it is vested; and they are purely political, to the exclusion of religious questions, whether general or special, directly or indirectly. Congress has no power to nurse the Evangelical, nor to frown upon the Papist; it cannot prefer the Christian to the Jew; nor bestow one cent either to plant the Gospel in Monrovia, to build a synagogue at Grand Island, or a mosque in New York.

[1] This law, in both States, is now repealed.

XI.

I have exhibited the facts and principles upon which it must be evident that our federal government is not warranted to intermeddle with the interests of religion, directly or indirectly. It is not commissioned to take any part whatever in religious concerns. I now proceed to show that the United States cannot with any degree of truth be called a "Protestant country" in the meaning of the "saints."

Protestantism, according to different authors, has different meanings. Chillingworth, an eminent English writer, calls Protestantism "the religion of the Bible." That is, every man who finds his religion in the Bible is a Protestant. I need go no farther to show the folly of this definition, not to notice its obscurity, than to state that, according thereto, Roman Catholics are Protestants, because they assert that their doctrines are found in the Bible and are drawn therefrom. But suppose I admit the definition to be good. I venture to assert that a large proportion of our population does seriously hesitate as to believing the Sacred Volume to be the Word of God or a religious authority, and do not draw their principles of religion from that source, but from what they call reason. The "saints" themselves inform us, that infidelity is widely spread through the country, and deplore as a serious evil to the republic the number of infidels; so that of all who believed in the religion of the Bible (and which of us could undertake upon Protestant principles to point out accurately and certainly what that is?) were to be deducted from our population, though we should retain a vast majority, yet we should suffer a serious diminution: and by our social compact, that minority is entitled to all the rights of citizenship, including the right of eligibility to office and its enjoyment if elected. Not only is this the case in our general government, but it is the case in every one of our States, save North Carolina and New Jersey, which require the qualification of Protestantism for civil office.

Others define Protestantism to be "the religion of the Protestant Episcopalian Church." Whatever may be the case in Great Britain, certainly this will not hold good in America. It is by others defined to be "the profession of Christianity with dissent from Popery." Thus the Greek, the Armenian, the Russian, the Nestorian and the hundred other Eastern sects would be Protestants. This is a classification as curious as it is absurd. It would exhibit to us the extraordinary fact of American Protestants sending missionaries to Asia, for the purpose of converting Protestants to Protestantism. We must give up this definition. Others tell us that Protestantism is "the adhering to Lutheran or Calvinistic Churches or to some one of the branches derived from them." Thus Armenians and strict Calvinists, Episcopalians and Presbyterians, Zuinglians who deny the real presence and Lutherans who assert it, Trinitarians and Unitarians, Methodists who believe in the existence of hell and Universalists who deny its existence, and a vast variety of other discordant divisions, are all Protestants. But to be a Protestant it is necessary to be a member of some one of those divisions. Suppose that I assume this to be the correct definition of Protestantism; is ours a Protestant country? Let us deduct the Roman Catholics and the infidels from the aggregate population; let us again deduct all those who, though they have some vague notion of revelation, and believe that indeed the Bible is the Word of God, neither know why they think so, nor can they form any distinct notion of its doctrines; and say that they belong to no Church, and as yet have their religion to choose; let us add this large mass of our population to the Catholics and infidels, and ask whether, because we call the remainder Protestants, this is "a Protestant country?" I ask which of the two divisions is more numerous? I shall not undertake to make a positive assertion, but I apprehend that it is as likely that the majority is on what would be called the non-Protestant side. If such be the fact, this cannot with propriety be

called a Protestant, a Catholic or an infidel country. It is properly and strictly speaking a country of no distinct religious denomination, but one of perfect freedom and of a vast variety of religious opinions; one whose inhabitants have solemnly interdicted its government from any interference, direct or indirect, with the subject of their religion.

Did the "saints" acquiesce in this latter definition of Protestantism, I apprehend they would have no ground either for asserting that this was a Protestant country, or that there was a majority of the inhabitants who wished the government to act upon the subject of religion, to be "nursing fathers" to their common Church. Where does it exist? But I am under the impression that our evangelical brethren will not admit Unitarians, Universalists, Socinians, or many other of the subdivisions which have branched forth from the stocks of Luther and Calvin, to be Protestants, correctly speaking; they generally assert that these divisions are heterodox; that they err in fundamentals; that they have departed from the faith once given to the "saints;" and I have found them, in most instances, to make the specific difference of Protestantism to consist in "the doctrine of justification by faith." I am under the impression that this is the grand distinctive character of orthodoxy. If so, we must take as the definition of Protestantism, "the belief of justification by faith in the Redeemer." This is the evangelical standard; and I go very far in their favor when I say, that perhaps one-sixth of the population, according to this definition, may be classed as Protestants. And if this be actually the case, upon what ground will they say that this is in their view, or in strict truth, a Protestant country?

Thus, I am under the impression that, however reluctantly, and with what bad grace it will be yielded, yet the confession must be made that this is not a Protestant country. Did Louisiana, Florida, Arkansas and Missouri, upon their incorporation with the United States, not stipulate that they should continue to possess all their

religious rights? Was not the stipulation acceded to? Were they not Catholic at the period of their incorporation? Have they become Protestant? Is there any distinction between their rights and those of Connecticut, Maine or Pennsylvania, or the District of Columbia? Are the Protestants who have emigrated into those formerly Catholic colonies stripped therein of any right which a Catholic enjoys? Are not Protestant sheriffs, magistrates, legislators, judges, generals, governors, representatives and senators in those places, in double, treble and quadruple ratio of their numbers, without any complaint, jealousy or displeasure on the part of the Catholics? Are they not, in most instances, placed in those stations by Catholic votes? Why, then, shall not Catholics have similar rights in the former Protestant colonies, or are we to have different laws or principles of action under our common government, because of our religious diversities? Hitherto we have been content to permit our fellow-citizens of other religious denominations to take precedence of us in the actual enjoyment of the honors and the emoluments of office. We voluntarily abstained from the contest, and rested content with the fruits of our industry, without seeking either to feed at the public crib, or to be caparisoned with the public housings; we neither inquired what was the religion of the candidate, nor whether his eyes were black, or blue, or gray, or hazel. We were led to imagine that such inquiry would be not only foolish but impertinent. It seems, however, that we were in error. This is a Protestant country, and it ought to have a Protestant government! No. It is not a Protestant country; the Catholic has here equal rights with the Protestant; and this assumption of the "saints" is a falsehood in fact, it is a legal untruth, a constitutional absurdity. If ninety-nine hundredths of the present population were to become Catholics to-morrow, they would be morally criminal did they exclude the remaining hundredth portion from any civil, or political, or religious right; and under our Constitution the attempt would be usurpation, and therefore invalid. They

might, it is true, enter into a combination to render the legal provisions which secure some of those rights to Protestants unavailing; Catholics might permit the law to declare them eligible to office, whilst they combined not to elect them; and thus imitating the misconduct of the Irish corporations, the majority of whose members are confederated Orangemen, they might convert the expression of equality into that bitter irony which taunts you with the mockery of that justice which their bigotry withholds. This is the prudence of Irish Evangelicals; this, I shall show you, is the charity of our "saints!" This, indeed, would be a violation of the spirit, though not of the letter, of our Constitution. This is the way in which miserable minorities of evangelical monopolists have in Ireland during forty years kept to themselves those places which the law declared to be equally open to the Catholics as to them. This is a vile swindling to which no body of men can stoop, until they shall have extinguished the last ray shed by heaven upon the conscience, exhausted the last tinge which modesty could spread upon the cheek, and become callous to every fine impulse of nature. Hitherto the generosity which would spurn such baseness had wide influence through our land; and in several places the isolated individual who differed with his fellow-citizens might openly and honestly avow that difference without being made the victim to his candor. But the system of the "saints" is well calculated to substitute hypocrisy for this openness, to create distrust instead of confidence, and to enable smooth rogues to banish honest men from all places of trust, and honor, and emolument, in the public service.

If the spirit of the Constitution would not permit the great body of Catholics, were they predominant, to combine against the rights of the Protestants, neither does it permit the Protestants, where they form a majority, to combine against the Catholics: and that which is improper as a rule in any one of the parts of this Union, would be improper if assumed as a rule for the nation at large. If the people of Louisiana were to combine

and send only Catholics to their Legislature—or to Congress—if they should exclude from all offices in the State every person who was not a member of their Church, what a cry of bigotry, intolerance, persecution and violated rights would be set up! And very properly. It would be of no avail that they should answer, that theirs was a Catholic State; that they destroyed no public right; that upon their books the eligibility of every man was recognized; that they allowed Protestants equally as Catholics to be candidates; that they punished no man who thought proper to vote for them, but that they merely exercised their own undoubted right of voting as they thought proper. All this might be very specious, but the evil would be too palpable; and the obvious answer would be, that the combination and its object were equally against the spirit of the Constitution; that we judged them not so much by what they had written, as by what they had done. The people of America would not permit this violation of public rights by Catholics. Will they permit a worse violation by the "saints?"

The Evangelicals complain, that "whilst the land had been stained with the blood of the victims of intemperance, many of our political watchmen, who ought to see that the republic receives no detriment, have been so intent on elections, that they have not appeared to know of this invasion." What invasion? They have made such statements as would lead one to suppose that we were the most intemperate people upon earth, and that our conduct was becoming worse; whereas, in fact, we are comparatively a temperate people, and yearly improving. This improvement had made great progress before their mania commenced; and their efforts, however injudicious upon principle and mischievous in misstatements and exaggerations, have perhaps considerably accelerated that improvement. But what would they have the political watchmen —that is, the members of the federal government—to do in this case? They complain that "the guardians of the republic sleep while millions are plundered from that peo-

ple to prepare an offering of human blood for this insatiable Moloch." All this is unmeaning rant, except they can show us by what constitutional action the government can interfere. They have not spoken upon this point. They leave us to conjecture or deduction as to what the special mode of action should be; and they merely proclaim that the government should act.

Again they tell us that "Popery is laying the foundation of an empire with which, if it prevail, the enlightened freedom of the republic cannot coexist;" that "civil and religious liberty as understood in the last half century cannot coexist with the laws of the papal communion;" "injuries are inflicted upon the republic by some hundreds of thousands of the subjects of Popery and intemperance;" "the republic also receives detriment from infidels and the varying tribes of anti-Christians that inhabit the land," as also from "profane swearers," "gamblers," "Sabbath breakers" and "votaries of dissipation." Suppose all this to be true. I ask by what constitutional process is the government to remove the evil? The "saints" tell us that "the danger to the republic from men of this stamp has been increased by the fact that they fill some of its important places of trust." Of course they suggest that these men ought to be ejected."

We know that it is neither very religious nor very patriotic to be a railer against rulers of the people who are constitutionally in office, and who conduct themselves with as much decorum as is to be found in the best regulated governments of the civilized world. I shall not venture to assert that all our public officers are immaculate, nor that their private conduct can in every instance escape the censure of even the virtuous. They have not put themselves forward as paragons of perfection, nor were they selected for their religious gifts, but for their political qualifications: they did not undertake to guide us in the path to paradise, but to steer the vessel of the republic safe from the shoals and quicksands dangerous to liberty, and to procure for us a reasonable share of temporal bless-

ings. This they have done; this they are doing. And so far from deserving the vile and unbecoming vituperation of the "holy ones," the aggregate of our federal officers will stand an advantageous comparison with most other governments in existence. It is a melancholy instance of the misapplication of religious censure when the vial of the zealot's wrath is thus unsparingly poured out upon the heads of men selected to fill arduous and honorable posts; because, though their general demeanor is correct, they do not exactly agree in religious notions with that self-sufficient prophet who assumes to be their judge.

But again I ask, what would this man require to be done? He would purify the public offices. Of whom? He would banish the intemperate! Will he charge this vice upon our government? Is the wretched libeller who scribbles a few pages of a tour through our States, and publishes to Europe the degrading caricature which he has sketched of America, to be sustained in his slanders by the testimony of our "saints?" Is it not enough that they invite the profligates of the old world to people our commercial metropolis, and thus engraft upon it that noxious excrescence which they affect to abhor? Is it not enough that they expose the virtuous female of that city to the rude gaze of every inquisitive debauchee; that they cause the blush of confusion to mantle the cheek of every woman who acknowledges that city as her home? Is it not enough that they have filled every manly heart with indignation, every sensitive bosom with pain, whilst their Magdalen report flies on the wings of the wind through every quarter of the globe, blighting the fair fame of the chaste daughters of our land? And will they in addition to this endeavor still farther to disgrace us by the inglorious defamation of those men, whom we ourselves have selected as the rulers of our country? Are these officers drunkards? Are they votaries of dissipation, whose example is pernicious to the community? Are they infidels? The President and four or five members of his late cabinet were worshipers if not members in a Presbyterian church at

Washington. Is the charge of gambling made upon them? What has provoked the men of God to denounce the government as they have done? "So many of them [anti-Christians, infidels, votaries of dissipation, etc.] had by some means obtained such stations, [important places of trust in the government,] a year or two since, that no Christian could speak plainly of the dangers to which his country was exposed, without being charged with the crime of 'mingling religion with politics!'" The late developments show, perhaps, the origin of this accusation; for they plainly exhibit the Rev. Doctor Ely and the Rev. Mr. Campbell, both Presbyterian ministers, seated in full conclave with the President and his cabinet, regulating the very subject of those dangers. Yea, verily some persons would insinuate even that the modern "saints" emulated the freedom of Nathan himself, when he spoke to David! Perchance on that occasion zeal was not tempered with discretion; it might be that there existed neither the cunning of the serpent nor the simplicity of the dove in the venerable calculator upon the future glories of ballot-boxes, either when the ladies and gentlemen of the cabinet waited upon him at Philadelphia, or when, like another Paul, in presence of another Festus, he pleaded his cause before the President in Washington. And it is possible that his visions of present domination were dissipated by the talismanic warning, not to "mingle religion with politics." When what we deem solid glories thus quickly vanish into thin air, it is natural that we should be mortified; he who grasps at what he deems a sceptre, is more than disappointed when he has clutched, and clutched, and yet finds his hand empty. The avowal of the "saints" then is, that they think it necessary that Christians should have the opportunity of speaking of the dangers to which the republic is exposed by Papists and infidels and anti-Christians, without being charged with the crime of "mingling religion with politics." But surely they have that opportunity; neither are they sparing of its use. It is the theme of their declamation by day,

and we may naturally suppose of their dreams by night. See the distorted countenance; mark the dark eye-ball gleaming its hidden fire; hear how he thunders from the desk; the spirit is upon him, and he is voluble in his denunciation. The broad Mississippi rolls majestically along, and its valley spreads to his view; how he describes the abominations of the man of sin! Some monster has appalled him—he is bewildered—he describes it as a beast of prey ravaging the land. And yet this beast brings chains and fetters to rivet upon the people! Alas! what has caused this disorder of the imagination? Yet is he permitted to rave, and he complains of cruel, of impious, of sacrilegious restraint! The compositor is active, the corrector is vigilant, the pressman labors, the press itself groans. Steam is applied to add to its powers. The young and the old—the demure and wrinkled dame, round whose lips not even Momus could produce the approximation to a smile, go forth, together with the maiden in whom beauty and innocence appear blended and personified, to distribute the productions of this exertion: stages bear them through the country, the churches expect them, the prayer meetings desire them, the revivals are anxious to experience their blessed consolations; the city and the field, the ship and the steamboat, the barrack and the brothel are all put in possession of the catalogue of abominations in every variety of shape, size, sermon, story, statement and supply. From all those various sources the dollars and the cents are also collected to replenish the coffers of the powerful directors of this grand and extensive system. Yet is the nation solemnly assured that no Christian can speak plainly of the dangers to which the country is exposed! What do these men desire? Listen to their own complaint:

"They [anti-Christians in power] seemed to regard the wise provisions of the Constitution to prevent the establishment of religion by law, as an ordinance to consign the world of politics to the dominion of infidelity." No! good Evangelicals; but they very properly looked upon it as an ordinance to exclude your dictation. The dominion of the

world of politics was left equally open to the "saint" and the sinner; you had more than your share; but that would not content you. "They seemed to think that they had an exclusive right to reign in the political world." And pray, good "saints," did these infidels and anti-Christians deny the right of any officer who belonged to your body on that account to discharge the duties of his office? Was Senator Frelinghuysen, or Senator Grundy, or President Jackson denied the right of regulating his portion of the government, because he frequented one of the evangelical churches, or sighed for the millennium, or preached, or declaimed, or contributed to your efforts to drive Popery from the valley? No; you dare not make even this insinuation. Of what then do you complain? "When good men spoke or acted with reference to existing evils," "they were charged with intermeddling with politics," "as if they had no interest in transmitting our republican institutions unimpaired to their children." All this is unmeaning. Let us come to some distinct proposition. Of what do you complain? What are the existing evils against which you spoke? "An outcry was raised against the Rev. Dr. Ely, for sentiments which he published relative to the importance of electing men of good principles, who could be trusted, for civil rulers." So we have it out at last. The Evangelicals wished to remedy the existing evils, by commencing on the plan of Rev. Doctor Ely, whose "sentiments no man but an infidel need blush to avow," that none except men of good, that is, evangelical, principles, ought to be trusted in civil offices; that the Papists, such as Mr. Taney, about whom so much noise has been made, and the intemperate, the dissipated, the Sabbath breakers and the gamblers, should be excluded from office. This is then the whole burden of the canting chorus, that the men of God ought to have power to exclude from office those who are not "saints;" and we are threatened with lamentation and wailing and woe, because the government has not violated its obligation by associating as their directors the grand evangelical inquisitors into office.

XII.

I am desirous of closing this series of letters. I have trespassed upon the public's patience and been tedious in exhibiting evidence to prove that of which many have been long since convinced, viz., that the Evangelicals complained that under the pretext of placing men of good principles in civil office, they were not permitted to exclude from all places of public honor, public trust, and public emolument all men who did not belong to their party. Thus they sought to monopolize the stations of government to the exclusion of infidels, of Papists, of the ungodly and of the heterodox. That is, they aim at a practical violation of the Constitution of the United States. The rabid fury with which they assail Roman Catholics is abundant evidence of their disposition. The moment any member of that Church is chosen to any office worth naming, that instant he and his Church are villainously outraged: labored and polished essays and vile and vulgar contumely are flung abroad amongst the public, and Americans are called upon to protect their endangered liberties. These productions are seen in Europe, they are noticed in Catholic nations, and our country is viewed by men of literature and of acquirements in no very flattering way. Yet, what care the Evangelicals for this? Their object is to perpetuate ancient prejudices for their private emolument: and if they succeed, the public may indeed hiss them, but they will applaud themselves. Hence they are reckless of the character of the nation, provided they possess the influence of power, or are able to count a large share of dollars in their stock.

Hitherto they have been defeated in their efforts, and they on that account complain of the men in power. Congress refused to declare that this was a country of any religious denomination, or to assume any power of religious legislation, upon the express plea that they received no such commission. Hence they are to be considered infidels. They declined the honor of being "nurs-

ing fathers of the Church," upon the principle that they were only appointed to be political representatives of the States and of the people. For this they are denominated anti-Christians. By means of petitions, of suggestions, of disquisitions, and various modes of influence, efforts were made to procure the enactment of a law on the basis that the public business should be regulated upon the principle of observing one divine law, as interpreted by one portion of the people—and that portion the evangelical. Should that basis be laid, it would be sufficiently ample to sustain any edifice they might think proper to erect; for if the divine law as interpreted by this division were to be made the rule of legislation in one case, why not in another? Let one precedent be given, and the question would not be, what enactments it would sanction, but to what it would not extend. Congress refused to be influenced, and therefore we find it charged with "Sabbath breaking," and its members with licentiousness. Thus, because the Constitution is not violated, it is said that religion is destroyed. The principle for which Protestantism affected to contend is, that no man should have dominion over the conscience of another, but that every man should be the interpreter of God's law in his own behalf, and that no man should presume to force his interpretation upon another. Yet the practice of those self-styled Protestants is, to endeavor to compel others to submit to their interpretation. If Congress desires to transport the mail, it compels no one to be the carrier. The conditions are known to all, and he who feels them interfere with his notions of religion is not forced to carry it. In like manner no one is compelled to drink whiskey; the distiller may make it if he will, and the grocer may sell it, but no one is compelled to buy or to drink. What would our Evangelicals say if Congress were to enact that no butcher should sell meat to a Catholic on Friday or Saturday, and that if any tavern-keeper furnished it to him he should forfeit his license and be fined? Yet the principle is the same. Congress

has no power to compel the evangelical member to observe one law according to the interpretation of his sect, nor to compel a Catholic to observe another according to the discipline and interpretation of his spiritual authority. Our government therefore very properly declined to interfere; and it has thus called forth the vituperation of the "saints." But though baffled, they will not desist.

What is now their plan? It is in operation. In our country everything is carried by the ballot-box. The "holy ones" saw that although they are at present a minority, yet by perseverance they might become a majority. Dr. Ely in the exultation of his heart proclaimed the mode by which it was to be effected. His brethren denied in a variety of ways that their object was what the doctor developed; yet no one was deceived. The editor of the *Telegraph* now avows that the public understood the doctor correctly, and that no one except an infidel need be ashamed to avow as the doctor did, that by means of Sabbath schools, the rising generation might be so trained up as that in a few years, by concerted action at the ballot-boxes, none but men of good principles, that is, men of the evangelical school, should hold public offices. And is there any question of this being not only a feasible plan, but one in which, if the "saints" can train up the children to their purposes, they must necessarily succeed?

From the remarks which I have previously made, it is clear that the framers of the Constitution neither intended nor felt themselves authorized to make ours a sectarian government; and yet, if the "saints" succeed in their plan, will it not become, to all intents and purposes, sectarian? No; we are told this is impossible, for though there is a concert between those who hold evangelical principles, yet these persons are so divided into sects, that no one of the five or six which compose their aggregate could acquire an ascendency over the others, and in their minor differences we have the guarantee of our liberty. Should any one of them arrogate to itself any predomi-

nance, the others would unite against that ambitious division and defeat its unholy purposes. Suppose that such would be the case; I ask, why should the aggregate of those sects be permitted to exclude the great body of their fellow-citizens, whom those elect designate as Papists, drunkards, anti-Christians, rakes, infidels, gamblers and Sabbath breakers? Are not these men American citizens? And why are they to be disfranchised? Is it a crime for them to avail themselves of the Protestant principle, that each individual is to regulate his own religious conduct and belief without being accountable to his fellow-citizens, or liable to any civil or political disability, for his exercise of this right? But we are told that these systems lead, necessarily, to demoralization and to the ruin of our liberties; and that the lovers of liberty and good order should, therefore, discountenance them. The assumption is only an opinion which might be erroneous; and which I believe and know to be so in fact. I am of opinion that the principle of justification by faith, which I take to be characteristic of evangelical Protestantism, is, if carried into practice, more demoralizing and destructive to our freedom, public and personal, than even infidelity. The evangelical Protestant will proclaim this to be a grievous mistake, and would deprecate as tyranny my being permitted to exclude him from office because of my opinion. He would in this be sustained by the spirit of our institutions, by the principles of our Constitution, and by the patriotism of the republic. Shall I not, then, be equally sustained by the same powers in my objection to his being permitted to exclude me, a Roman Catholic, and my fellow-citizens, who, though Christians, are neither evangelicals nor Papists? Shall he be permitted to exclude the Jew, the anti-Christian, the Deist? Would he not have excluded Charles Carroll and Thomas Jefferson?

But he tells us, that he leaves us all in possession of our eligibility, and even of our right of voting, and he asks whether we are warranted to tell him and his associates that they shall be debarred from their right of

voting for those men, whose religious principles and moral conduct they approve. I must, indeed, upon the general principle, concede all that he claims. But what would be said to the Catholics of those sections where they predominate, were they to treat Protestants in this way? What would the "holy men" themselves say, if that to which their conduct and efforts would naturally urge the public were reduced to practice, and that whilst they are a minority, all those against whom they have conspired were to enter into a league of co-operation, and to exclude from office every member of an evangelical Church or society? The "saints" have conspired to act upon this principle against the body of the people; upon what ground could they then complain if their own principle were turned against themselves? The consequence would indeed be unpleasant. We should have religious rancor superadded to our political differences. But will not this consequence arise whether the principle be acted upon by the "saints" or by the sinners? There is no way of avoiding it but by abandoning the principle itself; it is one at open variance with all our republican institutions.

Thus, even though the variety of their sects should appear to give the public security against the usurpation and predominance of any one of the subdivisions of which this "Christian party in politics" is composed; yet their combination promises to elevate the party upon the ruins of American rights, and to produce consequences of the most disastrous character to the country itself.

When it is said that the variety of sects precludes the possibility of usurpation, I am led to consult my experience rather than my imagination. I know many villages, especially in our Southern States, in which, at their origin, the inhabitants were of various Protestant sects, and I may, indeed, say, generally evangelical. Neither the numbers nor the means of the sects warranted the erection of separate churches and the maintenance of different settled pastors; they united their efforts to build a common church, in which the pastors of all would have equal rights.

They went on harmoniously for a time, and each pastor, as he visited, was welcomed to the church; but year after year began to give a greater singleness of character to the trustees; though the church was open to divers preachers, yet he who taught in accord with the great body of the trustees always had a preference, and occasionally a stipend. His services were more frequent; he then became resident, and he appeared statedly in the pulpit; the others, upon their arrival, generally found it thus preoccupied. They could now seldom obtain an opportunity of holding forth, save on some week-day, and not always then. Disgusted, disappointed, and uniformly outvoted, the few dissident trustees resigned. There was on the side of their co-trustees an affectation of regret. Why could not brethren live together in harmony, as from the beginning? The board of trustees was now filled up, and they were, for the first time, all members in accord with the preacher. They who had departed were consoled; they were encouraged to do something for themselves; perhaps fifty or a hundred dollars, together with the promise of a subscription to aid them, was taken as a full compensation for the church which originally belonged to a community of five or six sects, but which now had become the property of one, and that one not always the most numerous of the first owners. I could reckon up several churches whose history is here described, and almost in every instance they have fallen into the hands of one sect, and that the one which has most frequently put forward the fact of the diversity of sects in the evangelical combination as the guarantee for the safety of equal rights and equal powers. . . . I need not make the application. My friends and fellow-citizens have intellects equally strong as he who addresses them, and their conclusion is his. Thus, even if the monopolizing aggregate of five or six sects was to continue with a balance of power between the parties, still would their act be palpable and vile aggression upon the rights of their fellow-citizens; and their present variety of sects is no guarantee against the future

predominance of the most industrious, the most insinuating, the most ambitious, and the most hypocritical.

Let us now see the manner in which the principle of Dr. Ely is to be reduced to practice. The principle is, that by training up the children in Sabbath schools, such an influence can be created upon their minds as will necessarily operate at the ballot-boxes. They are not to be trained up to any special modification of Federalism or Democracy, but they are to be a "Christian party in politics." Their teachers are to be Christians; the lessons, the expositions, the whole system of instruction, is to be under the guidance of a board of "saints." The only principle upon which the voters, as they grow up, are to be united is uniformly to support "Christians," and to oppose profane and ungodly candidates. The "Christian" is not a Papist, is not an infidel, is not an anti-Christian —any man against whom there exists the suspicion of being suspected of anything condemned by the "saints," is one of the ungodly. The board of local directors, and that of general directors, can easily testify for or against the "Christianity" of candidates. But who are to sustain their nominations? The candidate has necessarily some private and some political friends; then add to these the whole host of the children trained up at Sabbath schools, now become men capable of voting, and you see the "Christian party in politics." But observe how industriously the agents are engaged. Thirty-eight thousand dollars were expended last year, in exploring the valley of the Mississippi, merely preparatory to the introduction of their system. One of their collectors told a respectable gentleman in Georgia, who hesitated to subscribe, that the true object was to "destroy the power of Popery" in the great regions of the West, so as to "deprive it of any political influence." Already in successful operation in various other quarters, the grand directors of the scheme saw that the West was not sufficiently organized; taking advantage of the religious feeling of the community, when they found themselves foiled in their premature efforts to

seize upon the capital, they are so far from abandoning their plans that they have only retired to render them more effectual, and now, under the pretext of religion, they organize an extensive politico-religious association. And they are likely to succeed to the extent of their wishes; at least they have every reasonable prospect of success.

The political press has not as yet been fully enlisted in their cause, and of this they piteously complain. Yet already they have in the various sections of the Union, a vast number of their own presses. And the great bulk of the political press is favorable to their Sunday school schemes, their Bible schemes, their missionary schemes, their colonization schemes, their temperance schemes, and their emancipation and education schemes—which are all the various branches of the great "Christian party in politics;" and yet that press is accused, as "it is well known that too many of the conductors of the political press, instead of informing the people, as watchmen ought, of the dangers which threaten the republic, are wholly engaged in promoting the supposed interests of their favorite candidates;" and they add, "It would not be difficult to show by facts, that the evils of this course are incalculable." The object of this party is to procure the election of "men of good principles"—and yet the political press is accused of deserting its post by advocating the election of favorite candidates. How shall we understand this? There is but one explanation. The political press has not yet taken its lessons respecting candidates from the "Christian party in politics." When it shall have done this it will have performed its duty.

I have done with this writer. I am an enemy to intemperance, but I am also an enemy to Pharisaical restraint. I am a friend to the bringing children together for religious instruction on Sunday; but I am an enemy to organizing them into political factions to promote ambition under the guise of piety. I am a friend to the liberal and pious education of a respectable ministry, and to

their being sent to cultivate the desert places of our land; but I am an enemy to training up youth in ferocious hatred to a portion of their fellow-citizens, whose tenets they are taught to misrepresent; and thus unfitted for the work of peace, are sent to brandish swords of devastation and to apply torches of incendiarism. I am a friend to the diffusion of the Gospel; but an enemy to the vilifying of those who preserved it through the vicissitudes of ages, of revolutions, of barbarism, of philosophy, of infidelity, of crime, and of corruption. I am an ardent admirer, a devoted enthusiast, and a sworn friend to the liberties and the constitutions of our American confederation; and therefore I am irreconcilably inimical to every effort whether of fraud or of folly to violate their principles by disfranchising any portion of our citizens under the pretext of their religious mistakes.

I have exhibited the malignity and rancor which pervade the article that called me forth. I have shown how it exhibits the settled design of degrading and disfranchising, not only the Roman Catholics of these United States, but also a vast multitude of their fellow-citizens. I have shown that the "Christian party in politics," not only has not ceased to exist, but is strong, active, compact, powerful, extensive, industrious, prudent, wealthy and ambitious. The means which it has selected have been judiciously chosen, and are likely to insure its predominance. It calls upon the people not only to tax themselves for its support, but also to pray for its success; and like its precursor in England, it is careful whilst they pray to take such steps as will conduce to the efficacy of the appeal. Whilst Aaron and Hur sustain the hands of Moses upon the mountain, the sword of Josue smites powerfully upon the plain. It is for Americans to say whether our civil and religious rights are to share the fate of Amelec.

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